

1726.
Smith.

Waterpouts very near them. Next Day they got up as far as a small Town, belonging to one *Zachary Cumberbus*, a Mulatto, Son of a late *English* Agent on *York-Island*, where he was kindly entertained: But *Mr. Smith*, being impatient to see the State of the Company's Affairs on *York-Island*, proceeded directly up the River; and on the twentieth landed at that Place, where he found no white Man, but one *Mr. Holditch*, a Factor, who was destitute of all Defence against the Natives. They had paid him several Visits, and always took Care to carry away what they liked of the Company's Effects. The Fort was then a dismal Heap of Ruins.

Part from
the King.

THE King of *Sherbero*, hearing of *Smith's* Arrival, came, on the twenty-first, with a Train of at least three hundred Men to visit him; bringing, by way of Present, two Kentles^a of Rice, two Goats, and a fine wild Boar. In Return, the Author presented his Majesty with two Brass Pans, two Pewter Dishes, a Fathom of *Sletias*^b, and four Bunches of Beads, which were greedily received. The *Sletias* he tied immediately round his Neck, with a double Knot under his Chin, the two Ends hanging down before, over his Cape-Monte Surplice, which was of Cotton, striped blue and white. This done, the King pulled-out of his Bosom the bushy End of a Lion's Tail, which he flourished several Times about, and made a long Harangue; the Meaning of which (as explained by *Mr. Cumberbus*) was, that the Lion's Tail was his Majesty's Fetish, and that he flourished it to show his Power, and the Extent of his Dominions; and, lastly, that by his Harangue he desired some Victuals to refresh himself and People: Whence the Author concluded, that he should be no Gainer by his Majesty's Present.

Quarrels
with the
Factor.

THE third Day, after taking an Inventory of the Company's Effects, and appointing one *Allen*, a Writer, to be Assistant to *Holditch*, *Mr. Smith* saluted the King with five Guns, and sailed down the River. *Holditch* and *Allen* had imagined on this, that the King would have returned to *Sherbero*; but finding themselves mistaken, and knowing that his Stay would be expensive, they came to a Resolution to treat his Majesty to return home. At this the King fell into a great Passion, swearing by his Fetish, that the Country was his, and that he only suffered the *English* to reside on *York-Island* on certain Conditions; that the Ground and all the Goods on it belonged to him, and that he would make them sensible of it, as they had not paid him his *Kole*^c. To this *Holditch* replied, that it was not three Moons since

his *Kole* had been paid, and therefore his Majesty could have no just Claim on the Company. This Answer so enraged the King, that he struck *Holditch*, and seizing *Allen*, dragged him to the Water-Side, and threw him into a Canoe; ordering his People to carry him to *Mr. Smith*, and tell him, that he had sent *Allen* to him, as having no Business on *York-River*: But as none would venture on the Message, *Allen* got Leave to return to the Fort. In the mean Time *Holditch* had written a Letter, which he privately dispatched by a single Man in a Canoe, to acquaint *Smith* with what had happened; and that the King was then loading his Canoas out of the Company's Warehouse, and unless prevented, would carry-off all the Goods^d.

Voyage to
Guinea.

ON receiving this Letter, the Author communicated it to Captains *Kirkham* and *Ridley*, giving it as his Opinion, that they ought immediately to go to the Assistance of *Holditch* and *Allen*; that they had nothing to fear, having a good Ship mounted with eight Guns, and therefore ought not to stand tamely by, and see the Company robbed before their Faces. *Kirkham* expressed his Readiness to second *Smith*, being directed in his Instructions from *Mr. Charles* to take his Orders from him; but *Ridley* said it was Madness with six or eight Men to attack three or four hundred. However, *Kirkham* being resolute, the other consented, and accordingly they weighed, and having a strong Tide of Flood, and the Sea-Breeze, soon reached *York-Island*. By the Way they charged all their Guns with Musket-Ball. The Channel being bold, they came to Anchor within twenty Yards of the Shore, on the Outside of the King's Canoas, to whom and his People their Arrival was no small Surprise; especially when they saw *Mr. Smith* land, followed by the two Captains, and two of the Company's Slaves, stout young Fellows, all armed with Cutlasses.

Smith comes

THEY marched-up to the old Gate of the Parade, which was then standing, where stood about an hundred (of the King's) Negroes left to guard it, all armed with Guns, Javelins, Simitars, Stilletos, or Cutlasses. *Smith* observed them terrified, for they opened to the Right and Left to let him march in. They proceeded directly to the Factory-House, where the King stood with his Guards before the Door. These Guards made some Opposition: But *Smith* with *Ridley* forced his Way through them into the House, where he was pleased to see a third white Man with *Holditch* and *Allen*. This was one *Wild*, a Soldier of the Company's, who had that Day

To their
Assistance.

^a Or Quintals: The Author says, a *Kentle* is an hundred Pounds Weight.

^b A thin Sort of Linen Cloth.

^c *Kole*, is the annual Tribute, or Custom, paid by the Company, not only for Rent for *York-Island*, but for the Liberty of trading up the River.

^d *Smith's* Voyage, p. 54. & seq.

1726. come down the River. *Smith* then addressed the a King (who understood *English*, and could speak a little) in a stern Manner, asking him, Where all his Canoes, loaded with the Company's Camwood, were bound? The King made no Reply, but *Holditch* and *Allen* poured-out their Complaints of the ill Usage they had met with from his Majesty. *Smith* asked the King, if these Allegations were true, but had no Answer; on which he told him, he had given him a Rope to hang himself, and seizing him by the Collar of his new Neckcloth, which he had still on, he dragged him out of the House into the Middle of the Parade; where, before all his Guards, he thrashed his Cape-Monte Surplice with his Sword.

Threats the King's Father.

THIS Action much terrified his Guards, who were sensible their Master had his Desert, there being a Law at *Sherboro*, that whoever strikes a white Man, if he be merchantable, shall be sold; if not, he shall be put to Death. Mr. *Smith* then carried the King forcibly to the Water-Side, and put him into a Canoe, with Orders to *Ridley* and *Wild* to carry him aboard the Sloop, and put him in Irons: But his Subjects, incensed to see their King's Person so used, opposed his being carried away; laying-hold on the Canoe, till the *English*, by wounding several of them, got her launched-off. They even followed it into the Water; and one of them had gotten behind Mr. *Smith* with a *Turkish* Simitar lifted to cleave his Scull: But being seen by *Ridley*, he jumped-out of the Canoe Time enough by a Back-Stroke to disable the Fellow's Hand, breaking his Cutlafs with the Blow, which he replaced with the *Negro's* Simitar. The Natives now grown desperate, at seeing their King a Prisoner in the Canoe, guarded by *Wild* with a Cutlafs; and *Ridley* with his Simitar, attacked them very closely, so that *Smith* was scarce able to defend himself.

Who is taken Prisoner.

MEAN Time the People on board the Sloop being alarmed, called ashore to know if they should fire; but the Boat lying next the Shot, *Smith* would not permit it. It was now duskish, and one of the Natives was coming round, in order to stab the Author in the Back: But *Ridley* guessing the Fellow's Intention, advanced a Step or two forwards, and with a *Portuguese* Stiletto made a Stroke at his Face, which laid his Mouth open from Ear to Ear; on which, being not able to speak, he set-up a terrible Bellowing. This so frightened his Comrades, that it gave Mr. *Smith* an Opportunity of making a home Thrust at one who had born hard on him, whom he ran into the Thigh; on which the Fellow

dropped his Sword, and ran off, the rest following, whom they closely pursued to the Woods. *Ridley* in the mean Time carried his Royal Prisoner to the Sloop; but when they had gotten along Side of her, and *Ridley* was busy fastening the Canoe with a Rope to the Sloop, the King slipping-off his Hat and Surplice, unperceived, stole into the Water, and swam ashore. The Captain having fastened the Canoe, ordered two of the Men to come and hand his Majesty up; but they could find no more of him than his outside Case. Enraged at the Disappointment, they came directly ashore, and gave Mr. *Smith* the King's Apparel, with an Account of his comical Escape.

Voyage to Guinea.

But escapes.

HOWEVER, *Smith* judging that this Accident might be attended with unlucky Consequences, as the King had such a Number of armed Men on the Island, who, as well as himself, were exasperated at the Treatment they had met with, he thought it proper to concert with the rest of his Company the proper Measures for their Security, and to prevent the Enemy surprizing a large Consultation. Their Council was held in a large Canoe, which lay under a Mangrove-Tree. It was there resolved, (according to the Author's Proposal) that *Holditch*, *Allen*, and *Wild* should repair to the Factory-House, and put their black People there in a Posture of Defence: That they should walk all Night on the Parade, and if they saw any Negro, they should directly fire at him; and that Mr. *Smith*, with the two Captains, and the two *Gromettas*, should take Care of the Company's Effects on board the Canoes. This was immediately put in Execution. *Allen*, *Holditch*, and *Wild*, armed with Musketoons, loaded with Swan-Shot, went to the Factory. Mr. *Smith* went to secure the Canoes, which were towed-off, and fastened to the Sloop. These being safe, and the two Captains and Slaves on board, who had Directions to stay and fire on a proper Signal, Mr. *Smith* returned ashore, intending to reinforce the Garrison at the Factory, but by the Way a Shot from the Woods grazed his left Ear, and findged his full-bottomed Wig. This put him in such a cruel Fright, that he took to his Heels, and ran to the Factory; where, though several Shot were levelled at him by the Way, he got safe within the Parade-Gate, which is about three Furlongs from the Water-Side. Here he ventured to peep-out, and could plainly see a large Body of *Negros* rallied under a great Silk-Cotton Tree, which showed him what an imminent Danger he had escaped. After refreshing himself with a Dram, seeing the Enemy in

The Author's Danger.

* This, methinks, was monstrous Treatment, fit only to create lasting Hatred, and ruin the Company's Trade, as the Event shewed. ^b But this Law can never be supposed to extend to the King. ^c *Smith's* Voyage, p. 62, & seqq

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the same Place, he called to *Ridley* on board the Sloop to fire two of his Guns as near the Root of the Tree as he could; which had such Success, that eleven of the Negroes were killed, or mortally wounded, as they heard next Day.

THIS Stroke dispersed the Enemy, who carried-off their Dead into the Woods. Mr. Smith then gave Orders to the white Men to fire from the Parade, if any Number of Men should appear near the Factory; and went to repose himself. Finding all Things quiet when he awaked, he ventured down between two Slaves to the Water-Side, and was rowed on board the Sloop, where he kept Watch all Night on the Deck. About one o'Clock, *Holditch* called to him with the Trumpet, to let him know, he saw a Body of Negroes marching-up to the Parade-Gate. Mr. Smith ordered him to fire, which he did, and killed one, wounded another, who proved to be the Company's Linguist, one *Antonio*. About three o'Clock, Mr. Smith heard the Rustling of a Canoa near the Shore, upon which he sent two Slaves to see what the Matter was; they discovered three Men, who jumped over-board at their Approach, and swam ashore amongst the Mangroves. The Slaves brought the Canoa on board, and at Day-break one of the Men brought Mr. Smith a Lion's Tail, found in the Canoa they had taken, which he knew to be the King's Fetich; whence he concluded, the King would have made his Escape in the Night, if they had not intercepted him.

Negro En-
emy killed.The Interpreter
wounded.

AT Sun-rise, Mr. Smith went ashore with Mr. Cumberbus, *Ridley*, and two others, to consult about removing the Company's Effects from *York-Island*. The first Object he saw at entering the Factory, was *Antonio*, who lay on the Floor groaning with his Wounds. Mr. Smith seeming surprized, *Holditch* told him, *Antonio* was amongst the Men he had directed him to fire at in the Morning. *Antonio* said, "It is very true, e
" Master, I have two Tongues, Tongue for
" white Man, and Tongue for black Man: I
" deserve to die, but I came that white Man
" should not kill black Man, but be Friends." Mr. Smith asked, Why he came in a hostile Manner? He replied, they were seven; that the one, who was killed, was a Messenger from the King, with Overtures of Peace, and the other five went back. Mr. Smith on this ordered his Wounds to be dressed with some excellent Salve he brought from England, and told him, he should live, if he had spoken Truth.

He is exa-
mined.

ABOUT ten o'Clock, they held a Consultation, and Smith proposed removing the Company's Effects down to a Town called *Jamaica*, in Possession of Mr. Cumberbus, as the Place they

were in was no Way defensible, in case Hostilities continued with the Natives. Mr. *Holditch* objected, that such a Removal might be prejudicial to the Company; but declining to give his Reasons, it was thought proper to examine *Antonio* before they determined. *Holditch* being named Chairman, *Antonio* was called-in, who appeared with many extravagant Signs of Submission and Joy. By his Account they learned, that the King had been imposed on by his Treasurer, in relation to his *Kole*, or Tribute; of which, being sensible, he had sent six of his Subjects with *Antonio* to acquaint the English with the Error, and negotiate a Peace: That the King had, in the mean Time, ordered all his Subjects to disarm, and not shoot or offend a white Man, on Pain of Death; and that his Majesty, with his Attendants, were in great Want of Provisions.

Voyage to
Guinea.

ANTONIO's Examination was scarce finished, when one of the Watch came and informed them, that a single Black, unarmed, was coming from the Woods; and that as he walked, at certain Distances, he threw himself prostrate on the Ground. *Antonio* appeared rejoiced at this, leaping and crying, That he the Messenger from the King of *Sherbero*! Now the Truth! That save my Life!

Proposed
from the
King.

THE Messenger being introduced by Mr. Cumberbus, informed them, "That the King, his Master, was sorry he had offended the white Men, by demanding of them *Kole*, which was not due; as he found by the Confession of his Treasurer, whom he had put to Death, as the Cause of this Difference: That his Majesty was desirous to be at Peace with the white Men, and had ordered his Subjects to lay down their Arms, and forbid them to offend any white Man, under Pain of Death; adding, that the King and his Company being short of Provisions, begged their Assistance, which should be repaid when he returned to *Sherbero*." This Message agreeing with *Antonio*'s Information saved his Life; but as the Envoy made no Mention of the preceding Embassy, Mr. Smith asked him about it, and found it was as *Antonio* had said; with this Addition, that it was by *Antonio*'s Means this Discovery was made concerning the *Kole*.

THE Envoy being withdrawn, the King's Message was taken into Consideration; and it being the Opinion, that it was against the Company's Interest to remove their Effects from *York-Island*, provided a secure Peace could be made, they thought it would be proper to take Advantage of the King's present Distress to bring him to surer Terms. It was therefore resolved to

From the
Factory.

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send Mr. *Cummerbus* as their Ambassador, to acquaint the King they were desirous of living in good Harmony with him and his Subjects: But that, as his Majesty had, by the ill Counsel of his Ministers, committed Hostilities, by attacking the *English*, and seizing the Company's Effects; they were determined, for their better Security, to remove from *York-Island* to *Jamaica-Town*, in case his Majesty would not grant the following Privileges to them: *First*, That he should swear by his *Petish*, that he would not for the future visit *York-Island* with more than twenty-four Attendants, and these unarmed. *Secondly*, That if any Negro or Negroes should land on the Island in a hostile Manner, he or they should be put to Death. *Thirdly*, That when his Majesty's *Kole* become due, no more than six Persons should come to receive it. *Fourthly*, That those *Christians*, or Whites, who inhabited in *Sherbero*, should have the free Exercise of their Religion.

Envoy to the
King.

THIS Resolution taken, Mr. *Cummerbus* set out with the King's Envoy for the Woods, to execute his Commission, carrying with him the King's *Petish*, found in the Canoa, two Days before. The King was sitting at the Foot of a Silk-Cotton Tree, surrounded by a Croud of his Subjects. He rose to meet Mr. *Cummerbus*, who, having paid his Compliments, delivered his Message; to which the King replied, he was unwilling to be at Enmity with the Whites; that when he returned to *Sherbero*, he would hold a *Syndic*, and decree the Privileges the *English* desired; begging they would not remove from *York-Island*, and promising them Slaves, Camwood, and Ivory, to a good Value.

MR. CUMMERBUS being returned, and the King's Answer considered by the Council, it was, in half an Hour, resolved to remove the Company's Effects from *York-Island* to *Jamaica-Town*, for the following Reasons: *First*, Because the King of *Sherbero* was a Man, whose Word was not to be relied on. *Secondly*, That *York-Island* was unfortified, whereas *Jamaica* was a Place of Strength. *Thirdly*, That their Provisions being much exhausted, the Slaves offered them might, through Treachery, prove their Ruin; or, at least, be an additional Weight on the Company. *Fourthly*, That their Removal would at least save the Company the *Kole*, or Tribute, paid to the King.

Factory re-
moved.

THE Care of the Removal being left to Messieurs *Smith* and *Helditch*, it was thought proper that Mr. *Cummerbus* should return to the King, and hold a Pallaver with him, till they accomplished their Design. He did so, and on hearing the

a Gun they had agreed as a Signal, he told the King, in an angry Tone, he had been very impolitic in treating the *English* as he had done, by offering to rob the Factory; that the *English* had already put the Company's Effects on board to be carried-out of his Kingdom down to *Jamaica*, of which the Gun he then heard was a Signal. The King seemed very uneasy at this Account, and his Subjects began to mutiny. Mr. *Cummerbus*, attended by *Antonio*, repaired to a Point of the Island, where one of their Canoas received him; but he left *Antonio* behind to watch the Motion of the Enemy. The Canoa had not gotten far from Shore, when several of the Natives appeared in Pursuit of him, and let-fly some Javelins and Arrows at him. He could see their Numbers increase, but was soon out of their Reach.

Peyre in
Guinea.

NEXT Day, towards Evening, *Antonio* and six others found Means, in the Hollow of a Tree, to paddle down to *Jamaica-Town*, and informed them, that after Mr. *Cummerbus*'s Departure, a Pallaver or Dispute arose between the King and his Subjects; that the King, to avoid their Fury, ordered them to pursue *Cummerbus* the Ambassador, whom he accused as the Author of the *English* leaving *York-Island*, as appeared by their removing to his Town of *Jamaica*; charging them to bring him dead or alive. This Scheme had its Effect, for while they were busy in the Pursuit, the King (who, dreaded their Resentment for losing the Advantages of the Company's Trade, might carry them to destroy him) took the Occasion to clope, and was never heard of more. The Natives, who, at their Return, found their King had absconded, or abdicated the Throne, proceeded to chuse a new King thus: The Nobles having elected their senior Captain to succeed, the People opened to the Right and Left, forming a Lane, through which the Candidate was carried by two Men standing on their Shoulders. As he passes, his Subjects view him, prostrate themselves, and huzza. Thus the King is carried through his Territories, and the Ceremony ends in one merry Day.

THE new King, whose Name was *Maximo*, another dispatched a Slave in a Canoa to *Sherbero*, with Orders to the *Kabashirs* to send him a Number of Canoas directly to convoy him and his People from the Island. He then repaired to the Factory, where he passed the Night; and the Canoas arriving next Morning, he embarked, after rejecting the Proposal of some of his Nobles to burn the Factory.

* In the Original, *Cabaceros*.* *Smith's Voyage*, p. 78, & *seqq.*

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SECT. III.

Jamaica-Town. Smith's Reception there. His Departure. Account of Camwood. Sherbero-River. The Boat in Danger from the Rocks. A violent Tornado. Meets the Sloop. Cross panyared. Infelence corrected. Cross redeemed. Cape Mesurado. Rio Junko. Rio Seftos. Sefta Kruc. They send ashore. Cape Palmas. St. Andrew's. Story of John Conny. Fredericksburgh.

Jamaica-Town.

MEAN Time the Sloop with the Canoas and Company's Effects arrived safe at Jamaica-Town. Here *Smith* went ashore with *Cummerbus*, and pitched on two good Houses, which he bought of him, for the Company's Use, at an easy Rate. At his first Landing, he was received by a Number of People at the Water-Side, and Mr. *Cummerbus* spoke to two of his chief Captains to bid the People pay the Author their highest Compliments, which was done thus:

Smith's Reception.

THEY first surrounded him, and then two of them catching him up in their Arms tossed him on their Shoulders and ran away with him to the Town, roaring and squalling as if possessed; some leaping and skipping, others charging and discharging their Muskets as fast as possible. At first Mr. *Smith* was afraid of some Trick, but he was soon convinced they only designed to play the Fool; for they carried him thus through every Corner of the Town, the Women and Children gathering to their Doors and clapping their Hands for Joy. During this Ceremony (which lasted about a Quarter of an Hour) Mr. *Cummerbus* had a Drum beating and a Trumpet sounding at his Door, where *Smith* was at last set-down, his Bearers having run him and themselves out of Breath. *Cummerbus* saluted him with a Salvo of seven small Guns planted near his House; after which he conducted him into a large open Room, where the Cloth was laid for Dinner, or rather Supper, it being past four o'clock. The Table was served with several Dishes of boiled and fried Fish, with Roots, as Yams and Potatoes. The second Course of roast Meat, was a fore Quarter of *Caborita*, or young Kid, as good as Venison, and four large Fowls. Mr. *Smith* never wanted Plenty of Victuals here, and tolerably well dressed. He found Liquors himself, and when his Sugar was out, they drank *Madera-Wine*.

His Departure.

MR. *SMITH* having settled the Factory here, November the twenty-ninth, sailed, saluting the Town with seven Guns, which were returned in Order. When they were under Sail, Captain

a Kirkham told Mr. *Smith* they had but eight Bottles of *Madera* left; which was no good News, a much greater Quantity of Liquor being necessary in these hot Climates than in *Europe*. However, anchoring at low-Water near a Place, where (as one of their *Gromettas* said) some wild Sugar-Canes grew, they sent him and two Slaves in the Canoa, who in two Hours returned with a Bundle. These they cut and pressed, steeping them after in Water, till it was sweet enough to make Punch, for they had Rum and Limes on board. November the thirtieth, they got out of the River's Mouth, and anchored at the *Plantain-Isles*, where Messieurs *Pearce* and *Sanderson* lived.

Voyage to Guinea.

KIRKHAM being acquainted with them, took Mr. *Smith* ashore, who was in Hopes of getting from them some Knowledge of the Countries up the River, where the *Camwood* grows, having hitherto had but a very imperfect Account from the *Negros*. These latter told him, that when they sailed a good Way up the River *Sherbero*, they came into a very hilly Country, where the River is very crooked, winding amongst the Hills, but not rapid, except at two or three Cataracts; that one of them is large, the River falling over the Rocks, for twenty Foot perpendicular, with a great Noise; the two other Falls inconsiderable; That at the first they are obliged to go ashore and drag their Canoas above the Fall: That at the others, if their Canoas overset, the *Camwood* sinks to the Bottom, and in the dry Season they come and take it up, the Channel then being quite dry. They always go-up at the End of the rainy Season, which generally lasts five Months, to cut Wood, and search for Teeth, returning with the next Rains. They see many Sorts of wild Beasts, but seldom receive any Hurt. Mr. *Smith* was informed, that a large Branch of the River *Sherbero* empties itself into the Sea near *Cape Monte*, but is not navigable for any Vessel by reason of a great Bar near the Mouth, called *Shea-Bar*; otherwise it would be a short Cut from *Sierra Leona* to *Cape Monte*.

Account of Camwood.

SHERBERO-River is a very plentiful Place, and chiefly supplies *Sierra Leona* with fresh Provisions. Mr. *Smith* was disappointed in the Information he expected at the *Plantain-Isles*; for, going ashore with Captain *Kirkham*, they found *Pearce* and *Sanderson* were gone in their Sloop: a trading to the North for Slaves at *Rio Pungoe*. However they found *Pearce's* Wife at home, like a good Housewife, with her Women-Slaves about her, stringing Beads, and counting *Bujis*. She treated them kindly, and sent some of her Slaves to gather *Coco-Nuts* for them; and though she had no Sugar, she made them some good Punch with

1726. with fine Honey, of which Kirkham, unknown a
Smith, to Smith, begged a Pot to carry on board.

THERE is a Ledge of funk Rocks, that
run-off into the Sea, about a League to the West
of these Isles, which may be easily discovered and
avoided by the Breakers. On the Outside of
this Ledge their Sloop lay about four Miles distant
from Shore. It was duskish when they left the
Isle, and before they got a Mile, it grew so dark
they could not see Land, much less their Sloop;
nor was there a Star in the Firmament: How-
ever, they rowed a long while up and down, un-
certain which Way they went. Mr. Smith at
last grew uneasy, and desired Kirkham to lie
by all Night, for Fear of rowing in the Dark so
far off to Sea as to be out of Sight of Land in
the Morning; in which Case, having no Com-
pafs, they should not be able to recover the
Coast, and would run the Risk of perishing at
Sea, especially as they had nothing on board but
a few Coco-Nuts, and a Pot of Honey. Kirk-
ham allowed the Objection to be just, but replied,
there was a greater Danger on the other Hand,
for the rainy Season being then advanced, there
was all the Reason in the World to fear a Tor-
nado coming in the Night, and in that Case they
had no Chance in their open Boat to avoid foundering^a.

ON this it was agreed to row a little longer,
in Hopes of seeing Land, or the Sloop. About
an Hour after, they found themselves near some
small Breakers, supposing them to be the said
Ledge of funk Rocks, which stretched from
the Shore to the Sloop. Keeping these to the
Right, they rowed along them, hoping they
would be a sure Guide either to the Land, or the
Sloop; but when they reached the End of them,
they could see no Light from the Vessel. This
Distress was owing to Captain Kirkham's staying
so long ashore bargaining for a Man-Slave, that
Night stole-on unawares. Surrounded with dis-
mal Thoughts, they were suddenly surprized with
the Roar of some wild Beast, which Mr. Smith
supposed to be a Lion. As the Noise seemed to
be near, they rowed towards it, and presently
saw the Land, being a bright sandy Beach, with
a few Rocks upon it. Behind one of these Rocks
they just held their Canoa, so that they were
sheltered from the Swell of the Sea, but durst
not venture ashore, the Noise of the wild Beasts
increasing.

THEY guessed it to be about two or three
O'Clock, and they had not been long there when
it began to thunder and lighten, as if the Ele-
ments were on Fire. This was the Forerunner
of a violent Tornado, which whistled so loud

through the Trees, that they could no longer
hear the wild Beasts roar. The Tornado was
followed by excessive Rain. They had no Shelter
in their Canoa, and durst not seek any amongst
the Trees, for Fear of the wild Beasts: How-
ever, they thought themselves happy they had
escaped the Sea, and bore the Wet contentedly,
as it fell. At Day-break it gave over, by which
Time they were pretty well soaked, having only
white Waistcoats on. They found then that they
were in Tawry-Bay, two Leagues to the North-
ward of the Plantain-Isles, which they could see
plain enough, but no Sign of their Sloop. This
last Misfortune was the more grievous, as there
was no Possibility of getting dry Cloaths. In
this sad Condition they agreed to row for the
Banana-Isles then in Sight, four Leagues distant,
to refresh themselves at one Mr. Bonnerman's,
and if they should hear nothing of the Sloop, to
continue their Voyage along Shore in the Canoa
to Sierra Leona.

ACCORDINGLY they put-off, and though it ^{Mettas the}
was a long Stretch for the poor hungry ^{Gro-Sloop.}
Mettas, yet Necessity made the Fellows row
stoutly, till about ten o'Clock, the Sea-Breeze
met them in the Teeth, and increased their Toil
and Sorrow. As it happened, neither lasted long,
for seeing a Sail standing-in for the Land, they
rowed-up for her, and found she was their own
Sloop, which had been driven-off to Sea by the
violent Tornado in the Morning, and was re-
turning to the Plantain-Isles to enquire about
them, fearing some Mischief had befallen them.
As soon as they got on board, they ran between
the Bananas and Cape Shelling on the Main, and
so proceeded to Sierra Leona, where they arrived
next Day, and at Benise-Island the Day follow-
ing. Here the Author was seized with a malig-
nant Fever, which confined him to his Bed till
the twenty-ninth; nor was he able to get on
Deck till January the fourth, 1726-7, which
Day they arrived at Cape Mesurado.

DECEMBER the eighteenth, they sailed ^{Cross pass-}
from Sierra Leona, and on the twenty-fifth an-
chored at Gallinas. Here lay the Queen Eliza-
beth, Captain Creighton, before-mentioned, who
invited Captain Livingstone to take a Christmas-
Dinner with him, and shewed him a Letter from
one Benjamin Cross, (third Mate of the Expedi-
tion, Captain Melville) who had been panyared^b
by the Natives of Cape Monte three Months be-
fore, and detained there by way of Reprisal for
some of their Men carried-off by an English
Trader. This villainous Custom is too often
practised, chiefly by the Bristol and Liverpool
Ships, and is a great Detriment to the Slave-

^a Smith's Voyage, p. 88, & seqq.

^b Seized, or kidnapped.

1727.
Smith.

Trade on the Windward Coast*. *Cross* hearing a take the Soundings and Bearings. The Mouth is so rocky, that it is impossible for a small Ship to enter, but the Inside is navigable, and comes away with a fine smooth Current from the East. About six in the Evening they returned on board, without having had any Discourse with the Natives, though many appeared on Shore^b.

Voyage to
Guinea.Insolence
exercised.

THE same Day came into *Rio Gallinas* Road, the *Friendship* Brig of *Bristol*, one *Barry* Commander, who likewise dined on board the *Queen Elizabeth*; and towards Night, having drank pretty freely, insulted the two Captains, who returned proper Marks of Resentment. This so enraged *Barry*, that he went on board his own Ship, and in a piratical Manner fired a Shot at the *Queen Elizabeth*, which had like to have taken away her Forestay; having also threatened *Livingstone* to come on board and whip him. *Livingstone* returned to his Sloop, to put himself in a Posture of Defence; and perceiving the Brig standing for him, he fired several Shot at her, which obliged her to sheer off.

Cross re-
deemed.

DECEMBER the twenty-sixth, they sailed from *las Gallinas*, and on the twenty-ninth arrived at *Cape Monte*, where they staid four Days. In this Time Captain *Livingstone* redeemed *Cross* at the Expence of about fifty Pounds *Sterling*, and brought him on board the *Bonetta*, where he staid till *January* the twenty-sixth, when they arrived at *St. Andrew's*, where there were several *English* and *French* Ships; amongst which was the *Expedition*, Captain *Malltrisse*, who repaid *Livingstone*, and took *Cross* again. Mr. *Smith* observed at *Cape Monte*, that the Natives who came-off to trade with them, were very cautious of coming on board for fear of being panyared; and even those who ventured on board, if they chanced to see any Arms about the Ship, immediately leaped into their Canoes, and got ashore. They seemed to be very industrious, being all clad in their own Manufacture.

Cape Mesu-
rado.

JANUARY the second, they sailed for *Cape Mesurado*; where they arrived the fourth, and anchored in eight Fathom Water behind the Cape, about two Leagues distant from the Mouth of *St. Paul's* River; here they lay till Noon next Day. But seeing none of the Natives come-off to them, and being loth to venture on Land, they weighed, sailing as close in Shore as possible, in order to make a true Survey of the Coast, which retarded their Voyage, being obliged to anchor every Night. On the fifth, they anchored before *Rio Junco*, in five Fathom Water; and Mr. *Smith* went in with the Long-Boat to

Rio Junco.

NEXT Morning they weighed from thence, *Rio Sestos*, and Mr. *Smith* proceeded on his Survey down the Coast. *January* the ninth, they anchored off *Rio Sestos*, where they lay six Days in Company with the *Providence* Brigantine of *London*, Captain *Cutler*. This Time Mr. *Smith* employed in taking the Soundings and Bearings of the River. The Entrance here is also rocky and shoal, so that it is navigable for nothing above a Long-Boat, though the Basin be spacious and broad. On the right Side of the River as you go-in, is a large handsome Town, that takes its Name from the River. Here they took-in Wood and Water, paying only a small Acknowledgment to the King. The Natives are civil enough to Strangers, though somewhat shy of the *English*. Provisions are not dear, though very scarce, except Rice, of which they bought a good Quantity, and some Fowls. *January* the fourteenth, they had a hard Gale of Wind at East South-East, which obliged them to let go their best Bower-Anchor, and lower their Yards and Top-Masts.

THE Day following, the Weather being fair, *Setra Krue*, they sailed, and on the twentieth arrived at *Setra Krue*, where they anchored before the Town in sixteen Fathom. About an Hour after, a Canoe came-off, and they asked one of the Negros, who spoke a little *English*, If they had any Goats, Hogs, or Hens ashore? The Fellow answered in their Way, *They had too much Goats, too much Hens*; which gave them Hopes of finding Provisions plenty and cheap. Next Day Mr. *Smith* and the chief Mate (after taking the Soundings and Bearings) went ashore, and were received by a great Number of the Natives at the Water-Side, who conducted them to the Town; the Houses of which were all built on Piles five Foot from the Ground, whither possibly to preserve them from the Damps, or wild Beasts: But he imagined, by the Peoples gazing at, and following them, that they were not much used to see Strangers. However, Mr. *Carse*, the Mate, being desirous to enquire about Provisions, went to the chief Man of the Town, who is a Sort of petty King, to obtain a Liberty to trade; which granted, and being at Dinner, he desired Mr. *Carse* to sit down and take Part with him. Their

* How much better was his own Behaviour to the King of *Sherbero*?
† *See*.

^b *Smith's Voyage*, p. 96.

1727.
Smith.

Dinner was boiled Rice and Palm-Oil; and one of the Lords in waiting, gave Mr. Carse a Shell by way of Spoon. When he had dined, the King bid him put his Spoon in his Pocket, which he did; but in coming away, the King told him he must not stir till he gave him a Present instead of his Shell. Mr. Carse gave him some Trifle out of his Pocket, which he greedily took, and dismissed him. They were vexed to be so misinformed as to Provisions, here being nothing to be gotten but some *Malaghetta* Pepper, and a few Pine-Apples, the most delicious Fruit in the World, when ripe, from six to ten Inches long.

ABOUT three Leagues and an half South-East of *Setra Krue*, are sunk Rocks about seven or eight Miles from Shore, and within two hundred Yards of each other. The Northernmost is a flat Rock about fifty Yards long; the other a steep Rock, on which a Ship belonging to Mr. Harris of London was lost in 1719, having nine Foot Water on one Side, and five Fathom on the other.

Cape Palmas.

JANUARY the twenty-second, they left *Setra Krue*, and on the twenty-fourth doubled Cape Palmas: About seven Leagues to the North-East of which, there is a Town called *Ostend*; where they were informed that the People of St. Andrew's, the next Town, had lately made War upon *Drewin* and burnt it to Ashes, selling the Men, Women and Children very cheap to the Ships then lying at St. Andrew's. On this Account they passed by *Drewin*, and January the twenty-sixth arrived at *Rio St. Andrew's*, where they found the Expedition, Captain *Mallisse*, besides several other English and French Ships. St. Andrew's is an extraordinary good Road for Ships; and of late is become a Place of good Trade, especially since the Demolition of *Drewin*. They staid no longer here, than just to survey the Bay, and then proceeded along the rest of the *Quaque* Coast; which extends from Cape Palmas, East and by North, about an hundred Leagues to the River *Mancha*, by some called *Rio Cobra*, by others the *Gold River*. This Coast is not near so well inhabited as the Grain Coast, which stretches from Cape Monte South-East, an hundred and fifteen Leagues to Cape Palmas.

St. Andrew's.

Asim.

FEBRUARY the fourth, they anchored five Miles to the West of *Asim*, which is the hithermost Dutch Fort on the Gold Coast. It is a pretty little triangular Fortification, which mounts eleven Guns, each Angle having a Battery, viz. the two to the Land, three Guns each, and that to the Sea, five. Here is a large populous Negro-Town, built under Shelter of the

Fort Guns, as all the European Forts on the Gold Coast have^a.

Payage to Guinea.

SEVEN or eight Leagues South-East of *Asim*, is another large and beautiful Fort, built by the *Brandenburghers*, but now in the Hands of the Dutch, and well known by the Name of *Conny's Castle*. For when the *Prussians*, who had it last in Possession, quitted the Coast, they left the Fort to the Charge of one *John Conny*, a black *Kabishir*, with strict Orders not to deliver it to any Nation but the *Prussians*. Soon after the King of *Prussia* sold all his Interest in the Coast of Guinea to the Dutch *West-India* Company, including with this another Fort belonging to him near Cape *Three-Points*. When the Dutch came to demand the Fort, *John Conny* refused to deliver it; on which a War ensued for some Years, which cost the Dutch a great deal of Blood and Money. *Conny*, flushed with his Victories, became a mortal Enemy to the Dutch, having paved a little Path from the outer Gate to the inner Apartment of his Castle, with the Skulls of Dutchmen killed in his Engagement with them^b. He had also a large Dutchman's Skull tipped with Silver, which he used as a Punch Bowl. However, in the Year 1724, he was beaten out of his Castle, and forced to fly up into the *Fantin* Country from the incensed Dutch.

FEBRUARY the sixth, they anchored near this famous Castle in six Fathom. Towards Night a Canoa came-off from the Dutch Chief, to acquaint them, that if they wanted Wood or Water, they might be supplied. The Author supposes it would have been at a dear Rate, for he was informed that all the Dutch Chiefs at the Out-Ports, were ordered to supply no English Ship whatever, with Wood or Water, excepting those of an eminent London Merchant^c. The Fellow told them, that the Dutch had dug up several Places about the Fort to find a Firkin of Gold-Dust, said to be left by *John Conny* when he went away; but to no Purpose^d.

Frederickburgh.

SECTION IV.

Cape Coast. Elmina. Merry Passage. Water scarce. Akera, or Akra. Whidah Road. Dangerous Landing. Sad Accident. English Fort. Ardrah destroyed, by the King of Dahomey. Mr. Lamb taken Prisoner. City of Sabi or Xavier; and Factories destroyed. Its former State. Dangerous Shore. Prince's Isle. Ship springs a Leak. Cross the Ocean. Much distressed. Arrive at Barbados. Saved by a Fish. Return to England.

^a Pages 114, 115, 116, taken from *Boissier*, verbatim.
^b See before, p. 449.
^c Mr. Humphrey Morrice, Snelgrave's Owner.
^d Smith's Voyage, p. 106, & seqq.

1727.
Smith.

Cape Coast.

THE seventh of February, they departed a from *Fredericksburg*, and touching at *Dix-cove*, *Sekondi*, and *Kommenda* (at all which Places Mr. Smith staid to take Surveys) on the seventeenth they anchored in *Cape Coast Road*, where they found several Ships.

Voyage to
Guinea.

WHEN they lay at *James-Fort*, they found a Letter left by an *English Ship* from *Holland*, directed to the *Dutch General* at *Elmina*, which they brought to *Cape Coast*; and Mr. Smith thinking this a good Occasion for him to take a View of that Castle, went thither with Captain *Livingstone*, in a large Canoa, to deliver it to the *Dutch General*, who, it seems, had pretty good Intelligence: For the Author, imagining himself unknown and unobserved, innocently walked out to look about him, but was immediately followed by the General, who pulled him by the Sleeve, and in an abrupt Manner had him back to the great Hall; where he told him, having his Name very pat, that though he came abroad to carry home all *Guinea* in his Pocket, yet he should not take *Elmina Castle* with him. This unexpected Reprimand at first surpris'd him: But recovering a little, he told the General, he thought him a Person of more Knowledge, than to imagine a Man could attempt the Survey of a Place without proper Instruments; and as he had none, he wondered how he should suspect him of such a Design.

Elmina.

Merry Pass-
age.

THE General paused a little, and seeming concerned for his Treatment of Mr. Smith, desired him and Captain *Livingstone* to stay and dine with him; which they consented to. He then shewed Mr. Smith some unfinished Draughts left by the last *Dutch Surveyors*, sent by their *West-India Company*, on the same Survey Mr. Smith had in Hand. The Work was prettily begun, but the Undertakers, (like many others on the same Expedition) had died, before their Business was finished.

Water
scarce.

MARCH the twenty-third, they sailed from *Cape Coast*. As it was the latter End of the dry Seasons there, the Garison was so scarce of Water, they could spare none for their Ship's Use; there being no Water within eight Miles of *Cape Coast*, but what they preserve, during the rainy Season, in a great vaulted Tank or Cistern under Ground, to which all Rain is conveyed from the Tops of the Buildings by leaden Pipes. All the Forts on the *Gold-Coast* are thus supplied.

MARCH the twenty-fourth, touching at *Tantumquerri*, the twenty-seventh, 1727, they anchored at *Winnebah* in five Fathom. Here they were supplied with good fresh Water out of the Tank of the Fort; and though they drew

several Tuns, Mr. Smith could not perceive they had lowered the Water six Inches; whence he concluded it had a Spring in it, the Bottom being an entire Rock.

THE twenty-eighth, they sailed from *Winnebah*, and on the thirtieth anchored at *Akera*, in six Fathom. It being foul rocky Ground, they bent their Sheet-Cable, in order to be ready to let go, in case their others parted. The Landing-Place is pretty safe, being sheltered by some small Rocks, which lie-off before it, and break the Violence of the Waves.

Akera, or
Akra.

DURING Mr. Smith's Stay at *Akera*, he, one Evening, in Company with an *English Factor*, walked by the Gate of the *Dutch Fort*, where stood some of the *Dutch Gentlemen*; who being known to the Factor, he talked a-while with them; but they, contrary to Custom, never asked him in, or visited them while he was there. Smith supposes, they guessed who he was; and had Orders from their General at *Elmina*, not to admit him, for fear of his making Observations.

APRIL the third, in weighing from *Akera*, their Cable parted, but they let-go their Sheet-Ancor, which bringing the Ship presently up, they set-sail for *Whidah*. On the fifth, they cross'd the Mouth of the great River *Volta*, so called by the *Portuguese* on account of its Rapidity; which is so violent that it causes a Ripling, and changes the Colour of the Water, at least eight Leagues from Shore. It divides the Gold from the Slave-Coast.

THE seventh, at Day-break, they came to Anchor in *Whidah Road* in seven Fathom, and saluted the Fort, which is more than a League from Shore. They found lying here three *French*, and two *Portuguese* Ships. This is the most dangerous Landing-Place in all *Guinea*, the Sea breaking and rolling at such a vast Distance from Shore, that no *European Boat* can come within two hundred Yards of it, but must anchor at a good Distance, and wait for Canoes to come-off, and carry the Passengers and Goods ashore. This the dextrous Canoe-Men generally do with Safety; though the contrary too often happens. Upon Notice of their Arrival, Hammocks were sent down to the Water side, and a large Canoe came-off to their Boat to carry them ashore, which it did without any Damage, but a little Washing. Mr. Smith was amazed, when they got amongst the large Breakers, (which seemed big enough to founder a Ship) to see with what Dexterity the Negros carried them through, and ran their Canoe, on the Top of one of the rolling Waves, a good Way on Shore. This done, they all leaped out, and dragged it up the Beach several Yards, beyond the Power of the next re-

Dangerous
Landing.* In the Original, *Acera*; by others, *Akra* and *Akkara*.* Smith's Voyage, p. 121, & 129, & seqq.
turning

1727. turning Wave. It is barely possible here for a a
Smith Man, if overfet, to fave his Life by swimming;
but hardly probable, from the great Number of
Sharks, which always follow the Canoas in Hopes
of Prey.

Sad Acci-
dent.

SHIPS trading here, have always Tents on
Shore, by Way of Warehouses, to shelter their
Goods. At Mr. Smith's landing, he walked up
to one of the French Tents, where the Mate,
who had the Charge of the Tent, being an *Irish-
man*, offered him (in the *English* Language) a b
Dram, which he accepted. There were a great
many Ankers of Brandy piled-up in the Tent,
which seemed all wet on the Out-side. Mr. Smith
asking the Reason, was told they had been wafted
ashore that Morning from their Long-Boat; and
that one of his Men venturing a little too far
into the Sea, after an Anker, which was wafted
ashore, happened to be seized by a small Shark,
whom he encountered with his Knife, and had
fairly disengaged himself; but the Return of the c
next Wave, which set the *Frenchman* afloat,
brought in two other Sharks, who in a Moment
tore the Fellow to Pieces, and devoured him be-
fore their Faces.

English
Fort.

THIS ugly Accident put the Author a little
out of Conceit with the Place; but the Ham-
mocks being ready to carry them to the Fort,
they got in, and were taken over three Rivers,
or rather three Branches of the same River. Be-
ing arrived on the other Side of which, they d
chose to walk, the Country being the most plea-
sant the Author ever beheld. The *English* and
French have Forts here within a Musket-Shot of
each other; being composed of a thick Mud-
Wall, moated deeply round. The *English* Fort,
which is very large, has fair strong Batteries,
mounted with seventeen Pieces of heavy Cannon.

Ardrah de-
stroyed.

SUBORDINATE to this Government is the
Factory of *Jakquin*, about eighteen Miles distant
to the East, and that of *Sabi* five Miles to the e
North, which was then reduced to Ashes by
the great and potent King of *Dahomey*, who
has lately made such Noise in *Europe*. His first
Conquest was that of Great *Ardrah*^a, fifty Miles
to the North-West of *Sabi*, in 1724. The
King of *Ardrah* having at that Time some Deal-
ings with Governor *Baldwin* at *Whidah*, and
Accounts not being settled, the King detained
one Mr. *Lamb*, an *English* Factor at *Ardrah*, in
Hopes to bring Mr. *Baldwin* to Accompt. In this
Interval the City of *Ardrah* was besieged by the
King of *Dahomey*'s Army, and after a stout Re-
sistance taken; the King of *Ardrah* himself being
killed at his Palace-Gate. Mr. *Lamb* was brought
Prisoner before the King of *Dahomey*'s General,

Mr. Lamb
taken Pri-
soner.

who, surpris'd at so strange a Figure as a white
Man, spared his Life, and carried him as a
Rarity to the King his Master; who was then
two hundred Miles within Land, where never a
white Man had been seen before. During his
Captivity here, he wrote a Letter^b to Governor
Tinker, who succeeded Mr. *Baldwin* at *Whidah*,
and favoured Mr. *Smith* with the Copy^c.

Voyage to
Guinea.

THIS Conquest was followed by a Descent on
Whidah: This Prince, in the Beginning of Fe-
bruary, 1726-7, laying Siege to the great Town
or City of *Sabi*^d, being the Metropolis of that City of Sa-
Kingdom, where the King resided, and the *En-
glish*, *French* and *Portuguese* had Factory-Houses.
In a few Hours he served this Place as he had
done *Ardrah*: Only his Majesty of *Whidah*, who
is the largest and fattest Man Mr. *Smith* ever
saw, thinking himself too bulky to fight, was
conveyed away in a Hammock by a Couple of
sturdy Negros, and so saved his Life. The Eu-
ropean Factories were plundered, and the white
Men taken Prisoners, and carried-up to the Camp
at *Ardrah*, where the King of *Dahomey* then was.
When Governor *Tinker* was admitted to Au-
dience, he told his Majesty that his molesting the
Whites, could be of no Service to that Coun-
try, which was become his by Conquest; but
on the contrary, would deter all Ships from
trading there, and what would then become of
his Grandeur?

THE King said, it was very true, and assured And Fae-
the Governor he had given no such Orders to his rix destroy-
General, but that he and the rest of the Euro-
peans were at Liberty to return to their Forts, as
they did a few Days after. But when the *English*
and *French* Governors were on their March
through *Sabi* to *Whidah*, the *Dahomey* General
took Occasion to set the Factory-Houses on Fire,
before their Faces, without the King's Order.
This Misfortune was a great Grief to them,
especially to the *French* Director, who had no
Design of returning to *Europe*, as Governor
Tinker had; but rather hoped to see *Sabi* re-
built and Trade restored: But the cursed Gen-
eral soon put an End to such Hopes, and let them
march-on to seek Shelter at their Forts. In or-
der to train up the Youth of his Army to spare
no Blood for the sake of Plunder, he ordered all
the Boys of his Camp (some of whom were not
above seven or eight Years old) to cut-off the
f Heads of all the aged and wounded Slaves, that
were unmerchantable.

THE City of *Sabi* was about five Miles in Its former
Circumference; the Houses neatly built, though
only Mud-Wall covered with Thatch, having
no Stone in all the Country, not even a Pebble

^a In the Original *Ardrah* every where.
Voyage, p. 166, & seqq.

^b It is inserted at the End of this Journal.

^d In the Original *Sabie*: By the *French* called *Xavier*.

^c *Smith's*

1727. as big as a Walnut: However, the Factories ^a were built after the European Manner, being lofty, spacious, and very airy, containing many neat, convenient Apartments. Each had a fine, large, open Hall, with cool Balconies, all upon the first Floor, and underneath were the Warehouses. These delightful Dwellings contributed very much, not only to the Comfort and Satisfaction, but also to the Health of the Europeans. The Town was so exceeding populous that it was difficult to pass the Streets, though very broad. Here were daily Markets, stored with many Sorts of European, as well as African Commodities, besides Variety of Provisions. Near the European Factories, there was a spacious Place shaded with tall Trees, under which the European Merchants and Captains transacted Business as on a Change. All these Places were reduced to Ashes a few Days before Mr. Smith's Arrival ^a.

Dangerous
Shore.

APRIL the twentieth, 1727, they took Advantage of a calm Day and embarked from *Whidah* in the following Manner: Their Canoa lay on the Beach with her Head to the Sea, and those who were Passengers stepping in, sat down snug in the fore Part, because the after Part is for the Canoa-Men to stand to their Paddles, being commonly eleven or thirteen in Number. When they were fixed in their Places, the Negros took hold of the Canoa, and having watched a proper Opportunity, ran her off on the Back of a Wave; when leaping in, they handled their Paddles so dextrously, that, before the Return of the next Wave, they had pushed her out of Danger of the Shore-Breakers. This was not all, for about thirty Yards off is a Bar, where the Sea breaks more violently than on the Shore: However, they got over this, on the Outside of which, forty Yards distant, lies a third Bar, the most dangerous of all. Between these two Rows of Breakers (which roared like Thunder) they lay by on their Paddles near a quarter of an Hour. At last the Men seeing a great Wave break on a sudden, made a Push towards it, and darted their Canoa quite through the succeeding Wave, which was pretty small, as they always are, and only wetting them a little, to the great Disappointment of the Sharks who followed them; so that they got safe on board.

Prince's Isle. NEXT Morning, the twenty-first, at Day-break, they weighed from *Whidah*, intending for Prince's Isle, to wood and water for their Voyage home; and, on the eighth of May, arrived at that Harbour. Here they bought-up what fresh Provisions they could get, at a dear Rate, took-in Water and Wood, and careened their Ship. The sixteenth, they departed, and,

on the twentieth, crossed the Line, and paid ^b as usual. The twenty-third, they descried Cape Lopez in one Degree, South Latitude, being the last Sight they had of the African Shore. Here it was Sir Chaloner Ogle suppressed the famous Pirate Roberts, for which he was knighted. Mr. Smith saw several of his Followers hanging in Chains at Cape Coast ^c.

WHEN they had run-down about four Degrees to the South of the Line, they came into the true South-East Trade Wind, and steered away West, near four hundred Leagues in South Latitude; after which, they shaped their Course North North-West, crossing the Line again on June the fifth. The next Day, they fell into the Calms that are always near the Line at those Times of the Year, especially between the North-East and South-East Trade Winds. The Weather proved very comfortless, being dark, and so rainy, that the Men, who were obliged to keep the Deck, had not Changes of Cloaths to keep them dry; and though under the Line, yet it appeared cold and raw. Once a Day they were sure of a Tornado, by the Help of which, at last, they got fairly into the true North-East Trade; and, with a good, cheerful Gale, held their Course about North North-West, till, July the first, when being in thirteen Degrees, nine-^cteen Minutes, North, their Ship sprung a Leak. Finding she made more Water than their Pumps could discharge, they were under no small Apprehensions, being so far from Land, and having no Ship in Company: However, the Captain, after a diligent Search, at last discovered a small Leak close-up by her Stern, about a Foot under-Water. It being impossible to come-at it on the Outside, on account of the Ship's dipping or pitching under Water, they removed Part of the Cargo, which raised her Bow a little higher out of the Sea, and consequently eased the Leak.

HOWEVER, as it still increased slowly upon them, they resolved to bear away before the Wind, which they found much relieved the Strain the Ship laboured under, when close hauled; so that they could just keep her at a Par, and discharge the Water with both Pumps as fast as it came-in. They then consulted what was best to be done, and, according to the Captain's Proposal, agreed to bear away for the *West-Indies*, for they were then in the North-East Trade Wind; so that being in the Latitude before mentioned a westerly Course would carry them directly on to *Barbados*. Their Distance, by Computation, was near seven hundred Leagues: A long Way for a sinking Ship to run! However, they resolved to do their best to keep her above-Water as long as possible; and, for that End,

Voyage to
Guinea.

Ship sprung
a Leak.

Gross the
Ocean.

^a Smith's Travels, p. 190, & seqq.
^b p. 238, & seqq.

^c By Way of Forfeit, or Sea-Baptism.

^c The same, assigned

1727.
Smith.

assigned each other their respective Employments: The Captain and Mate were to take the Helm four Hours by Turns; one Mr. Wheeler and the Author were to take Turns to dress the Victuals, and make hot Punch for the Men at the Pump, who were allowed three half Pints each, every Watch, or four Hours, to keep-up their Spirits; for which End the Sailors were divided into two Watches. Two little black Boys assisted Wheeler and Smith in the Cookery, and to make the Fires, lay the Cloth, &c.

Much distressed

AFTER they had been nine or ten Days in this Extremity, their Men grew discouraged with excessive Labour, and some began to murmur in a despairing Manner, though they had every Day fresh Provisions killed for them: But they endeavoured to hearten them as well as they could by the Hopes of soon seeing Barbados. Their Yawl, which was a good, large, five-Hand Boat, was on Deck, but their Long-Boat having been stowed between Decks, several were desirous of having her brought-up, and the Sails, Masts, and Oars put aboard her and the Yawl; also all other Necessaries, such as Compasses, Provisions, Water, &c. to be ready to take their Boats in Case of the Worst: Others were very much against the Proposal, fearing some of their Men, who were now grown desperate, would take Advantage of the Night to run-away with the Long-Boat and leave the rest; which must have been attended with the Loss of the Ship, it requiring all Hands to pump. In this Distress all their curious foreign Animals died, for want of proper Attendance.

Arrived at Barbados.

JULY the sixteenth, three of their Men, who had the Larboard-Watch from four o'Clock till eight, fainted away at the Pumps, and were carried like dead Men off the Deck; which occasioned the Starboard Watch to be called, before the Bell rang for eight. This brought Horror and Confusion in all their Faces. However, Mr. Smith had provided some Breakfast; and, as they were eating it, one of the Men at the Pumps leaped-up, and cried as loud as he could, Land! Land! running about, like a Madman, for Joy. On this, neglecting their Food, they looked-out sharp and plainly saw the Land, the most agreeable Prospect they had ever beheld. This was July the sixteenth, at nine in the Morning, and proved to be the Isle of Barbados. At four in the Afternoon, they anchored in Carlisle Bay, which was then full of Ships. The same Night Thomas Leake, Esq; the Royal African-Company's Agent there, came-off to relieve their weary Men at the Pumps; and the next Morning Mr. Smith went ashore to Mr. Leake's House. Soon after he was introduced, by his Friend Dr. Warren, to his Excellency Governor

Worsley, who invited him to Dinner; but the Entertainment was spoiled by an Express, which brought the News of his late Majesty's Death.

MEAN Time, on the seventeenth, their Ship was hauled along-Side of a Hull which lay in the Bottom of the Bay; and while some were employed in unloading the Goods into the Hull, in order to heave her down and search her Bottom, the rest kept both Pumps continually at Work, which were now scarce able to keep her above-b Water, though she lay motionless in a smooth Bay.

WHILE Captain Livingstone, Mr. Leake, and some other Gentlemen, were one Day aboard, the Men pumped-out a small, half-consumed, young Dolphin, without either Head or Tail, being about three Inches and an half long; which the Captain put into Spirits of Wine to bring home, being assured this little Fish had lain some Time in the Leak, and kept-out many Tons of Water, to which they owed the Preservation of their Lives. In heaving the Ship down, Keel out of Water, they discovered a large gaping Leak within two Streaks of her Keel, where she had left about four Foot of her Sheathing. They stripped-off all the rest from that Side of her Bottom, but found no Leak of any Signification, till they had stripped the other Side, when they found a few small ones. Her Plank was all sound and good, nor did her Seams want any Oakum, except about seven Inches, where the Piece of Sheathing was lost. The Captain not thinking it necessary to new sheath her, had her only well caulked and her Bottom payed with a good Coat of Pitch.

THUS fitted, August the eighteenth, they left Barbados, and when they had crossed the North-East Trade, and come into the Way of the variable Winds, in Latitude twenty-nine Degrees, North, they met with brisk Gales at West and South-West, which carried them at the Rate of nine or ten Knots, or Miles, an Hour. September the twenty-second, they came into Soundings of fine Sand, eighty Fathom. The twenty-fifth, they made the Lizard, and, with a smart Gale at South-West, came-up the Channel. At Day-break, on the twenty-sixth, they were abreast of the Isle of Wight, when the Wind changed to South-East, and blew so hard, they were obliged to bear away for Portsmouth; and though they hung out a Wiff and fired three Guns, yet no Pilot-Boat would venture-off: However, their chief Mate being well-acquainted with the Channel, undertook to carry-in the Ship, which he safely performed, and, at eleven o'Clock, they anchored in Portsmouth Harbour, September the twenty-sixth, 1727, from whence the Author came to London.

* Smith's Voyage, p. 267, & seqq.

1724.
Lambe.

SECT. V.

Mr. Bullfinch Lambe's LETTER, to Governor Tinker, concerning the King of Dahomey.

King of Dahomey: His Riches: Views of settling Trade: Fond of white Men: Kindness to Lambe, and a Portuguese: Fond of little Dogs, Paper-Kites, and other Toys: Wants a white Mistress. A Mulatto Concubine. Conquest of Ardrah. Terrible Carnage. Lambe put in a great Fright.

From the great King Truro Audati's Palace, of Abomey, in the Kingdom of Dahomey, November the twenty-seventh, 1724.

S I R,

King of
Dahomey.

ABOUT five Days ago, the King gave me yours of the first Instant, and immediately required me to answer it in his Presence, which I did.——As to the late Conference I had with his Majesty, on receiving your Letter, I think he does not want to make a Price to let me go; for, when I pressed him much to tell me on what Terms he would send me away, his Answer still was, That he did not want to sell me, I was not a black Man: But, on pressing him again, he made a Sort of jesting Demand, to the Sum of seven hundred Slaves, which, at fourteen Pound a Head, amount to ten thousand Pound Sterling. This ironical Way of talking, as I told him, made my Blood run cold in my Veins. On my recovering myself, I asked him, if he took me for the King of my Country? Adding, that you and the Company would think both he and I had lost our Senses, if I should write any thing like what he said. Upon this he laughed, and bid me not put any Thing of that Sort in the Letter, for he would order his head Captain of Trade to treat with you on that Subject; and that if you had not something very fine for him at *Whidah*, you must write to the Company.

His Riches.

In Answer, I told him, that I found I was to die in his Country, and would only send for a few Cloaths and Necessaries, which I desired he would let his People bring for me, and he agreed to it: So that I do not find there is any other Way of redeeming me, than by the Company's sending him a Present of a Crown and Scepter, which must be paid for, out of what remains due to the late King of *Ardrah*. I know nothing else but what he will think mean, being stocked with great Quantities of Plate, wrought Gold, and other rich Things; as also, all Sorts of fine

a Gowns, Cloaths, Hats, Caps, &c. He has likewise all Sorts of common Goods beyond Measure, and gives away *Bugis* like Dirt, and Brandy like Water; for he is prodigious vain and proud: But he is withal the richest King and greatest Warrior in this Part of the World, and you may depend on it, in Time, will subdue most of the Countries round him. He has already set his two chief Palaces round with Mens Skulls, as thick as they can lie on the Walls by one another, and are such as he has killed in War. Each of these Palaces are, in Circumference, larger than *St. James's Park*, about a Mile and an half round.

1724.
Lambe.

He talks much of settling a Correspondence with the Company, and of having white Men come here; which you must encourage him in, and tell him, that the Way to do it will be to send me away: For he says, he wants Ships to come to some Place, only for his Slaves, and bring such Things as are only fit for such a King as he. To all this I gave him the Hearing, and if you humour him in it, it may be a great Means to help me out of this wretched State. I hope my royal Masters will take my Case into Consideration, and think of the long and many Sufferings I have had in their Service, and what a miserable Condition I am still in; as it were banished all the Pleasures of this Life, not only from my Wife and other Friends, but all Conversation in general: So that I am like one buried alive from the World, and think nothing can come near my unhappy Fate, to lose my Time and spend my Youth, for nothing, in such a cursed Place as this.

THIS King is very willing I should have Letters come to me, or any Thing else; and will scorn to keep any Thing from me, if it were twenty Slaves. Neither do I believe he would detain any white Man, who should come here, except me, whom he deems a Captive taken in his Wars. He sets a great Value on me, as never having had a white Man here before; only an old *Mulatto Portuguese*, whom he bought of the *Papo* People, at the Rate of five hundred Pounds, as near as I could compute. And, though this white Man is his Slave, yet the King keeps him like a great *Kabashir*, and has given him two Houses, and a Heap of Wives and Servants. It may be, once in two or three Months, (being a Taylor by Trade) he mends some Trifle or other for his Majesty, but after a bungling Manner: So that if any Taylor, Carpenter, Smith, or any Sort of white Man, that is free, be willing to come here, he will meet with good Encouragement, be much caressed, and get Money; provided he can be contented with this Life

1724.

Lambe.

Kindness to
Lambe,

for a Time, his Majesty paying every body ex-
travagantly that works for him.

THIS might, likewise, be one Means of inducing him to let me go, under a Promise of returning to trade with him; but, at present, he says, if I go, he does not know whether he shall see any more white Men, thinking they add to his Grandeur: If, therefore, any Fellow whatsoever comes-up and goes-down again, he will be possessed with a Notion that more white Men will come, and so will let me go, in order to encourage their Coming; or if my Servant, *Henry Tench*, be at *Whidaw*, and is willing to come to me, it may be, in Time, much for his Interest; for, being a Boy, the King will be entirely fond of him. Though I do nothing for him, he has put me into a House and given me half a Dozen Men and Women Servants, also a constant Support to maintain myself and them. If I loved Brandy, I might soon kill myself, having enough of that; also of Sugar, Flour, and the like: And when he kills Oxen, which is often, I am sure of a Quarter, and sometimes a live Hog, Sheep, or Goat; so that I shall not starve: And when he comes out in public, the *Portuguese* and I are called to sit all Day in the Sun, only our Boys are permitted to hold our *Kideysols*, or Umbrellas, over our Heads; but then he pays us pretty well for it, sometimes giving us two, sometimes three or four *Grand Kabes*, and a large Flask of Brandy to drink there, besides one or two more for each to carry home.

And a *Portuguese*.

THUS the *Portuguese* and I endeavour to live as well as we can, and think it enough if we can keep up our Hearts. But I, being weary of my wretched Life, some Time ago requested his Majesty to put me into the Hands of his great Captain of War, or General, and give me a Horse, and allow me to go to War. To this he would, by no Means agree, saying, he did not want me to be killed, for he should anon find other Business for me, wherefore he would have me be easy and sit and see what he does; the Meaning of which, at present, I do not understand. My going to War was likewise opposed by the General, who alledged, if I should be killed, it might bring a *Pullaver* on his Head, and make the King angry with him for being the Occasion of it. However, his Majesty ordered me a Horse, and told me when he went out I should go with him, which he often does in a fine Hammock, with gilt Awnings and Curtains.

He likewise often adjourns to some other of his Palaces, which are some Miles distant from hence, and in Number, as I am informed; eleven.

As it is very uneasy to ride a bare Horse, I pray you will not fail to send me an old Furniture, with Spurs and Whip. The King has likewise desired me to write to you for the best Horse Furniture that is to be got at *Whidaw*, and he will pay your Demand for it; likewise a little *English Dog*, and a Pair of Shoe-Buckles: And if you think well of it, you may charge them to me, with the following Things, both for the King and myself; being assured that even a trifling Present will not only be acceptable from me, but very much increase my Interest, whether I stay or go. I therefore beg you will not fail to send me what is to be gotten of them, which may not only mend my unhappy State, but make his Majesty conclude there is no thought of ransoming me, and so send me home in some of his Whims.

I HOPE you will not scruple sending whatever I write for, not having received any Salary or Diet Money since I have been in *Guinea*. Nor would I have you admire at my sending for so many Things, seeing his Majesty has ordered another House to be built for me, at a Town he mostly resorts to, when he is preparing for War: This fills me with melancholy Thoughts; for it looks as if I was not to go-out of this Captivity speedily.

If you approve of my agreeing for any Slaves with the King, you must talk to his Servants about it and send me a Mark; for while I am here, I am willing to do the Company all the Service I can: But then I must have a Specie of all Sorts of Goods, marked and numbered with the Rates to prevent Mistakes. His Majesty has gotten from me the greater Part of the Paper, having a Notion in his Head of a Kite; which though I told him was only fit for Boys to play withal, yet he says I must make one, for him and me to play with: So I beg you will send me two Quire of ordinary Paper, and some Twine for that Use, and a Skain of Match; his Majesty sometimes requiring me to fire his great Guns, and I am much in fear of losing my Eyes by the Splinters. He has twenty-five Cannon, some of which are above a thousand Pound Weight: So that a Man would think the Devil helped to bring them here, this Place being above two hundred Miles distant from *Whidaw*,

* A *Kabe* is equal, in Value, to our Pound Sterling.

See *Smith's Voyage to Guinea*, p. 171, & seq.

and several Things omitted in the Original.

The Note here says, thirty-two Pounds, which is the Value of a Mark of Gold; but I apprehend, the Meaning of the Word *Mark* here, is a Token, or Commission, to shew the King he was impowered to treat on that Head; or else, a Mark, such as is put upon Goods.

^b This *Portuguese* is mentioned hereafter by

^d He wrote for two Chests of his,

^c The Note here says, thirty-two Pounds, which is the Value of a Mark of Gold; but I apprehend, the Meaning of the Word *Mark* here, is a Token, or Commission, to shew the King he was impowered to treat on that Head; or else, a Mark, such as is put upon Goods.

1724.
Lambe.And other
Toys.Wants a
white
Mistress.A Mulatto
Concubine.Largest of
Ardrah.

and at least an hundred and sixty from *Ardrah*, a thinking ever to see any Thing like it in this Part of the World: I shall, therefore, conclude my Letter with a short Account of that War, of which I was an Eye-Witness, and from which I saved nothing in the World but what I had on my Back, and narrowly escaped perishing in the Flames; as I must have done, with many hundreds more; had not a Man hauled me over the Wall of old *Blanco's* House, in which I was shut-up, as soon as the Cry of War came. Were it not for that Misfortune, I might have had a Chance to escape. This, I suppose, the King of *Ardrah* and old *Blanco* were afraid of, which made them send to secure me: However, that House being the first which the *Dahomeys* set Fire to in the Town, I got-out soon enough to be a melancholy Spectator of the ensuing Desolation. Presently after, they carried me through the Town to the King's House, where the *Dahomey* General was; and, though he was in a great Hurry and flushed with Victory, he took me kindly by the Hand and gave me a Dram, which was some Comfort to me, though I knew not who he was. At first I took him for the King of *Ardrah's* Brother, although then I admired at his Face being cut^b, and the House being in Flames; but I soon understood who he was.

He much affects scrawling on Paper, often sending me his Letters: But then he sends an Interpreter, with a good Flask of Brandy and a *Grand Kabes* or two. If there is any cast-off Mistress, either White or Mulatto, that can be persuaded to come to this Country, either to be his Wife, or else practise her old Trade, I should gain his Majesty's Heart by it; and he would credit any Thing I say about my going and returning with more white Men from the Company. No Woman that comes need fear his using Compulsion, having, at least, two thousand Wives. These he maintains beyond any black King; and suffers them to do nothing, but for his own Use in his House, or Palace, which is as big as a small Town. When an hundred and sixty, or two hundred of them go with little Pots for Water, they one Day wear rich Silk Waistcoats, another Day scarlet Cloaths, with three or four large Strings of Coral round their Necks, and their Leaders sometimes in crimson, green, or blue Velvet Cloaths, with Silver-gilt Staffs in their Hands like Gold Canes.

WHEN I came here first, the *Portuguese* had a Mulatto Girl, whom his Majesty used with a great deal of good-Manners, continually giving her Presents. She had two Women and a Girl to wait on her, but dying of the Small-Pox, he is earnest for more to come, and says, no white Body shall ever want any Thing he can purchase for Gold. He likewise gives great Encouragement to black Strangers, and is extremely kind to some *Malay* People^a now here.

THIS Country is very healthy, lying so very high, and is daily refreshed with fine cool breezes. It is likewise extremely pleasant, having all *Great Popo* in View, though at a vast Distance, nor are we pestered with Musketo.

I hope I shall have a better Opportunity to describe the Power and Grandeur of this victorious King; which has often surprized me, not

Part of the World: I shall, therefore, conclude my Letter with a short Account of that War, of which I was an Eye-Witness, and from which I saved nothing in the World but what I had on my Back, and narrowly escaped perishing in the Flames; as I must have done, with many hundreds more; had not a Man hauled me over the Wall of old *Blanco's* House, in which I was shut-up, as soon as the Cry of War came. Were it not for that Misfortune, I might have had a Chance to escape. This, I suppose, the King of *Ardrah* and old *Blanco* were afraid of, which made them send to secure me: However, that House being the first which the *Dahomeys* set Fire to in the Town, I got-out soon enough to be a melancholy Spectator of the ensuing Desolation. Presently after, they carried me through the Town to the King's House, where the *Dahomey* General was; and, though he was in a great Hurry and flushed with Victory, he took me kindly by the Hand and gave me a Dram, which was some Comfort to me, though I knew not who he was. At first I took him for the King of *Ardrah's* Brother, although then I admired at his Face being cut^b, and the House being in Flames; but I soon understood who he was.

WHEN we went out, there was scarce any Stirring for Bodies without Heads; and had it rained Bloody, it could not have lain thicker on the Ground. When Night came-on, I walked among Crowds of People, with the General, to the Camp. Here, after giving me two or three Drams, he left me in Charge with one of the petty Captains of War, who was very kind and careful of me. The next Day they brought me one of my Boys, who was Captain *Blanco's* Son; but he being so mortally wounded in the Head that his Brains might be seen, was not able to let me know what they said. Two Days after, the General called me to sit with him and his Captains while they counted the Slaves, by giving each a *Buji*; the Number amounting to upwards of two *Grand Kabes*, which made eight thousand Slaves. Among these I saw two more of my Boys, one wounded in the Knee, the other in the Thigh. This Accident gave me an Opportunity of a little more Talk with the General, who endeavoured to hearten me; calling for a Flask of Brandy, he drank to me, and bid me keep the rest. He likewise offered me some Pieces of Chints, *Stettas*, &c. which I, having no Use for, refused; telling them, if they found amongst their Plunder any Shirts or Cloths, I should be thankful for them, being, as you may suppose, very dirty.

THE People to whom my Servants were Cap-

^a Of these *Malays*, both *Marchais* and *Snelgrave* give an Account, as will be seen hereafter.

^b Or

Introduction. tives would never permit them to come to me, unless they were with them: However, the General bid me not be uneasy at that in the least, for nothing should hurt me till I saw the King his Master, who would receive me kindly, as indeed he did. The General gave me a *Kidesfol*, (or Umbrella) and a Hammock to carry me up the Country, which I gladly accepted.

Mr. Lambe's *Fright.* HAVING seen so many Cruelties committed on the Bodies of old Men and Women, and such as could not travel on Account of their Wounds and Burns, &c. I could not but be under Apprehensions, particularly the first Morning they led me out, as I imagined, to sacrifice me, with a Drum beating a Sort of dead March before me, and many Hundreds gathered round me, jumping and roaring enough to rend the Skies. Many had drawn-Swords and Knives in their Hands, which they flourished about me, as if ready for Execution. While I was calling upon God to have Mercy on me, the General sent Orders to the petty Captain of War to bring me to him, being then retired about two Miles from

the Camp. His Orders were quickly obeyed, and I brought to him, which put an End to my Fears. *Snelgrave.*

I SHOULD have given you an Account of my Introduction to the King, had not his Majesty sent this Minute in a Hurry to me for this Letter, which I cannot have Time either to copy or correct, as I intended. I therefore hope you will pardon Tautology, and all other Faults, and am, &c.

Yours,

Bullfinch Lambe.

MR. LAMBE continued with the King of *Dahomé* about two Years, and at last his Majesty, on a Promise of his returning with more white Men, sent him away well enriched^a, being worth an hundred Slaves^b. *Lambe* made but a short Stay at *Whidaw*, before he embarked for *America*. Mr. Smith saw him after at *Barbados*^c.

C H A P. VII.

A new ACCOUNT of some Parts of Guinea and the Slaves-Trade, in 1730.

By Captain William Snelgrave.

INTRODUCTION.

Account of the Book.

THIS Account of *Guinea* is printed in Octavo, and contains two hundred and eighty-eight Pages. It has besides a Dedication of two Pages, a Preface of four, and an Introduction of fourteen. To it is prefixed a Map of the Coast of *Guinea* from the River *Sanaga* to Cape *Lopez*: But it has no Cuts nor Index. It is divided into three Books, the Contents of which are expressed in the Title^d.

It is dedicated to the Merchants of *London*, trading to the Coast of *Guinea*, as they were the best Judges of the Truth of his Relation, and

he had been known many Years to most of them, some of whom had approved of his Manuscript.

In the Preface he prepares the Reader's Mind, for the better Reception of his Narrations, by obviating the Prejudices that might arise from the Account he gives of human sacrifices, and of Canibals: Observing, as to the first, that they are no new Things in the World, since it is recorded of the *Mexicans* in particular, that they annually sacrificed to their Gods a great Number of their Enemies taken in War. Secondly, as to Man-eating, which seems most incredible, he

^a He gave him three hundred and twenty Ounces of Gold, or one thousand two hundred and eighty Pounds, and eight Slaves. *Snelgrave*, p. 67.

^b This, reckoning Slaves at twenty Pounds per Head, is two thousand Pounds.

^c *Smith's Voyage*, p. 180, & seq.

^d The Title-Page runs thus: A New

Account of some Parts of *Guinea*, and the Slave-Trade: containing, First, The History of the late Conquest of the Kingdom of *Whidaw* by the King of *Dahomé*. The Author's Journey to the Conqueror's Camp, where he saw several Captives sacrificed, &c. Secondly, The Manner how the Negroes become Slaves. The Number of them yearly exported from *Guinea* to *America*. The Lawfulness of that Trade. The Mutinies among them on board the Ships where the Author has been, &c. Thirdly, A Relation of the Author's being taken by Pirates, and the many Dangers he underwent. By Captain William Snelgrave. London: Printed for James, John, and Paul Knapton, at the Crown in Ludgate-Street. 1734.

1730. says (that besides the *Dahomies*, whom he speaks of in his Book) it is practised by a People called *Acquas*, on the River of *Old Kallabar*, and amongst the *Kamerones* adjoining; Captain *Arthur Lome*, then in *London*, and others, having seen the same as well as himself.

Vouchers for Facts. As to the Story in general of the King of *Dahomé*, he names for Vouchers, *Jeremiah Tinker*, Esq; Governor *Wilson*, and others, who had formerly resided at *Whidaw* for the *African-Company*, and were likewise then in *Town*, and knew a great Part of it. He refers himself also to *Charles Dunbar*, Esq; of *Antigua*, who there bought of him the *Negro-Woman* so remarkable for her Story, the Truth of which the had often confirmed.

THE second Book was drawn-up for a Friend's Satisfaction, who had objected against the Lawfulness of the *Slave-Trade*.

AND for the Truth of the third, he appeals to Mr. *James Bleau*, who was then his Surgeon, and when the Book was published lived in good Repute at *Woodford*.

To these three Subjects the Author wholly confines himself, without giving any Account of *Guinea*, or of the Manners, Customs and Trade of the *Negros*: For that he refers his Readers to *Bosman's Description*, which, he says, is the most perfect History we have of that Country; and that whatever is mentioned therein, he (so far as his Observations reached) found to be true.

Extent of Guinea.

THE Introduction was drawn-up to give the Reader a general View of the Trade of *Guinea*, and account for the *Europeans* having so little Knowledge of the inland Countries. According to him, *Guinea* extends from *Cape de Verde* to *Angola*, the River *Kongo* being the farthest Place where the *English* carry-on their Trade; which has been so improved since the last *French War*, that though, in 1712, there went only thirty-three Ships to that Coast, yet, in 1725, it was resorted to by two hundred Sail.

THE Author had traded for near seven hundred Leagues along this Coast, from *Sherbera* River to *Cape Lope Gonsalon*. This Space he divides into four Parts: The first, called the *Windward Coast*, about two hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, from that River to the River *Ankober* near *Asim*. On this Coast there is no Settlement or Factory of any *European Nation*; and Trade is carried-on by the *Natives* making a Smoke on Shore as a Signal for Ships to anchor, which they visit in Canoes with their Commodities: Unless when some Affront has been offered them, by forcibly carrying away the Traders. This, says the Author, to the great Scandal

Negro-stealing Villainy.

both of *English* and *French*, hath too often been done, under some slight Pretence of having received an Injury from them: And this, adds he, hath put a Stop to the Commerce, of the particular Place where it hath happened, for a long Time; and innocent People, who have come there to trade in small Vessels, have suffered for their Countrymen's Villainy, several in his Time having been surprized by the *Natives*, and the People destroyed out of Revenge.

THE second Part extends from *Ankober-River* to *Akra*, about fifty Leagues. This Part is called the *Gold-Coast*, and full of *English* and *Dutch Factories*.

THE third Part reaches from *Akra* to *Jaquin*, about sixty Leagues, in which Spaces there are Factories only at *Whidaw* and *Jaquin*.

THE last Part from *Jaquin* to the Bay of *Benin*, and so round to the *Kallabars*, *Kamerones*, and *Cape Lopez*, extends three hundred Leagues; in which long Tract there is no *European Settlement*.

ALONG the first Division of the Coast, *Europeans* are shy of venturing on Shore, the *Natives* being very barbarous and uncivilized. The Author, in the few Places he landed at, could never obtain any satisfactory Account of the inland Parts; nor did he ever meet with a white Man, who ever had been or durst venture himself up the Country; and believes, if any had attempted it, the *Natives* would have destroyed them out of a Jealousy, that they designed to make Discoveries to their Prejudice.

ALTHOUGH the *Gold-Coast* *Negros* be more civilized by their Converse with *Europeans*, yet their Policy does not suffer any white Men to go-up into the Country. Moreover, the inland People are very jealous of those *Negros* who are under the Protection of the Factories: So that the Account, which the Author received from both when at Peace, (which brought the former to the Sea-Side) seemed so fabulous and contradictory, that it could not be depended on: For the *Negros* are very apt to impose on *Whites*.

THE same may be said with regard to the third Division of the Coast, for till the Conquest of *Whidaw* and *Jaquin* by the King of *Dahomé*, little could be learned of the inland Parts; no white Man having been permitted to go beyond the Kingdom of *Ardrab*, which is about fifty Miles from the Sea-Side.

THE People within the fourth Division are rather more barbarous than those belonging to the first; so that little Information can be expected from that Quarter.

THE Author finishes his Introduction with two remarkable Instances of the Use of human

Introduction. Sacrifices, at *Old Kallabar*: The first in the Year 1704, where *Jabru*, the King of the Place, being sick, he caused, by the Advice of his Priests, a young Child, about ten Months old, to be sacrificed to his God for his Recovery. Captain *Snelgrave* saw the Child, after it was killed, hung-up on the Bough of a Tree, with a live Cock tied near it, as an Addition to the Ceremony.

In his last Voyage to this Place, in 1713, he had the good Fortune to save a Child from being sacrificed, as the other had been. *Akqua*, the chief King or Lord of that Country, (for there are several petty Princes on *Kallabar-River*) came on board to see the Ship, and hear the Music. Having been highly pleased with his Entertainment, he invited the Captain on Shore. *Snelgrave* in a few Days went; but as he knew his People to be fierce, brutish Canibals, yet afraid of Fire-Arms, he took ten Sailors and his Gunner as a Guard. On his Landing, he was conducted about a Quarter of a Mile from the Sea-Side, where he found the King sitting on a Stool, under shady Trees: Another being placed by his Side, which he was desired to sit on. The King did not speak one Word, or move in the least, till he was sat down; but then he had him welcome, and enquired after his Health. The Captain did the same, having first paid his Respects by bowing and taking-off his Hat. There were many of his Courtiers present, and about fifty of his Guard stood at a little Distance, armed with Bows and Arrows, a Sword by their Side, and a barbed Lance in their Hand. The *English* ranged themselves opposite to them, at the Distance of about twenty Paces.

Refutes another. AFTER presenting the King with some Things, which, though trifling, he seemed highly delighted with, he saw a little Negro tied by the Leg to a Stake driven in the Ground, the Flies and Vermin crawling on him, and two Priests standing by. The Captain, surprized at this Sight, asked the King, "What was the Reason of the Child's being tied in that Manner?" He replied, "It was to be sacrificed that Night to his God *Egbo*, for his Prosperity." Moved at the Hearing of this, he called (too hastily, he owns) to one of his People to take the Child from the Ground, in order to preserve him. Upon this one of the King's Guard advanced towards the Man, in a threatening Posture, with his Lance; and *Snelgrave* fearing he would run him through, drew a small Pistol out of his Pocket, at Sight of which the King rose from his Stool in a Fright: But the Captain bid the Linguist tell him, that "he would offer

a "no Injury to him or his, provided he ordered his Guard not to attack the *English*."

THIS he readily complied with, and all Things being quiet, *Snelgrave* expostulated with the King, for breaking the Laws of Hospitality, in permitting one of his Guard to threaten his Man with a Lance." To this the King replied, "That the Captain had not done well in ordering his Man to seize the Child, as being his Property." This the other acknowledged, but excused it on Account of his Religion; which, though it did not allow of forcibly taking away what belonged to another, yet forbids so horrid a Thing as putting a poor innocent Child to Death; and that this, instead of a Blessing, would certainly bring on him the Curse of the Most High God, whom white Men adored." The Captain added, "That the grand Law of human Nature was, to do to others as we desired to be done unto."

SNELGRAVE urged many other Arguments, and at the same Time offering to pay him for the Child, the King readily accepted it, and to his Surprise, only asked a Bunch of Sky-coloured Beads, worth about half a Crown. The Author expected he would have demanded at least ten Times the Value; because the Negros, from the King to the Trader, are ready on any extraordinary Occasion to make their Advantage of *Europeans*. After this, the Captain treated his Majesty with Victuals and Liquors brought on Shore. He then took his Leave, the King expressing himself well pleased with the Visit, and promising to go on board again.

It happened, that the Day before the Author went to see the King, he had purchased the Mother of the Child above-mentioned, though he did not then know it; and at that Time, the Surgeon observing that she had much Milk in her Breasts, *Snelgrave* enquired of the Person who brought her on board, whether she had a Child when he bought her from the inland-Trader; to which he answered in the Negative.

BUT no sooner was the Child handed into the Ship, than this poor Woman espying it, ran with great Eagerness and snatched it out of the white Man's Arms who held him. The Captain thinks there never was a more moving Sight than upon this Occasion, between the Mother and her little Son, (who was a fine Boy about eighteen Months old) especially when the Linguist told her, that the Captain had saved her Child from being sacrificed. No sooner was the Story known among the Negros on board, than they expressed their Thankfulness by clapping their Hands, and sing-

* For it is to be noted, that the Negro-Women generally suckle their Children till they are above two Years old.

1727. ing a Song in the Author's Praise. This Thing a
Snelgrave proved of great Service to the Ship's Crew, for
 it gave the Blacks a good Notion of white Men;
 so that though they were three hundred in all,
 they made no Mutiny during the whole Voyage.

THE Author went from *Old Kallabar* to the
 Island of *Antigua*, where his Cargo was sold;
 and on telling this remarkable Story to one Mr.
Studely, he bought the Mother and her Son, to
 whom he proved a kind Master.

SECT. I.

A VOYAGE to *Whidaw*, with an Account of the
 Destruction of that KINGDOM, in 1727.

*Arrival at Whidaw: Its flourishing State: Ruined
 by Luxury. The King's Effeminacy. Conquest
 of Ardra, by the King of Dahomé. Account
 of Bullfinch Lambe. Whidaw invaded and
 conquered. Snakes worshipped there. The Victor's
 Policy. Sabi the Capital taken. Governors
 Duport and Tinker seized; but soon released.
 Jaquin the Port of Ardra. The Governor sub-
 mits. Snelgrave invited by the King of Da-
 homé to his Camp.*

*Arrival at
 Whidaw.*

THE latter End of March, 1726-7, Cap-
 tain *Snelgrave* arrived with the *Katharine*-
 Gally in the Road of *Whidaw*, whither he had
 made several Voyages. Having landed, he went
 to the *English Fort*, which is about three Miles
 from the Sea-Side, and not far from the *French
 Fort*. This Country had been invaded and de-
 stroyed by the King of *Dahomé* about three
 Weeks before his Arrival, and the People of the
European Factories carried with the Natives into
 Slavery. It was dreadful to behold the Defola-
 tion, which was brought, upon so fine and popu-
 lous a Country, by Fire and Sword. The Car-
 nage of the Inhabitants was, above all, a most
 moving Spectacle, the Fields being strewed with
 their Bones. The white Prisoners had returned
 to their Forts but a few Days before his Arrival,
 and from them he received the following Ac-
 count of this strange Revolution.

*Its flourish-
 ing State.*

THE Author begins his Narration with the
 State of the Country of *Whidaw* before this De-
 solation.

THE Sea-Coast of this Kingdom lies in Lat-
 itude six Degrees forty Minutes North. *Sabi**,
 the chief Town of the Country, is situate about

seven Miles from the Sea-Side. Here were the
European Factories. The Road was a free Port
 for all Nations; and it was computed, that above
 two thousand Negros were yearly exported thence
 and from the neighbouring Places by the *English,
 French, Dutch, and Portuguese*; and that the
 People were so civilized by this Commerce, that
 it was a Pleasure to deal with them. The greatest
 Inconvenience they suffered was, the Thievery
 of the common Sort, who were very dexterous
 and bold in that Practice: Though if taken in
 the Fact, they become Slaves to the Person
 robbed.

*Conquest of
 Whidaw.*

By the Custom of Polygamy, (it being usual
 for a great Man to have some Hundreds of Wives
 and Concubines) the Land was become so stocked
 with People, that the whole Country appeared
 full of Towns and Villages; and being a very
 rich Soil, and well cultivated, it looked like an
 entire Garden. A long flourishing Trade had
 likewise greatly enriched the People, by which
 Means they grew luxurious and so effeminate,
 that though they could have brought at least
 an hundred thousand Men into the Field, yet
 they were driven-out of their principal City by
 two hundred of their Enemies, and at last lost
 their whole Country to a Nation they had for-
 merly contemned.

*Ruined by
 Luxury.*

THE King of *Whidaw* coming to the Crown
 about fourteen Years of Age, the Government
 fell into the Hands of the *Grandeess*; who, by
 indulging his Humour, kept the Power entirely
 to themselves till this Revolution, when he was
 past thirty Years old. He was a very indolent
 and lascivious Prince, having several Thousands
 of Women in his Court, by whom he was served
 in all Capacities, for no other Servants were al-
 lowed to be there^b. This Weakness ended in
 his Ruin; for the *Grandeess* pursuing each his
 particular Interest, became so many Tyrants,
 which divided the People; and so they became
 an easy Prey to their common Enemy, a far in-
 land Prince, the King of *Dahomé*^c. This Prince
 had formerly sent to request of the King of
Whidaw an open Traffic to the Sea-Side, offer-
 ing to pay him his usual Customs on Negros ex-
 ported: Which being refused, he vowed Re-
 venge when Opportunity offered. This Threat
 was so much slighted then at *Whidaw*, that the
 King told the Author soon after, that if the
 King of *Dahomé* should offer to invade him, he
 would not use him when taken according to
 their Custom, which was, to cut-off his Head;

*The King's
 Effeminacy.*

* In the Original, *Sabee*.

^b We find, by *Lambe's Letter*, that his Name was *Truro Audati*, *Labat*
 calls him *Dada* in the Preface to the *Chevalier des Marchais's Voy. en Guinée*.

^c *Dahomé*, or *Dahunay*, lies to the North of the Kingdoms of *Fovwin* and *Ulkimi*, which lies to the North of the Kingdom of *Ardra*.
 See *Labat's Preface*, cited in the Note before. The Invasion happened in 1724.

1727.
Snellgrave.

but would keep him for a Slave to do the vilest Offices.

THE King of *Dahomé* being a politic and courageous Prince, had, in a few Years, conquered towards the Sea-Coast as far as the Kingdom of *Ardrab*, the next inland Country to *Whidaw*, where he thought to remain quiet till he had settled his Conquest: But an Accident soon called him again to Arms, for the King of *Ardrab* having much injured his own Brother, named *Haffar*, the latter sent privately to him, offering a large Sum of Money to revenge for him his Brother's Affronts. This the politic Prince soon listened to; and the King of *Ardrab* discovering the Design upon him, sent News of it to *Whidaw*, begging Assistance: But the latter imprudently refused it, suffering the *Ardrab* Army, of fifty thousand Men, to be totally defeated, and the King himself taken: Soon after which, he was beheaded in the Conqueror's Presence, according to the barbarous Custom of these black Princes.

Account of
Mr. Lambe.

THERE was at that Time, in the Country of *Ardrab*, a white Gentleman, named *Bullfinch Lambe*, who having been sent, by the Governor of the *African-Company's* Settlement at *Jaquin*, on some Business, to the King of *Ardrab*, was detained by him, under Pretence, that the Company owed him for an hundred Slaves formerly sent down to their Factory. The King sent Word also to the Governor, that if he did not forthwith discharge the Debt, he would make Mr. *Lambe* a Slave. This the Governor refusing, *Lambe* remained a Prisoner (but very kindly used) about two Years, till he was taken in this War by the King of *Dahomé*. Being brought into the King's Presence, (who had never before seen a white Man) he was treated very kindly by his Majesty; who soon after gave him an Household, with many Servants, and some of his near Relations for Wives. After he had remained thus near three Years, he was, at his own earnest Desire, dismissed by this Prince, with a noble Present of Gold and Slaves, in order to go for *Europe*. Moreover, the Inhabitants of the Towns and Villages he passed through, in his Way to *Jaquin*, were ordered, by an express Messenger, to shew him all possible Respect, and provide nobly for his Entertainment.

Whidaw invaded,

THIS *Lambe*, as the Author had been told, had always dissuaded the King of *Dahomé* from invading *Whidaw*; as well on Account of the great Numbers of the Inhabitants much used to Fire-Arms, as of the Assistance they would have from the Whites resident and trading there for

their own Interest. But after his Departure, this politic Prince finding by his Spies how much the great Men and People were divided, and that the King was only a Cypher in the Government, marched against them. The first Part of the Country he invaded was the Northernmost, of which a great Lord, named *Appragah*, was hereditary Governor, who forthwith sent to his King for Assistance: But having Enemies at Court, who wished his Destruction, was refused; wherefore, after making some little Resistance, he submitted to the King of *Dahomé*, who received him very kindly.

Conquest of
Whidaw.

THE Conquest of *Appragah* gave the King an easy Entrance into the Heart of the Country: But there he was obliged to halt by a River, which runs about half a Mile to the Northward of the principal Town of the *Whidaws*, called *Sabi*, the Residence of their King. Here the King of *Dahomé* encamped for some Time, not imagining he could have found so easy a Passage and Conquest as he met with afterwards: For the Pass of the River was of such a Nature, that it might have been defended against his whole Army by five hundred resolute Men; but instead of guarding it, these cowardly, luxurious People, thinking the Fame of their Numbers sufficient to deter the *Dahomé*s from attempting it, kept no set Guard. They only went Morning and Evening to the River-Side to make *Fetish*, that is, to offer Sacrifice to their principal God; which was a particular, harmless Snake they adored and prayed to on this Occasion, to hinder their Enemies from passing the River.

THIS Sort of Snake is peculiar to their Country, being of a singular Make, very big in the Middle, rounding in the Back like a Hog, but very small at the Head and Tail, which renders their Motion very slow. Their Colour is Yellow and White, with brown Streaks. They are so harmless, that if they are accidentally trod-on, (for it is a capital Crime to do it wilfully) and bite, no bad Effect ensues; which is one Reason they give for worshipping them. They have likewise an ancient Tradition, that they have always been delivered from any impending Calamity, by imploring the Snake's Assistance. But however this fell-out formerly, it now stood them in no Stead; neither were the Snakes themselves spared after Conquest: For they being in great Numbers, and a Kind of domestic Animals, the Conquerors found many of them in their Houses, which they treated in this Manner: Holding them up by the Middle, they said to them, *If you are Gods, speak and save yourselves*; which the poor

* Snellgrave's new Account, p. 19, and 1, & seq. do those of the same Nation spell the same Word!

° In the Original, *Fetiché*. So differently often

1727. Snakes not being able to do, the *Dahomé*s cut a Snelgrave. their Heads off, ripped them open, broiled them on the Coals, and eat them.

The King's Policy. BUT to return to the King of *Dahomé*: He was so politic as to send to the *Europeans*, then residing at *Whidaw*, to assure them, that if they stood neuter, they should not only receive no Harm, in case he proved Conqueror, but he would remove divers Impositions laid on their Trade by the King of *Whidaw*: On the contrary, if they appeared against him, they must expect his b Resentment. This Message put them to a Dilemma; for they would gladly have retired from *Sabi* to two Mud-walled Forts, belonging to the *English* and *French African-Companies*, which are within three Miles of the Sea-Side. However, finding this would have been resented by the King of *Whidaw*, as a Discouragement to his People, they were obliged to remain in the Town; never suspecting the Inhabitants would have run away in the cowardly Manner they did; c or that they should share the Fate of War with them.

Sabi taken. THE Pass of the River being left without a Guard to the Care of the Snakes, the King of *Dahomé*'s General sent two hundred Men to ford it; which having done without Opposition, they marched towards the Town of *Sabi*, founding their musical Instruments. Hereupon, the King being informed of it by the Out-Guards, who ran into the Town, immediately fled with all his People, making no Resistance; and with a great Number of his Subjects went to an Island on the Sea-Coast, which was parted from the main Land by a River: But a great many, having no Canoes, were drowned in attempting to swim to the Islands lying near *Pepo*, the next Country on the Sea-Coast to the Westward; and many Thousands, who sheltered themselves among the Bushes, perished afterwards by Sword and Famine.

Duport and Tinker seized. THE *Dahomé* Soldiers entering *Sabi*, immediately set Fire to the Palace, and then sent their General Word of their Success; who brought the whole Army over the River, hardly believing his own Eyes. Mr. *Duport*, who was then the *African-Company's* Governor, told the Author, that when the *Dahomé* Soldiers, who had never seen white Men before, came to his House, they stood in Amaze, and would not venture near him, till he beckened and held-out his Hand to them. Whereupon they laid-hold on him, and finding him a Man like themselves in all Respects, except Colour, soon laid-aside their Reverence; and taking from him what he had valuable in his Pockets, made him Prisoner, with

about forty other white Men, *English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese*, who were served in the same Manner. Amongst them was *Jeremiah Tinker*, Esq; who had just before resigned the *African-Company's* Affairs to Mr. *Duport*, and designed to have embarked in a few Days for *England*: But Signor *Pereira*, the *Portuguese* Governor, escaped from *Sabi* to the *French* Fort. Next Day after the Town was taken, the white Prisoners were sent to the King of *Dahomé* in *Ardrab*, about forty Miles off, Hammocks being provided for them, as is usual in this Country.

THEY were brought into the King's Camp, *But soon released.* and separated according to their several Nations; but for some Days badly accommodated, till they obtained an Audience of the King, who excused it by the common Fate and Hurry of War; but promised it should be otherwise for the future. Accordingly, in a few Days, they were set at Liberty without any Ransom, and sent-down to their respective Forts; but could never recover what had been taken from them. The principal Gentlemen were presented with Slaves, and his Majesty assured them, as soon as he had settled his Conquest, he would make Trade flourish, and have a particular Regard to their Interests.

CAPTAIN *Snelgrave* having staid three Days *Jaquin, Part of Ardrab.* on Shore at *Whidaw*, with the *English* and *French*, whom he found in as great Perplexity as himself, he went to the Port or Road of *Jaquin*, which lies about seven Leagues to the Eastward; and has about thirty Miles of Sea-Coast. This Place has always been the Sea-Port to the Kingdom of *Ardrab*, and tributary to it; having an hereditary Governor, who pays his Tribute in Loaves of Salt; of which great Quantities are made here.

As soon as the King of *Dahomé* had conquered *Ardrab*, the Lord of this Place sent his Submission, offering the Tribute which he used to pay the conquered King. This was readily accepted, and (says the Author) shews the Policy of that King: For though he had made a terrible Destruction of the Inhabitants of the Inland Countries he conquered; yet having now obtained his Desires, in gaining a free Passage to the Sea-Side, he judged the *Jaquins* would be very useful to him, because they understood Trade; and that, by their Means, he should never want a Supply of Arms and Gunpowder to carry on his designed Conquests. Moreover, these People had ever been Rivals to the *Whidaws* in Trade; and had an inveterate Hatred against them, because they had drawn almost the whole Trade from the *Jaquins* to their own Country. *The Governor submits.*

1727. For the Pleasantness thereof, with the good Government in former Times, had induced the Europeans to carry on the far greater Part of the Trade at their principal Town of *Sabi*.

APRIL the third, 1727, *Snelgrave* anchored at *Jaquin*, and sent his Surgeon to get a Protection from the Lord of the Place*. Which being granted upon the *Fetish*, or Oath, in the Presence of a French and a Dutch Gentleman, he landed next Day, and went up to Town about three Miles from the Sea, where he was kindly received, and a House appointed him for a Factory.

NEXT Day came one *Buttenoe*, who told him in very good English, that he had been down at *Whidaw* after him, by the King of *Dahomé's* Orders, and was now come to *Jaquin* to invite him up to the Camp, and assure him in his Majesty's Name, that he should be intirely safe in all Respects, and kindly used. *Snelgrave* demurred at first, but being told that might be of bad Consequence, at last resolved to obey the Summons, especially having some Company to go along with him. For a Dutch Captain took it into his Head to go, his Ship being destroyed just before by the Portuguese; and the Dutch chief Factor sent one of his Writers with large Presents to the Conqueror: The Lord of *Jaquin* also dispatched his own Brother with great Presents, to do Homage to the King.

APRIL the eighth, they all passed the River that runs on the back-Side of *Jaquin* in Canoes (having in their Retinue one hundred black Servants) and were conducted by the Messenger. This Man, who had been taken with Mr. *Lambe*, learned English when a Boy, in the Factory at *Whidaw*, so that he was their Interpreter. The People of the Town attended them in great Numbers to the Water-side, praying for their Success; being under terrible Apprehensions for their Safety among such a barbarous People as they were going to. But especially they were highly concerned for the Duke^b, their Lord's Brother, who was a Person endowed with the most amiable Qualities, *Snelgrave* ever met with amongst Persons of his Colour.

SECT. II.

Journey to the King of Dahomé's Camp.

The Author sets out from *Whidaw*. Arrives at the Camp. Capital of *Ardrah* ruined. The Whites well used. Human Sacrifices. Dead Mens Teeth. Audience of the King. His State and Dress. Heaps of Heads. Great

Submission paid him. Two Gormandizers. Effects of Fear. Men and Women, and Children sacrificed. Reasons for so doing. A white Negro. Sacrificed Bodies eaten. Visit to a Portuguese. The I—os invade *Dahomé*; are overcome by Stratagem.

BEING landed on the other Side of the River, they set-out on their Journey, attended by their Servants: Each Gentleman having six Hammock-Men, who relieved one another by Turns, two only being required to carry the Pole, to which it is fastened. They had each also a small Horse to ride on, when weary with lying in the Hammock. They travelled at the Rate of about four Miles an Hour, making frequent Stops for the Baggage-Carriers; for there are neither Carts nor good Horses at *Jaquin*, the few that are to be met with, being little bigger than English Asses. The Roads were good, and the Country appeared beautiful, but desolated by the War: For they saw the Ruins of abundance of Towns and Villages, with a great Quantity of the late Inhabitants Bones strewed about the Fields. This Day they dined under some Cocoa-Trees, on the cold Provisions carried along with them. At Night they lay on the Ground upon Mats, in some sorry Hovels; which not being big enough to hang their Hammocks in, their Servants reposed in the open Air.

NEXT Day they set forward at seven in the Morning, and about nine stopt within half a Mile of the King's Camp; having travelled, as they judged, about forty Miles from *Jaquin*. Here a Messenger meeting them with his Majesty's Compliments, they dressed themselves by his Directions, and advanced near the Camp; where they were received by the King's principal Officer, called the great Captain. The Manner, says the Author, was extraordinary: For he came in the Midst of five hundred Soldiers, who had Fire-Arms, drawn-Swords, Shields and Banners in their Hands; using so many odd and ridiculous Ceremonies, that at first they could not judge whether they meant well or ill. For the great Captain with some of his Officers approached them, with their Swords drawn, flourishing them over their Heads; then pointing them to their Breasts, and skipping and jumping among them, like so many Monkeys. At last, the great Man settling into a sedate Temper, gave them his Hand, welcomed them in the King's Name, and drank to them in Palm-Wine, which is very common in that Country. They pledged to the King's Health, both in Wine and Beer, they had brought with them; after which,

* For he had played some base Tricks with some Europeans.
^c *Snelgrave*, p. 15, & seq.

^b *Quere*, Who gave him that Title?

1727. he conducted them towards the Camp: The Soldiers guarding, and the Music making a dismal Noise before them.

Capital of
Ardrah
ruined.

IN about half an Hour's Time, they arrived at the Camp, which was near a very great ruined Town, late the Capital* of the Kingdom of *Ardrah*. Here the Army lay in Tents, which, according to the Negro Custom, were made of small Boughs of Trees, covered with Thatch, much resembling Bee-Hives, but each big enough to hold ten or twelve Soldiers, who crept in at a Hole in one Side, and lay Heads and Points together. Upon entering the Camp, they were conducted to some large Trees, where Chairs (taken from the *Whidawers*) were brought to sit-down under their Shade, while thousands came crowding about them to see a white Man, a Sight they had never seen before.

The Whites
as all used.

HAVING sat here two Hours, and beheld divers Feats of Activity performed by the Soldiers to divert them, they were conducted to a thatched House prepared for them; where stooping to get in through a low Door, they found Height enough within to hang their Hammocks. After they had stowed their Baggage, the great Man departed, leaving a Guard to prevent any Disturbance from the People; and went to acquaint his Majesty. Presently after, Noon being come, they sat down to Dinner on cold Ham and Fowls they had brought with them. Their Tent was erected in the Middle of a large Court palisadoed round, where the People stood quietly; the King having given Orders, on Pain of Death, that none should come to see them without Leave from their Guard. This was pleasing News, since they found by it that his Majesty had their Safety at Heart. But they were plagued with such an infinite Number of Flies, that though they had Servants with Flappers to keep them off the Victuals, yet it was hardly possible to put a Bit of Meat into their Mouths, without some of these Vermin with it.

Human Sacrifices.

ABOUT three in the Afternoon, a Messenger came from the great Captain, desiring them to go to the King's Gate; where they went, and in the Way saw two large Stages, on which were heaped a great Number of dead Mens Heads. These bred the Flies, which pestered them so much at Dinner. The Interpreter told them, they were the Heads of four thousand *Whidawers*, who had been sacrificed by the *Dahomés* to their God, about three Weeks before, as an Acknowledgment for their Conquest.

THE King's Gate was only an Entrance into a large Court, palisadoed round, having several

Mud-walled Houses in it. Here sitting-down on Stools, an Officer presented them with Cows, Sheep, Goats, and other Provisions; making this Compliment, that as his Majesty was in a Camp, he could not then provide for them better. Having returned Thanks, they went out and were surprised at the Gate with a Sight of forty stout Men, ranked in File, with Fuses on their Shoulders, and broad Swords in their Hands. They had about their Necks Strings of dead Mens Teeth, reaching as low as their Middle, both behind and before, in such Quantities as might furnish all the Barbers Shops in Europe. The Linguist told them, these were Kings, Heros, or Worthies, who were allowed to string and wear their Enemies Teeth, whom they had killed; and he observed to them, that some had more than others, which shewed their Degrees of Worth; since it was Death by their Law, for any one of those Gentlemen to string a Tooth, unless Proof be first made before the proper Officer, that it belonged to an Enemy slain with his own Hand in Battle. *Snelgrave*, by the Linguist, gave his humble Service to them, and said, they were a Company of brave Men: They returned the Compliment, saying, they had a great Esteem for white Men.

Conquest of
Whidaw.

Dead Mens
Teeth.

AFTER this, says the Author, we returned to our Tent, and supped; then hung up our Hammocks, and lay there till Morning, passing this Night much better than the last. The Lord of *Jaquin's* Mother was entertained by the great Captain, that they might not be crowded in their Tent.

NEXT Morning they were introduced to the King. His Majesty was in a large Court palisadoed round, sitting, contrary to the Custom of the Country, on a fine gilt Chair taken from the King of *Whidaw*. Three large Umbrellas were held over his Head by Women, to shade him from the Sun; and four Women more stood behind the Chair of State, with Fusils on their Shoulders. These Women were finely dressed from the Middle downward, (it being the Custom for both Sexes to go naked upwards.) Moreover, they had on their Arms many large *Manillos*, or Rings of Gold of great Value; and round their Necks, and in their Hair, abundance of their Country Jewels. These are a Sort of Beads of divers Colours, brought from a far Inland Country, where they are dug out of the Earth; and in the same Esteem with the Negroes, as Diamonds among the Europeans.

Audience of
the King.

THE King had on a Gown flowered with Gold, which reached as low as his Ancles; and a European embroidered Hat on his Head, with

* *Snel-*

* This Town, whose Name the Author does not mention, is called by others, *Assen*, or *Azem*. *Snelgrave's* new Account, p. 25, & seq.

Sandals

1727. Sandals on his Feet. The Whites were bid to a stand at ten Yards Distance from the King's Chair, who then ordered his Linguist to bid them welcome. On this, they paid him the Respect of the Hat, and bowed very low, as the Interpreter directed them. Then his Majesty assuring *Snelgrave* of his Protection and Kindness, Chairs were brought. Hereupon sitting down, the King drank their Healths, and Liquor being brought, they drank his Majesty's. It happened that Evening there were brought into the Camp above eight hundred Captives from a Country called *Tuffo*, six Days Journey Distance. While the King was reducing the *Whidaw*, these People had attacked five hundred of his Soldiers, sent as a Guard by his Majesty to twelve of his Wives, who were going with a large Quantity of Goods and fine Things, carried by Slaves to the Country of *Dahomé*. The *Tuffos* routing the Guards, slew the Women, and possessed themselves of the Goods. For which Outrage, when the Conquest of *Whidaw* was compleated, the King sent Part of his Army against them, to revenge him for their Villany.

Heaps of
Heads.

THE King now ordered these Captives to be brought into Court, which being accordingly done, he chose himself a great Number out of them, to be sacrificed to his *Fetish* or Guardian Angel; the others being kept Slaves for his own Use, or to be sold to the *Europeans*. The Captives were received from the Soldiers by proper Officers, who paid them the Value of twenty Shillings for every Man, and ten Shillings for a Woman, Boy or Girl, in *Kowris*. The Soldiers brought likewise some thousands of dead Peoples Heads into the Court, hanging on Strings; and as the Officers received them, they paid the Soldiers five Shillings for each. Then several People carrying them away, threw them to a great Heap of Heads that lay near the Camp, with which the Linguist told them, his Majesty designed to build a Monument.

Great Sub-
mission.

ALL the principal Men, both of the Court and Army, then present, were prostrated on the Ground; none being permitted to go nearer than within twenty Foot of the King's Chair. And whatsoever they had to say to his Majesty, first kissing the Ground, they whispered into the Ear of an old Woman, who went to the King, and having received his Answer, returned with it to them. His Majesty presented his Courtiers and Officers with at least two hundred Captives. When the Present was made, a proper Officer made Proclamation of it, which was echoed by the Populace, who were waiting in great Numbers at the King's Gate for the Sacrifices.

AFTER this, there came two Fellows with a large Tub of six Gallons of Frumenty, or such like Stuff; which setting on the Ground, they presently fell on their Knees, and lading it into their Mouths with their Hands, eat it all up in a few Minutes. This, the Linguist said, was daily done to divert the King: But that the Performers did not live long, and were still succeeded by others. Several other Things more ridiculous were acted, too tedious to mention. In viewing which, having staid near three Hours in the Heat of the Sun, they got Leave to retire.

Conquest of
Whidaw.
Two Gar-
mandines.

AFTER Dinner, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaguin*, came to their Tent, in so great a Fright, that his Countenance from a comely Black was changed to a tawny Colour. It seems, in the Way hither he saw a great Number of People going to be sacrificed, whose Moans had put him into this Disorder: For the People on the Sea-Coast abhor such Cruelty, but above all eating the dead Bodies. However, this Character was of great Use to the *Dahomés*; for, when afterwards the Author reproached those of *Whidaw*, for having quitted their Country in a Manner that seemed so cowardly, they said, it was not possible to resist such Canibals, the very Report of which had extremely intimidated their whole Nation: And when he observed, for Argument-Sake, that it was all one to a dead Carcass, whether it was eaten by their own Kind, or by the Vultures (of which there are great Numbers in the Country) they shrugged up their Shoulders, saying, the Thoughts of being eaten by their own Species was far more terrible to them, than the Apprehensions of being killed.

As to the Duke, he seemed to be very doubtful of his own Safety, the King not having admitted him to an Audience: But *Snelgrave* and the Dutch Captain having Leave from the chief *Fetishir*, went to see the Ceremony; which was performed near four small Stages about five Foot from the Ground. The first Victim was a comely old Man between fifty and sixty Years of Age, with his Hands tied behind him. In his Behaviour he shewed a brave and undaunted Mind, nothing like Fear appearing in him. As he stood upright by the Side of the Stage, a *Fetishir*, or Priest, laid his Hands on his Head, muttering some Words of Consecration, which lasted about two Minutes. Then he gave the Sign of Execution to a Man that stood behind the Victim with a broad Sword; who immediately struck him on the Nape of the Neck, and severed the Head from the Body at one Stroke; whereupon the Rabble gave a great Shout. The Head was cast on the Stage, and the Body, after having lain

Men and
Women.

1727. a little while on the Ground, that the Blood ^a might drain from it, was carried away by Slaves, and thrown in a Place adjoining to the Camp. The Linguist told them, the Head of the Victim was for the King, the Blood for the *Fetish*, and the Body for the common People.

And Chil-
dren sacrific-
ed.

THEY saw many others sacrificed, and observed that the Men went bold and unconcerned; but the Cries of the Women and Children struck the Dutch Captain and Snelgrave with some Fears for themselves: Whereupon they agreed to put a good Face upon the Matter, and so to give no Offence, but withdraw the first Opportunity. Soon after a Colonel of the Army, whom the Author had seen at *Jaquin*, coming to them in a friendly Way, Snelgrave told him he wondered they should sacrifice so many People, whom they might sell to Advantage. He replied, it had ever been the Custom of their Nation, after any Conquest, to offer to their God a certain Number of Captives, which were always chosen from the Prisoners by the King himself. For they believed, that upon any Omission of this, no more Success would attend them; and attributed the great Conquests they had made in a few Years, to the exact Observance of it. He said, the Reason of choosing old Men in particular for this Purpose was political, since these being grown wise by Age and Experience, if they were preserved, would be always plotting against their Masters; and as they had been the chief Men in their own Land, would never be easy under Slavery. He added, that no European would buy them on account of their Age; but as for the young People, they had seen sacrificed, these were designed to attend in the other World, the King's Wives, whom the *Tuffos* had slain. By which the Author finding they had some Notion of a future State, asked, What Opinion they held concerning their God? To which the Colonel gave a very confused, imperfect Answer. But Snelgrave collected from it, that they esteemed him an invisible, guardian Angel, subordinate to another God; which, says the Colonel, might, perhaps, be yours, who has communicated so many extraordinary Things to white Men, as he had been informed by Mr. *Lambe*; but since that God had not been pleased to make himself known to them, they must be satisfied with this they worshipped.

HAVING staid near two Hours, without receiving any Affront, they went to their Tent,

and the Colonel with them, where they drank European Liquors till the Evening, when they accompanied the Colonel to his Tent. In passing, they went by the Place where the sacrificed Bodies were thrown, in two great Heaps, to the Number of four hundred, as they said. The Colonel treated them with Palm-Wine, and they invited him back to Supper, which he accepted; and, while they were eating, several Servants came-in with Dishes of Flesh and Fish, dressed after the Country Manner, sent by a Mulatto Portuguese Gentleman, who had been taken in the *Ardrab* War, and was still a Prisoner: He came himself soon after with his Wife, being much whiter than himself. She was given him by the King, and was as white, says Snelgrave, as an English Woman, but not of so lively a Colour: She had the same woolly Hair and Features with the Blacks. Her Husband said she was born in a far inland Country, of black Parents, who had never seen a white Man, nor she before Mr. *Lambe*: Him he enquired affectionately after, saying, when he returned, according to his Promise, the King had declared he would grant him his Liberty.

Conquest of
Whidaw.

White
Negro.

Reasons for
it.

NEXT Day, the Duke came to their Tent, and told them, he had had a long Audience of the King the Night before, who had treated him in a kind Manner: So that his Apprehensions of being killed and eaten were quite vanished, but he informed them, with the utmost Horror, that the Sacrifices had been taken away, in the Night, by the common People, who had boiled and feasted on them as holy Food. Upon which, they went to the Place to see, and finding them all gone, the Interpreter said, smiling, That the Vultures had eaten them up: But Snelgrave observing, that it was very extraordinary for them to swallow Bones and all, there being nothing remaining on the Place but a great Quantity of Blood, he then confessed, that the *Fetish* had divided the Carcasses among the People, who had eaten them in the Manner the Duke had related.

Sacrificed
Bodies eaten.

THE Author does not avouch this for Fact, because he did not see it himself; but, in Confirmation of it, relates what he heard afterwards from Mr. *Robert More*, a Person of great Integrity, and then Surgeon of the Italian Galley. This Ship came to *Whidaw*, while Snelgrave was at *Jaquin*, and Captain *John Dagge*, the Commander, being indisposed, sent *More* to the King

* Snelgrave, p. 39, & seq.

^b Mr. *Atkins* doubts the Truth of this Relation, and thinks it was invented by the Linguist, to palliate the Cowardice of the *Whidaw*, or to impose on the Credulity of the English, when he found that they would not believe the Vultures eat them: He concludes that they were buried, by the Bones being missing, which must have appeared broken or whole, had the Bodies been eaten either by Vultures or Men. See *Atkins's Voyage to Guinea*, &c. p. 127.

1727. of *Dahomé's* Camp, with Presents for his Majesty, where he saw human Flesh sold publicly^a in the great Market. The Author says, himself never was in the Market, else doubts not but he should have seen the same; for that there were many old and maimed Captives brought from *Tuffo* (besides those sacrificed) which no Europeans would have bought^b.

Visit to a Portuguese. NOT being able to procure an Audience from the King that Day, they went to a Portuguese Gentleman's House; the Linguist giving them this Caution, That, as there were two Embassadors in the Camp from the King of *Whidaw*, to offer his Subjection, if they should meet with any of their People in the Street, not to hold any Conference with them. Being sat down, they sent the Linguist away, under Pretence of an Errand to the Duke. After he was gone, they desired this Gentleman to give them some Hints how to behave in treating of Business with the King. This he readily did, speaking very highly of the King's Policy and Generosity; which they afterwards experienced in full.

The I-os invade Dahomé. THIS Person had, in the Court of his House, two pretty Horses, each about thirteen Hands high, every Way much better than those they had seen at *Jaguin*. He said they came from the Kingdom of *I-os*, lying to the North-East, many Days Journey off, beyond a great and famous Lake, whence several large Rivers flow, that empty themselves into the Bay of Guinea. He added, that several fugitive Princes, whose Fathers the King of *Dahomé* had conquered and beheaded, fled to the King of this Country for Protection, and, at last, prevailed with him to make War upon the King of *Dahomé*; which he did soon after the latter had conquered *Ardrah*. The King of *I-os* sent a great Army, consisting of many thousand Horse, (for they never use Infantry) wherewith he invaded the Country of *Dahomé*. The King, upon this, leaving *Ardrah*, marched against them; but having only Infantry, armed with Guns and Swords, they were hard pressed: For the Coun-

try being open and without Inclosures, the Horsemen, who were armed with Bows and Arrows, Javelins, and cutting-Swords, had certainly conquered it, if the unusual Noise of the *Dahomé's* Fire-Arms had not so frightened the Horses, that their Riders could not make a home Charge on their Enemies Foot. However, the Dispute having lasted four Days, and the King of *Dahomé* finding his Soldiers so fatigued, that they could not hold-out much longer, he contrived this Stratagem: Having with him great Quantities of Brandy, formerly bought at *Whidaw*, he resolved to retreat, in the Night, with his Army, and leave the Liquor as a Bait for the Enemy, with great Quantities of valuable Goods, in Store, in a large Town near the Camp. This took Effect; for, when Day came, the *I-os* thinking the *Dahomé's* were fled, fell to plunder and destroy the Town, nor did they fail to drink greedily of the Brandy, which they had seldom before tasted of. This so intoxicated them, that they fell-asleep, in great Numbers, on the Ground. The King of *Dahomé* being informed hereof by his Spies, returned with the utmost Speed, and attacking them in this Disorder, put them to the Rout: However, a great Part escaped by Help of their Horses, and fled out of the Country. The Portuguese Gentleman added, that in the Flight he took the two Horses they had seen in his Yard; and that a great many more were seized by the *Dahomé* Soldiers.

He said farther, that the *Dahomé's* were much afraid of a second Invasion, an Army of Horses being very terrible to them; to prevent which, their King had sent great Presents to the King of *I-os*: However, that in case they were invaded, and should not be able to withstand the *I-os*, they could fly to the Sea-Coast, where the Enemy durst not follow them: For as their national *Fetish*^c was the Sea, they were prohibited, by their Priests, from ever seeing it, under no less a Penalty than Death; which, they made the People believe, would be inflicted on them by their God, if they were so presumptuous^d.

^a This is the strongest Proof produced, for the Fact, by Captain *Snelgrave*: But Mr. *Atkins* observes, that if *More* did not mean human Flesh alive in the Way of Trade, he might, without a close Inspection, mistake it for the Flesh of Monkeys, (which is commonly eaten) there being an awkward Resemblance to the *Moorish* Race in the Hands and Face. The strongest Objection with Mr. *Atkins*, is, that *Snelgrave* should bring another to vouch the Truth of what he might have easily known himself, since he was at the *Dahomé's* Camp as well as *More*. See *Atkins's Voyage to Guinea*, p. 131. We may add, that he might have known this by only going to Market, where he believed Man's Flesh was sold; or else by going, or sending, to see what became of the sacrificed Bodies set-apart to be eaten: He was no more curious in his Enquiries, contenting himself with the Report of the Linguist and the Portuguese, as if there had been no People more in the Country, of whom an Enquiry might have been made.

^b A very poor Reason to support such a Conclusion. ^c In the Original, *I-os*. Mr. *Snelgrave*, very properly, divides the Word by a Hyphen, to shew it consists of two Syllables.

^d The Coast Negroes have all their particular *Fetishes* after this Manner; some being prohibited eating Fowls with white Feathers; others are to eat none that have black; some to eat no Sheep, others no Goats, &c. All which are most religiously kept, being assigned them by their Priest the Day their Name is given them.

^e *Snelgrave*, p. 48, & *seqq.*

S E C T. III.

Occurrences at the King of Dahome's Camp.

The Author's second Audience. The King's Politeness: His genteel Compliment: Is incensed against Whidaw: Complains of Bullfinch Lambe: Lambe's Artifice. A mock Prince. Price of Slaves settled. The King's Person, and regular Troops. Malays, an inland People. Snelgrave returns to Jaquin. Extortion of the Lord; checked at last. Scarcity at Whidaw. Bad State of Trade. Great Captain sent to redress Matters: Dines at the Factory: His hungry Attendants: The Sea, a Novelty to him. A Sea-Victim: Her strange Escape. The Author leaves Jaquin: Returns to England.

Another Audience.

NEXT Day they had an Audience, in the following Manner: On coming into the Court, where they saw the King before, they were stop a little, till the Presents were carried into the House, that his Majesty might view them. Soon after this, they were introduced into a small Court, at the upper End of which the King sat, cross-legged, on a Carpet of Silk spread on the Ground: He was himself richly dressed, and had but few Attendants. He enquired kindly how they did, and ordered two Mats to be spread on the Ground near him for them to sit on; which they complied with, understanding, by the Linguist, it was their Custom.

The King's Politeness.

THEN the King enquiring the Subject of his Business, Snelgrave told him, he was come to trade for Slaves, and relied on his Majesty's Goodness for Dispatch. The King said, it should be done, but first his Customs must be settled, for which he referred him to one Zuinglar then present; a cunning Fellow, who had been the King's Agent for several Years at Whidaw, where Snelgrave had seen him in former Voyages. This Man said, That his Master being resolved to encourage Trade, though he was a Conqueror, yet he would not impose a greater Custom than used to be paid to the King of Whidaw. Snelgrave answered, That as his Majesty was a far greater Prince, so he hoped he would not take so much. This, Zuinglar not replying readily to, and the King observing it, (for the Linguist told him every Word that passed) his Majesty himself replied, That, as he was the greater Prince, he might reasonably expect the more Custom; but, says he, as you are the first English Captain I have seen, I will treat you as a young Wife, or Bride, who must be denied nothing at first. Snelgrave was so much surprized at this Turn of Expression, that he taxed the Interpreter as im-

His genteel Compliment.

posing on him; which the King perceiving, smiled, and expressed himself again to the same Purpose, adding, that he should find his Actions answerable to his Words. Snelgrave thus encouraged, took the Liberty to represent to his Majesty, that the best Way to make Commerce flourish was to impose easy Customs, and to protect the English from the Thievery of the Natives, as well as the Imposition of great Men: He subjoined, that the King of Whidaw, by not observing this Rule, had greatly hurt the Trade of his Country.

Conquest of Whidaw.

THE King took this in good Part, and bid him name his own Customs: Upon this, the Author proposing to pay half what they used to pay at Whidaw, the King readily complied: Adding, that he designed to make Trade flourish; that he would protect the Europeans against the Evils he complained of; and that his God had made him the Instrument to punish the King of Whidaw and his People, for the many Villanies they had been guilty of towards both Whites and Blacks. After this, the King expressing great Confidence in the Author, Snelgrave took that Opportunity of pleading for the common People of Whidaw; representing, that their Thieving was encouraged by the great Men among them, who shared in the Spoil: But that if his Majesty would be pleased to receive them into Mercy, and restore them to their Country on paying a certain Tribute, they would be of great Advantage to him; because they were very industrious to cultivate the Land, and many of them understood Trade exceeding well, which his own People were little versed in. Moreover, it was a Maxim amongst white Princes, that the Number of useful Subjects was their greatest Glory and Strength; and, if his Majesty thought the same, he had an Opportunity of adding many hundred thousands to his former Vassals. To this the King replied, that he was very sensible of the Truth of what the Author said, but that the Conquest of Whidaw could not be secured without the King's Head; and he had already offered the People to restore them to their Country, as soon as they should send him, alive or dead, to his Camp.

Incensed against Whidaw.

AFTER this, his Majesty fell into Variety of Discourse, and among other Things, complained of Mr. Lambe: Saying, that though he had received, at his leaving Court, three hundred and twenty Ounces of Gold, and eight Slaves; and promised, upon Oath, to return again in a reasonable Time, yet twelve Moons had now passed without having heard from him. The King added, that he had sent a black Person with him, named Tom, a Jaquin, who had been a Prisoner at the same Time, and spoke good English, with Orders to return again with Mr. Lambe, that he might

Complains of Lambe.

1727. might be informed, whether what that Gentle-
 Snelgrave. man had reported concerning the King, Customs,
 and Manner of living of the *English*, was true.
 To this Snelgrave replied, that he had not known
 Mr. Lambe, but had been informed he went
 from *Whidaw* to *Barbados*, an Island at a great
 Distance from *England*, and hoped he would re-
 turn, according to his Oath. To this the King
 answered, that although Lambe proved not as
 good as his Word, yet other white Men should
 not fare the worse on his Account; that as to
 what he had given Lambe, he valued it not a
 Rush; and that if he returned quickly, and
 came with ever so large a Ship, she should be
 filled with Slaves, which he might dispose of as
 he thought proper.

Account of
 Black Tom. THIS *Black Tom* having been in *England* last
 Year^b, the Author was examined before the
 Lords of Trade about him, of whom he gives a
 short Account.

Mr. Lambe carried him to *Barbados*, and several
 other Places, and at last left him in *Maryland*,
 but brought him to *London* in the Year 1731:
 Soon after which the Author saw Lambe, and gave
 him his Advice, not to go back to the King of
Dahomé, since it was now too late, and he might
 justly fear the King's Resentment, as Mr. Teste-
 sole had experienced lately to his Cost; for,
 though he was Governor for the *African* Com-
 pany at *Whidaw*, yet he had been put to Death
 in a cruel Manner. After this, Mr. Lambe del-
 ivered a Letter to his Majesty King George, as
 from the King of *Dahomé*: But the Matter be-
 ing referred to the Lords of the Treasury (be-
 fore whom the Author was examined) they re-
 ported, that, in their Opinion, it was not ge-
 nuine; however, that the black Man ought to
 be taken Care of and sent to his King. Ac-
 cordingly, the Duke of *Richmond* and *Montagu*
 procured him a Passage in the *Tyger* Man of
 War, Captain *Berkeley*. Their Lordships like-
 wise sent several rare Presents to his King. The
 Author heard afterward, that on his being put on
 Shore at *Whidaw*, he was, forthwith, dispatched
 to the King, who was then in his own Coun-
 try of *Dahomé*; that he was graciously received,
 and that his Majesty sent down handsome Pre-
 sents for Captain *Berkeley*: But he was failed
 from *Whidaw* before the Messenger came back,
 being impatient to stay so many Days, as the
 Return from so far inland a Place required.

THE Author has given this Account to unde-
 ceive those who understood this black Man was
 sent Ambassador hither from *Dahomé*: Which Farce
 was carried so far, that several Plays were acted on
 his Account, and were advertised, in the News-

Paper, for the Entertainment of Prince *Adamo*
Oroonoko Tomo, &c. He was born at *Jaguin*,
 and became acquainted with the *English* Lan-
 guage from a Boy, being convertant in their
 Factories there; and happened to be on some
 Business at *Ardrab*, when it was conquered by
 the King of *Dahomé*.

But to return: After this Discourse, concern-
 ing Mr. Lambe, was over, Snelgrave acquainted
 his Majesty, that his Owner had five more large
 Ships that used the *Whidaw* Trade; saying, he
 hoped he would use them as kindly in the Cust-
 oms as he had done himself. The King an-
 swered him, with a Smile, that it was a particu-
 lar Grace to him: However, when any of them
 came, they should have no Cause to complain,
 and might stay at *Jaguin* or *Whidaw*, as they
 thought fit; for now he was Lord of both Places.
 Then his Majesty asked him, whether he would
 chuse the Slaves who were then in the Camp, or
 have them first sent down to *Jaguin*? having
 chosen the latter, a reasonable Price was agreed
 on, and the Author wrote every Article down
 in his Presence; amongst which one was, That
 he should have three Males to one Female, and
 take none but what he liked.

THIS done, the Duke, Brother to the Lord
 of *Jaguin*, being sent for, the King recom-
 mended Snelgrave to their Care: Declaring, that
 if he suffered by their People, either in Person
 or Goods, they both should answer for it; and
 that if any Person stole his Goods, he should be
 impaled alive on the Sea-Side, for an Exam-
 ple to the Porters, and others, who carry the
 Merchandize from thence to Town. It being
 now nine at Night, and the King's washing-
 Time, as they were informed, they took their
 Leaves.

As they were almost five Hours so near the
 King, the Author had a good Opportunity of
 taking an exact View of him. He was middle-
 sized and full-bodied, and, he judged, about
 forty-five Years of Age. His Face was pitted
 with the Small-Pox; nevertheless there was some-
 thing in his Countenance very taking, and withal
 majestic. Upon the whole, he found him the
 most extraordinary Man, of his Colour, that ever
 he conversed with; having seen nothing in him
 that appeared barbarous, except the sacrificing of
 his Enemies: Which the *Portuguese* Gentleman
 told him, he believed was done out of Policy;
 neither did he eat human Flesh himself.

NEXT Morning, they were sent for again to
 the King's Gate: Where the Officers told them,
 that it being the King's *Fetish*-Day, his Majesty
 could not see them, but that he had ordered them a

^a Snelgrave's New Account, p. 60 & seqq.
 Account was printed.

^b That is, we presume, the Year before Snelgrave's New
 Account was printed. As before, p. 68, & seqq.

1727. Present, which consisted of Slaves, Cows, Goats, a Snelgrave. and Sheep, with other Provisions: Adding, that they might depend upon his Promise, and were at Liberty to go for *Jaquin* when they pleased. Their black Servants had likewise handsome Cloths for the Middle given them, with a small Sum of Money to each. They intended to depart that Day, but staid for the Duke, who had not yet had his Audience of Leave.

And regular
Troops.

In the Afternoon they saw the Remainder of the Army pass by the King's Gate in their Return from *Tuffe*. They marched in a much more regular Order than any he had ever seen before, even among the *Gold-Coast* Negroes; who were always deemed the best Soldiers of all the Blacks. This Army consisted of about three thousand regular Troops, attended by a Rabble of ten thousand at least, who carried Baggage, Provisions, dead People's Heads, &c. The several Companies of Soldiers had their proper Colours and Officers, armed with Muskets and cutting-Swords, with Shields. As they passed by the King's Gate, every Soldier prostrated himself, and kissed the Ground, then rose with such Agility, as was very surprizing. The Place before the King's Gate was four Times as large as *Tower-Hill, London*. There they performed their Exercises in the Sight of innumerable Spectators; and fired at least twenty Rounds with their small-Arms in less than two Hours Time.

THE Author taking Notice, that Abundance of Boys followed the Soldiers, was told by the Linguist, that the King allowed every common Soldier a Boy at the public Charge; in order to be trained-up hardly from their Youth; and that the greater Part of the present Army was bred-up in this Manner, and under this Establishment: From whence the Author judged, it was no Wonder the King made so large Conquests, having such regular Troops, and such Policy together.

Malays in-
land People.

AFTER this, they went to the great Captain's Seat, where he observed two black Gentlemen, who had long Gowns on, with a Cloth wreathed about their Heads, like a *Turkish* Turban, and Sandals on their Feet. These, the Linguist told him, were *Malays**, a Nation far inland bordering on the *Moors*; and that their People equalled the Whites in Writing: That at this Time there were about forty of them in the Camp, who had been taken at several Times in War, as they traded from one Country to another; and that the King treated them kindly: For they had the Art of dying Goat and Sheep-Skin with divers Colours, which they made into Cartouch-Boxes for the Soldiers; and also into Bags, to hold loose Powder, and many other Uses. But *Snelgrave* was not permitted to speak to them.

NEXT Morning they all set-out for *Jaquin*, the musical Instruments of the Negroes making a great Noise at their Departure. The great Captain accompanied them for an Hour upon the Road, and then took his Leave under a Salute of Fire-Arms from his Soldiers, and their Servants. The Hammock-Men made such Haste to get-out of this Country, that they were brought, by five that Evening, into *Jaquin-Town*, where the People received them with much Joy.

Conquest of
Whidaw.
Return to
Jaquin.

NEXT Day, being *April* the fifteenth, *Snelgrave* paid the King of *Dahomé*'s Officers the Custom agreed on; and in two Days after, a great many Slaves came to Town, sent by his Majesty's Order, for him to chuse which he liked best. This done, the Lord of *Jaquin* insisted on a larger Custom for himself than had been agreed-on at his first Coming; and a few Days after, the Porters refused to bring-up his Goods from the Sea-side, except he would pay them double the Price he did at first. He was forced to continue under both these Difficulties, till an unexpected Accident relieved him.

Extortion of
the Lord.

It seems, a few Days after this, the Lord of the Place sent for him, and told him, he had just then received Advice, that an *English* Ship was arrived in the Road of *Whidaw*, and desired he would send his Boat there to persuade the Captain to come to the Port of *Jaquin*. To this *Snelgrave* answered, that he did not doubt but that Ship was the *Italian-Galley*, Captain *Dagge*, who was known to him, belonging to the same Owners, and in the same Trust; and therefore, if he sent his Boat, it should be to desire Captain *Dagge* to stay at *Whidaw*, and send a Messenger to the King of *Dahomé*, to represent his unjust Treatment: But that, however, he would entirely forget what was past, if he would make him easy. This immediately brought him to do Justice. He took his usual Custom that very Day; and the following went himself to the Sea-Side, to the Towns where the Porters lived, and persuaded them to carry his Goods at the usual Rates.

Checked at
Jaquin.

THE Author durst not complain of these Injuries to the King of *Dahomé*, being informed his Messenger would be waylaid and murdered by the *Jaquins*. He was told also, that they and their Lord had sent their beloved Wives and best Effects to an Island about thirty Miles East of *Jaquin*, under the Protection of the King of *Ap-pah*, whose Country extends as far as the Bay of *Benin*; where, in case of any Hostilities from the King of *Dahomé*, (whose Faith they durst not trust) they could be in Safety, the *Dahomé*s having no Canoas to follow them; and if they had, none understanding how to manage them.

* These People are mentioned both by *Marchais* and *Smith*.

† *Snelgrave*, p. 75, & seqq.

1727. CAPTAIN DAGGE staid at *Whidaw*, where a
Snelgrave he had great Success: For that People being in a
Scarcity at starving Condition, and obliged to sell their Ser-
Whidaw vants and Children for Money and Goods to buy
 Food from their Neighbours of *Pepo*, his Ship
 was soon filled with Negros, and he sailed from
 the Coast thirty-eight Days before *Snelgrave*: Who,
 not long after *Dagge's* Arrival, was taken ill of
 a Fever, and buried his Surgeon; and, to add to
 his Misfortunes, the King of *Dahomé's* Tra-
 ders also began to grow troublesome and im-
 posing: Yet he had one Comfort, that nothing
 was stolen from him; which he attributed to the
 severe Charge given by the King to the Lord of
Jaquin and his Brother, above-mentioned.

Bad State of BUT the Traders grew quite insolent, treated
Trade the Agreement, made in Writing before the
 King, with Contempt, and the Interpreter joined
 with them; all pretending the King's Orders for
 what they did: And one of them once presented
 his Fusil at the Author, for refusing his bad Slaves.
 He began therefore to be afraid; for they always
 came to trade armed with Sword and Dagger,
 and a Boy carrying their Gun.

ABOUT this Time, several *Portuguese* Ships
 arriving at *Whidaw*, staid there on a Prospect of
 the Country's being settled again; for the King
 of *Dahomé* had permitted a great Number of the
 common People to return, who began to build
 Houses near the *English* and *French* Forts: But
 this was only to deceive the *Europeans*, as ap-
 peared afterwards. However, the King of *Da-*
bomé, desirous of the *Portuguese* Gold, with which
 they purchase Negros, sent a great many Slaves
 down to *Whidaw*, which made Trade dull at
Jaquin: For since the Destruction of the Coun-
 try by the *Dahomé's*, there remains only one
 Port, called *Lukkami*, to the North-East, for the
Jaquins to trade to, which escaped by Means of
 a wide River.

Great Cap- As the Author was in this melancholy Circum-
tain's sent stance, one Day an old Acquaintance of the Cap-
 tain (who had been so civil to him at the Camp)
 came to visit him; and being informed of his
 Grievance, upon his Return acquainted the King
 with the Matter. It happened, that the *Jaquins*
 Uneasiness had brought his Majesty to a Resolu-
 tion of sending his great Captain to settle Things
 to their Satisfaction; and this Complaint hastened
 the Dispatch of that Officer thither. He made
 such Haste, that he brought the first News of
 his Coming himself; and though he had a great
 Retinue, yet, to take-off all Apprehensions of
 Hostilities, he left most of them on the other
 Side the River, and came into the Town with
 an hundred Attendants only. The Duke went to

receive him, and all the Whites assembled at the
 Door of the *Dutch* Factory to salute him as he
 passed-by. His Retinue being at first lodged near
Snelgrave's Factory, made such a dismal Noise
 Night and Day with their musical Instruments,
 that he got them removed.

THE great Captain, at his first Coming, gave
 Orders to seize all the *Dahomé*-Traders, of which
 they having Notice, several fled, and only about
 ten seized, who were immediately sent in Irons
 to the King. Among these was the Person who
 had presented his Fusil at the Author. He with
 another, who had highly insulted him, were,
 after the great Captain's Return, beheaded; the
 rest, being kept in Bonds, were fed with Bread
 and Water only, and exposed in the Prison-Court
 to the Wet, whenever it rained. Hence it ap-
 peared, that the Traders and Linguist had shame-
 fully belied the King.

NEXT Day, after this great Man's Arrival,
 all the Whites waited on him with Presents, and
 the Day after (being invited) dined at his Factory
 with *Snelgrave*. He had many Attendants, but
 admitted only one with the Duke to sit at Table.
 He used his Fork very awkwardly, was much
 pleased with a Ham, and eat greedily of a minced
 Pye, asking how it was prepared. The Author
 told him; and that being put-up in Earthen-Pans,
 it would keep in that hot Country six Months at
 least. As he said it was done by his Wife, the
 great Captain asked how many Wives he had?
 When he understood that the *English* were al-
 lowed no more than one, he fell a laughing, say-
 ing, He had five hundred, and wished fifty of
 them could make such a Pye. After this came
 Bananas, with other Fruit of the Country, on
Delft-Plates. These he was much taken with;
 and having begged that which he eat upon, to-
 gether with the Knife, Fork, and Napkin he
 used, *Snelgrave* gave him not only them, but
 all the rest then on the Table: Thereupon his
 Servants swept them away so suddenly, that the
 Plates narrowly escaped breaking. To those U-
 tensils were likewise added some Mugs and Cups.

WHEN they first sat-down, some of his prin-
 cipal Servants behind his Chair would every now
 and then snatch-off his Plate a Slice of Ham or
 Fowl; upon which *Snelgrave* told him, they
 should not want for Victuals, for it was not the
 white People's Custom to let their Guests At-
 tendants go home hungry: So he ordered them
 to be quiet for the future. They drank merrily
 after Dinner, and he chose Punch before any
 other Liquors. At parting, he said he de-
 signed next Day to go see the Sea, about three
 Miles off; and as he had never yet seen it, nor a

* *Snelgrave*, p. 82, & seq.

1727. Ship, desired the Author's Company, who excused himself on Account of his ill State of Health.

A FEW Days before the great Captain came to *Jaguin*, the Linguist brought *Snelgrave* two Female Negros, one past fifty Years old, the other about twenty; saying, the King desired he would buy them, and not let them be redeemed by any one. But as he did not care to purchase the oldest, and they were not to be sold separately, the Bargain went off^a.

The Sea a Newly.

THE great-Captain going to the Shore, was extremely delighted and amazed at the Sea, on which he was never weary of looking. He also admired two Portuguese Ships, particularly the *Katharine-Galley*, which, by *Snelgrave's* Order, fired some Guns for his Diversion; and as the Water near the Shore is so shallow, that they are obliged to have fresh Water for the Ship's Use, rafted in Casks by Ropes from the Boats, he went so near the Sea to see this Sight, that a Wave reached him, and falling on his Back with Surprise, some salt Water got into his Stomach. His Servants immediately carried him to the English Tent, (where he had dined) and he drank half a Pint of Brandy to qualify the salt Water; and in the Evening, returning to *Jaguin*, he sent his Compliments to the Author for his Entertainment.

A Sea Fleet.

WHEN this Messenger was gone, the Linguist told the Author in private, that the oldest Woman, whom he refused to buy, had that Day been sacrificed to the Sea by the great Captain, in the Room of another designed for this Service; she having highly offended the King, as he suspected, by assisting his Majesty's Women in their Intrigues. The Linguist did that Office himself, no one of the *Dahomés* daring to go-off in a Canoa. The Woman's Hands being tied behind, and her Feet across, she was put into the Canoa and carried about half a Mile from Shore, where the Rowers, by his Orders, threw her overboard; and he saw some Sharks, he said, tear her to Pieces in an Instant: But next Day the Author was surprized with a Letter from his Mate, informing him, that she was on board his Ship. It seems, one of his Boats went-off her Moorings to go to the Ship just at that Time; and spying a human Body on its Back, spouting Water at the Mouth, went-up to her, and hauling her into the Boat, carried her to the Ship, where Care being taken of her, she recovered. However, he ordered this Affair to be kept secret, (as indeed seems necessary) for Fear of the King's Resentment; though, when he came on board and examined the Woman, she alledged she knew not that she had, in any Respect, offended him.

Her strange Escape.

THIS Woman being a sensible Person did them good Service in the Voyage, by instilling (from her own Example) a good Opinion into the Negros; and the Females especially, who used always to be the most troublesome, on Account of their Noise and Clamour, were kept in such Order and Decorum by her, that he had never the like in any Voyage before: And when he came to *Antigua*, *Charles Dunbar*, Esq; Surveyor-General of *Barbados* and the *Leeward-Islands*, bought her; the Author being well-pleased she had gotten so generous a Master.

Conquest of Whidaw.

UPON taking Leave of the great-Captain, *Snelgrave* told him, that he wanted but eighty Negros to compleat his Cargo, which he promised to acquaint the King with, but could not procure; his Majesty having then no Slaves by him for Sale, though he had great Numbers of Captive-Negros, which tilled his Grounds, and did other Works: For after they are enrolled for that Service, he never sells them, unless guilty of very great Crimes. After waiting for some Time, at last the King's Factors brought the Slaves, with Excuses and Compliments. He made them some small Presents at parting.

The Author leaves *Jaguin*.

THIS done, he waited on the Lord of *Jaguin* for the Balance of his Account, which he readily promised to pay, but never performed: And soon after his Storehouse was plundered by Violence, but it happened there was but little in it. He complained of this without Redress: However he put it up without Threats of complaining to the King, and, *July* the first, 1727, sailed from *Jaguin* with six hundred Negros, which came to a good Market at *Antigua*: Whence he sailed with a Cargo of Sugar, the latter End of *February*, and arrived in the *Thames*, *April* the twenty-fifth, 1728, having been sixteen Months on the Voyage^b.

Returns to England.

SECT. IV.

A second VOYAGE to Whidaw, in 1729.

King of Whidaw's Distress. The French Fort taken by the Dahomés. French Perfidy. Kingdom of Dahomé invaded by the I-os. Testesole's Imprudence. A fine Stratagem. Trudo's bad Policy. Testesole seized, and put to a cruel Death. Peace with the I-os. Fires at *Jaguin*. English Factory damaged: The Duke's Court burnt. A Negro Miracle. The Yahun invaded. *Jaguin* destroyed. The European Factors taken Prisoners. Disgustful to the King. The Slave-Trade ruined.

CAPTAIN SNELGRAVE went again for Whidaw in 1729, in the same Ship.

King of Whidaw's Distress.

^a *Snelgrave*, p. 90, & seqq.

^b The same, p. 99, & seqq.

1729. He stopped in his Way at *Great Popo*, a few a
 Snelgrave. Leagues to Windward of *Whidaw*; near which
 was the King of *Whidaw* with one Captain *Offue*,
 one of his chief *Kabobirs*, or Lords, on two
 barren, sandy Islands, with many other People.
 He made the King a Present, who sent him back
 a Goat. His Mate told him, that the King and
Offue lived in a miserable Manner, the Islands
 producing nothing, though secured from the *Dahomés*
 by a River, besides which they had planted
 several great Guns to defend the Passes; but that b
 for Necessaries, they were entirely supplied by the
 Neighbours at *Great and Little Popo*; which con-
 stantly decreased their Numbers, being obliged
 to sell their Wives, Children and Servants for
 this Purpose.

HENCE he went by *Whidaw* to *Jaguin*, Fe-
 bruary the twentieth, 1729-30. On his going
 ashore, the King of *Dahomé's* Agent came to
 see him, and dispatched a Messenger to acquaint
 the King with the Captain's Arrival; but as his c
 Majesty was then in *Dahomé*, it was three Weeks
 before he had an Answer; nor did *Snelgrave* see
 the King a second Time.

The French
 Fort.

SINCE the Author left this Place, the King of
Dahomé being disappointed in his Design to de-
 stroy the King of *Whidaw*, contented himself
 with keeping Possession of the Country, by an
 Army encamped at *Sabi*. But, in Time, this
 Army dwindling, encouraged Captain *Offue* to
 settle himself near the *French Fort*, about four d
 Miles from *Sabi*, trusting to its great Guns for
 his Protection. The King of *Dahomé* having
 Notice of this, resolved to send an Army to
 drive-out *Offue*; who, upon that Report, retired,
 with many of his People, into the *French Fort*,
 little dreaming of the Governor's Treachery.

Taken by the
 Dahomés.

NEXT Day, the *Dahomé* Army came-down,
 and attacked the Fort, which would not have
 availed much, since they had only Small-Arms;
 but it seems the Thatch of the Houses within it e
 took Fire, which so alarmed the Whites, who
 knew there was a great deal of Gunpowder in
 their Magazine, and no Possibility of stopping
 the Fire, that they fled to the *English Fort*,
 within Musket-Shot of their own: But the Ma-
 gazine blowing up, killed above a thousand Blacks,
 besides wounding many. However, Captain *Of-
 sue*, and several of his People, escaped likewise
 to the *English Fort*; where Governor *Willson*,
 the *African-Company's* Agent, gave them Pro- f
 tection. Likewise, to prevent Accidents, he or-
 dered all the Houses in the Fort to be unthatch-
 ed; and firing on the *Dahomés*, killed several,
 and kept the rest at a Distance.

French Per-
 sely.

THE *Dahomés* sheltering themselves in the
French Fort, sent thence to Governor *Willson*,

to know the Reason why he had fired on their
 Army; to which he replied, that seeing them
 come-down suddenly, and fall upon his Neigh-
 bours, he thought it the common Cause of all
 the *Europeans*. The *Dahomés* answered, that,
 when they came-down, they had no Design to
 attack the *French Fort*, having no Quarrel with
 the Whites; but that the Governor having taken
 Captain *Offue* and his People into it, contrary to
 his Promise, obliged them to act as they had
 done. At the same Time, they told the Gover-
 nor, to his Face, that he had first sent to the
 King by a *French Surgeon*, then residing with
 their Master, to persuade his Majesty to send an
 Army down to destroy Captain *Offue* and his
 People, promising to give them no Protection.
 This, though denied by the Governor, yet gained
 Credit of all present, who looked on it as a Con-
 trivance to squeeze Money out of Captain *Offue*
 for protecting him: However, he met, says the
 Author, with a suitable Reward afterwards, be-
 ing killed by the *Whidaws*, whom he had so
 much injured.

Conquest of
 Whidaw.

As soon as the King of *Dahomé* was informed Kingdom of
 of the taking of the *French Fort*, he sent to the *Dahomé*
 Governor to let him know, that he had brought
 this Misfortune on himself by his Perfidy, for
 that he had no Quarrel against his Nation; there-
 fore he would order his Soldiers to repair the
 Fort, which had been greatly damaged by the
 Powder; or if he did not desire this, he might de-
 part with all the *Frenchmen* to his own Country.

THE King of *Dahomé* having conquered and
 depopulated several Countries within a few Years,
 the King of *Wimey's* Sons, with other Princes, whose
 Fathers this Conqueror had taken in War and be-
 headed, fled to a far inland, potent Nation, called
I-os. The King of *Whidaw*, after *Offue's* Defeat,
 having found Means of sending Messengers to this
 King. They and the others, who had fled to him
 for Protection, obtained of him an Army to march
 against the King of *Dahomé*, whom they all
 looked-on as a cruel Destroyer of Mankind. This
 Nation of *I-os* fight all on Horseback; and living
 a great Way on the North towards *Nubia*, they
 can only march Southward but when the Season
 for Forage and dry Weather sets-in. The King
 of *Dahomé* had Notice of their Coming, and
 having formerly experienced the Disadvantage
 of his Army, consisting of Foot only against
 Horse, buried his Riches, burnt his Towns, and
 then fled into the Woods and Thickets with his
 People; which is a common Thing among the
 Negroes for the weaker Side to do, when at War,
 having no fortified Towns, as in *Europe*. So they,
 that are Masters of the Field, command the
 Country far and near.

1729. Thus the King of *Dahomé* disappointed the *I-ss*; but *Appragah* and his People, lately conquered by the *Dahomés*, not moving in Time, Abundance of them were taken, with all *Appragah's* Riches, and himself narrowly escaped with a few Servants.

AFTER this, the *I-ss* marched on in quest of the *Dahomés*, who still secured themselves by keeping in the Bushes, till the rainy Seasons came on; which obliging their Enemies to retire, the *Dahomés* returned to their own Country, and rebuilt their Towns again.

Testefole's Impudence. ABOUT this Time, the Beginning of July, 1729, Governor *Wilson* departed from *Whidaw*, and left in his Room one Mr. *Testefole*; who had resided there many Years, but was no ways equal to him in Prudence, as his unhappy Fate will shew. Though this Person had been often at the King of *Dahomé's* Camp, where he was always used with great Civility, yet now, believing the King reduced, he advised the *Whidaws* to re-enter their Country. These accordingly, being assisted by the *Pepos*, through a View of re-establishing their Trade, raised together an Army of fifteen thousand Men, and incamped under the King of *Whidaw*, near the *English* and *French* Forts.

THIS the *Dahomés* knew nothing of, till the King sending some Traders down with Slaves, they returned with the News, which greatly embarrassed his Majesty: For he had lost many of his best Soldiers, whilst the *I-ss* kept him in the Bushes, and besides, had lately sent an Army into the Country to take Slaves; for he drives no regular Trade in Slaves, but only sells such as are taken in Wars. However, he extricated himself out of this Difficulty by the following Stratagem.

A fine Stratagem. HE ordered a great Number of Women to be armed like Soldiers, and appointed Officers to each Company, with Colours, Drums, and Umbrellas, according to the Negro Fashion. Then commanding the Army to march, the Women-Soldiers were placed in the Rear to prevent Discovery. The Surprise of the *Whidaws* at seeing such Numbers, as they supposed, of Soldiers, brought a Panic upon the greater Part of them; who cowardly flying, gave the *Dahomés* an Opportunity of falling upon *Ossue's* Party with the *Pepos*, and soon obliged them to fly in their Turn. The King of *Whidaw* used all Endeavours to stop his Party's Flight, wounded several with his Lance; but all in vain, and at last, to save his Life, was forced to run into the dry Ditch of the *English* Fort, where by the Help of two of his Sons, he got over the Wall, and so

a escaped the Fury of his Enemies: But many of his People were killed, and others taken.

THIS Affair put Mr. *Testefole* under some Difficulties, but at last he persuaded the King to leave the Fort that Night, and he escaped to his barren Islands again. However, the King of *Dahomé* being informed of all, and that the Governor had been the Occasion of the Revolt of the *Whidaws*, highly resented it. This Prince left a small Army at *Sabi*, and returning into his own Country, many Banditti of other Nations resorted to him; so that in a few Months he found his Power as considerable as when he fled from the *I-ss*.

MEAN Time it must be observed, that he has taken two Steps very impolitically: First, though he has large Territories of many hundred Miles Extent, in as fine a Country as any in the South Parts of *Africa*, yet is he only a great King in Name, for want of Subjects; for having destroyed most of the Inhabitants of the Countries he conquered, his Cruelty drove the rest away to other Nations. In the next Place, he gave his Word to a great Number of the former Inhabitants of those Parts, that in case they would return, they should enjoy their Privileges as before, on paying a certain Tribute: This brought many Thousands to return into the Kingdom of *Ardra*. But as soon as they were well settled, the *Dahomés* surprized them, and killed or took captive, all who could not escape. Hence no body will venture to trust him, and the Country, in all Probability, will remain a Waste during his Life. By this Means the Trade of *Whidaw* is almost ruined: For the far Inland People having no Markets, and the *Dahomés* using no Trade but that of War, few Negros are brought down to be sold to the *Europeans*.

IN the Interim, Mr. *Testefole* taking all Opportunities of using the *Dahomés* ill, at last whipped one of their principal Men at the Flag-Staff; and upon his complaining of the Indignity, *Testefole* rashly replied, he would serve his King in the same Manner, if he was in his Power. All this being reported to his Majesty, it highly offended him, and he said, Surely this Man must be full of Malice against us, else he never could have so suddenly forgotten our former Kindnesses to him.

UPON this, he ordered his People to take him, *Testefole* if possible, by Surprise, which they soon did, catching him in the *French* Fort, where he was making a Visit. The *Dahomés* surrounded the Factory and demanded him; whereupon the *Frenchman* locked him up in a Chest, and then told them, he could not find him. Enraged at

* See before, p. 489. a. b *Snelgrave*, p. 122, & seq.

c After such a most impudent Insult,

1729. this, they shot the Captain into the Arm with a a
 Snellgrave. Pistol, and breaking into the House, took *Teste-*
sole out of the Chest, tied his Hands and Legs, and conveyed him in a Hammock to the King; who would not see him, but in a few Days sent him down to *Sabi*, about four Miles from the Fort. Here he was given to understand, that if he would write to the Person who commanded in his Absence, for several Things, which they named, for his Ransom, on their being sent, he should have his Liberty. But when the Things came, which were of considerable Value, instead of releasing him, they made him fast to Stakes, driven in the Ground; where spreading him on his Belly, they cut-open his Arms, Back, Thighs, and Legs, in several Places, and filled the Gashes with a Mixture of Lime-Juice, Salt, and Pepper. Then beheading him, they cut the Body in Pieces, which they broiled on the Coals and eat.

Put to a
 cruel Death.

His Majesty has since offered to excuse himself, by saying, his Orders were only to carry him to *Sabi*, and dispose of him as they thought fit; not suspecting they would have used a white Gentleman in such a Manner. Yet, says *Snellgrave*, it is not to be doubted, but they knew their Master's Mind in this Affair: For his Majesty punished none of the Actors, though it was earnestly insisted on. Nay, some, who eat Part of his Flesh, have since told several Portuguese Gentlemen, who talked with them about it, *That English Beef was very good.*

AFTER Mr. *Testesole's* unfortunate Fate, two white Men running away from the English Fort, informed the King that he might easily take it, there being only four Whites left in the Place: But he replied, he had no Quarrel with the English Nation: For that what had been done to the late Governor, he had brought on himself by his Imprudence; and he hoped the African Company would send a fitter Person to command the Fort for the future.

Peace with
 the I-0s.

SOME Time after this, considering he should certainly be invaded by the *I-0s*, as soon as the Season permitted, he sent large Presents, together with one of his handsomest Daughters, to their King. His Embassadors presenting the great Men at Court with large Pieces of Coral (which the *I-0s* esteem above all Things) obtained an advantageous Peace: For Confirmation of which, the King of *I-0* sent, a little while after, one of his Daughters to the King of *Dahomé* for a Wife, who was received with great Joy by the King and his People.

THIS Detail of Affairs the Author received on his Arrival at *Jaquin*, where he found Trade very dull, and likely to continue so for many

* No Voucher for this.

Years, on account of the Confusion made by the Wars. No fewer than five Fires happened in the two Months he staid here; which did considerable Damage. The Houses in this Country are built with Mud-Walls, one Story high, and the Rafters of the Roof made with Bamboos. On this they lay a great Coat of Thatch, which in the dry Season is like so much Tinder. The Fires above mentioned happened through the Carelessness of the Natives: Which, he judged, proceeded from the little Regard they have for their Furniture, it being very mean; and, except amongst some of the principal People, consisting of Mats to sleep on, Earthen Pots to boil their Victuals in, with a few other Things of small Value. Besides, the Walls of their Houses being made of Clay, the Fire by baking them harder, rather does them good than hurt; and to cover them new costs but little. But the European Factories are often great Sufferers.

Conquest of
 Whidaw.

c THE English Factory was in a large Court, belonging to the Duke, and joined to the Apartments of his Women, which it is a capital Crime for the Natives to go into. The other Side opened into the Fields, and just by the Door a narrow Street began, where the Lord of *Jaquin's* *Fetishir* lived with his Family. He had chosen this Place for the greater Security from Fire; the Duke, in such Case, having many Servants to assist to stop it by unthatching the Houses. Besides, those who lived near the Court, were particularly careful to prevent Fire, because it was Death by their Law to all the Family where it began.

English
 Factory de-
 maged.

FOR all this, the Fire began in the *Fetishir's* House, just opposite to the Factory-Door, which catching Fire, prevented their Escape that Way. However, his Servant passed through, though not unscorched, with a Box containing the Books of Accounts, and some Necessaries. The Author's next care was to save the Gold kept in a large Dutch-Chest: But not being able to find the Key, and the Flames having taken-hold of the Thatch, he and another white Man who was with him (the rest being gone to see a Negro Burial) carried it into the Apartments of the Duke's Women, where they met him and his Brother, with many People, going to stop the Fire. After carrying the Chest through several Windings and Turnings in the Duke's Houses, by Help of two Blacks, they got it at last over a Wall ten Foot high into the Street, from whence they conveyed it to the Dutch Factory. The Fire, which continued for an Hour, was so fierce, that all the Duke's Houses were consumed; but his Brother's were preserved by unthatching those which stood near the Court; though, had

Duke's Court
 burnt.

* *Snellgrave*, p. 130, & seq.

1732. it happened in the Night, the Whole must have a
 Snelgrave. been reduced to Ashes, People and all.

ADJOINING to the *Fetish*'s House, that was burnt, there was a large square Court, set round with handsome Trees; in the Middle of which stood the Lord of *Jaquin*'s *Fetish*. It was made in the Fashion of a large Haycock thatched over: On the Top of this was placed a dead Man's Skull, before which Offerings were made for the Duke's Health and Preservation. This *Fetish* escaped the Fire, though all the Houses adjoining were consumed; which was cried up for a great Miracle by the People.

ABOUT ten Days after this, another Fire happened, which consumed one Third of the Town: But the Factory escaped, being a new-built House. This Fire began from some Palm-Oil taking Fire, as a Negro-Cook was frying Fish with it. His old House being repaired, he returned into it, and had an Opportunity of seeing Thousands of People bring Bambùs and Thatch to repair the Duke's Houses; this being the Custom, when either their Lord or his Brother want it. But the Noise of the People's Music, and antic Dancing, gave him much Disturbance. Trade being bad at *Jaquin*, and the Captain wanting his Health, he set sail for England, where he arrived, pretty well recovered, July the thirteenth, 1730.

To gratify the Reader's Curiosity with regard to the King of *Dahomé*, the Author has sub-joined a farther Account of that Monarch's Proceedings; with the Ruin of the Trade by the Destruction of the Country of *Jaquin*, March the twenty-second, 1731-2, according to the latest Advices come from those Parts.

THE King of *Dahomé* having concluded a Peace, as above related, with the *I-és*, being a restless ambitious Man, marched far inland against a Nation called the *Yabús*: Who defending themselves amongst their Woods and Mountains till the rainy Season came on, the King's Army mutinied, desiring to go home; whereupon he put several of the principal Officers to Death, only for mentioning it to him. Upon this, some of his Captains deserted him, with many Soldiers; amongst whom was one of his Sons, who fled with four thousand Men to the King of *Wiméy*.

FINDING himself in these Circumstances, he resolved to make one grand Effort on the *Yabús*; in which though he prevailed, yet they made a brave Retreat, where his wearied Soldiers could not pursue them. So that the King returned soon after to his own Country, with the Loss of most of his Forces and his Reputation.

UPON this, the People of *Jaquin* began to take Heart, hoping he might at last be destroyed. There resided at this Place a Dutch Gentleman called Mynheer Hertog, who carried on a considerable Trade into several distant Countries, by Means of a River that runs from *Jaquin* into the Bay of *Benin*. This Person, in Conjunction with the King of *Jaquin*, stirred up the King of *Wiméy*, and several other Princes, against the King of *Dahomé*, supplying them with Ammunition; of all which he being informed, resolved to be revenged. But the better to deceive them, gave out he intended a second Expedition within Land; and accordingly ordered his General to march towards the Inland Parts: But in the Night the Army wheeled about, and with great Expedition came by the Way of *Whidaw* to *Jaquin*, without being discovered (though there were about fifteen thousand of them) till they were just entering the Town.

THE King of *Jaquin* with many of his principal People escaped in Canoes (which were always kept ready for such Occasions) to an Island he had fortified in the Middle of the River towards *Appah*, ten Leagues to the East. But he lost all his Riches, and his Mother was taken. Mynheer Hertog also fled to *Appah*, but lost every Thing in the Factory, then full of European Goods to a very great Value. However, the Conquerors, not satisfied with the rich Plunder of the Town, according to their barbarous Custom, made a terrible Carnage of the People; and to compleat the Destruction of the Country, set all the Towns and Villages on Fire.

THERE were in the Town several other European Factors, who were all plundered of every Thing. Amongst the rest was one Captain Robert More, Commander of the *Squirrel-Galley*, belonging to the late Humphry Morrice, Esq; This Gentleman being taken Prisoner, with the white Men in his Factory (as the French and Portuguese also were in theirs) was obliged to walk on Foot with them to *Ardrab*, where the King of *Dahomé* then resided.

UPON their Arrival, More complained to his Majesty of his hard Usage, having had no Victuals since taken. The King thereupon rose-up, and going into an inner Room, came-out again with a Hatchet in his Hand; the Sight of which so affrighted some of the Portuguese, that they fell on their Knees to implore his Mercy, imagining their Heads were going to be cut off. But the Captain upbraiding them for their cowardly Behaviour, they rose-up; and had soon after the Pleasure of seeing a small Cask of Beef opened with it, and several Pieces ordered to be

Conquest of
 Whidaw.

A Negro
 Miracle.

The Yabús
 invaded.

Jaquin de-
 stroyed.

The Euro-
 pean Factors

Taken Pri-
 soners.

* Snelgrave, p. 138, & seqq.

* In the Original, *Yabús*.

* In the Original, *Weemey*.

dressed

1732. dressed for them. This Cask, it seems, had been a *Snelgrave* found in the Captain's Factory, and sent up with other Plunder the Day before.

AFTER this, they were distributed according to their Nations, under the Care of several great Men. Captain *More* and his People were delivered to *Allegi* the *English Kabashir*, that is the Person appointed to trade with them in particular, who treated them with great Civility, but was seized and beheaded a few Days after, though they could never learn the Cause. *More*, and the other *Europeans*, continued a good while Prisoners, till Mr. *Dean*, the *African Company's* Governor at *Whidaw*, came to *Ardrah* and obtained their Freedom; whereupon a Guard was ordered to see the Captain safe down to *Jaquin*, but he chose to go by the Way of *Whidaw*, where he got aboard a *French Ship* which carried him to *Jaquin*.

Disgustful It seems, the King of *Dahomé* was grown very *vs the King* cruel towards his People, being always suspicious of Plots. Being soured with these Jealousies, and the Disappointments he had met with from the *I-ols*, he was greatly altered towards the *Europeans*, as Captain *More* experienced.

BESIDES, both King and People continued as savage as ever, though they had conversed for several Years past with white Men. For one Day the Council having begged a Captive, his Majesty readily gave them one, whom they killed and feasted on. For the rest, all the Countries near the Sea-Side, which the King of *Dahomé* could possibly get at, being turned into Desolation, with the Inland Parts, there is no Prospect of Trade's reviving there again, at least while the Conqueror lives. What little Trade there is, is carried on chiefly at *Appah*, a Place secured from him by a Morass and a River.

Slave Trade FROM Mr. *Snelgrave's* Account it appears, that, *ruined,* though the Slave-Trade had been destroyed at *Jaquin* and *Whidaw* in Consequence of the Wars, which had thrown all Things into Confusion, yet the King of *Dahomé* both permitted and encouraged the Slave-Trade. But Mr. *Atkins* supposes, that one End of his Invasion of those Countries, was purposely to destroy the same Trade; and endeavours, by Way of Inference, to prove it from two or three Passages in *Snelgrave's* Relation, which, however plausible, cannot weigh down the Authority of that Author's express Assertions to the contrary. The Passage produced by Mr. *Atkins* most to the Purpose, is taken from the Scheme of Trade said to be proposed by the Emperor of *Dahomé*, and laid by *Bullfinch Lambe* before the *English Commissioners*; some of whose Articles run thus; — that the

Natives would sell themselves to the English, on Condition of not being carried off, — that the English might settle Plantations, &c. a Foundation, as Mr. *Atkins* observes, quite foreign to the former Slave-Trade: But to form a right Judgment in the Matter, it would be necessary to produce the whole Scheme, and shew that it was genuine.

S E C T. V.

Some Account of the Negro-Slaves, and their Mutinies.

How Slaves become so. Number exported yearly from Guinea. Slave-Trade defended. Way of treating Slaves on board Ships. A Mutiny of Negros, luckily quelled. Second Mutiny. A Third threatened. The Ship Elizabeth. Her Negros mutiny. The Cooper killed. The Slayer put to Death. Captain Messervy. His imprudent Conduct. Killed by the Negros: And the Ship left.

THE chief Design of the Author, in his second Book, is to give a Relation of the Mutinies that had happened on board the Ships where he had been. To this he prefixes a short Account of the Manner how the Negros become Slaves; what Numbers are yearly exported from *Guinea*; and then offers a few Words in Justification of that Trade.

First, THE Negros, by an immemorial Custom, *How Slaves* make Slaves of all the Captives taken in War. *become so.* Great Numbers of which, before the Slave-Trade was used, they killed for Fear of their rebelling.

Secondly, MOST Crimes among them are punished by Mulcts and Fines, and on Default of Payment, the Offender is sold for a Slave. This is a Practice both in the Inland, and on the Coast.

Thirdly, DEBTORS who will not pay, or are insolvent, are liable to be made Slaves; and, unless redeemed by their Friends, are generally sold, though but few to the *Europeans*, they being kept for their own Use.

Fourthly, THE Author has been told, that some of the inland People often sell their Children for Slaves, even though under no Necessity. But he never observed the People near the Sea-Coast did this, without extream Necessity.

As to the Numbers of Slaves, he says, there has *Number ex-* been exported in some Years at least seventy *ported.* thousand; which does not seem so extraordinary, as the *Guinea Coast*, from *Cape Verde* to *Angola*, is

* Doubtless, not without Reason.
122, &c. p. 122.

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* *Snelgrave*, p. 147, & seq.

* *Atkins's Voyage to Gui-*

1704.
Snelgrave.

about four thousand Miles in Length, and Poly-
gamy is allowed throughout the Whole.

As to the Lawfulness of this Trade, the Author does not undertake to refute all the Objections against it; but thinks the Advantage it brings, both to the Merchants and Slaves, sufficient to justify it, at least as much as some others, who plead the same Excuse.

Slaves Trade
defended.

FOR, *First*, It appears from what has been already said, that a great Number of useful Persons Lives are saved thereby^a.

Secondly, THEY likewise live much better than they did in their own Country^b.

Thirdly, GREAT Advantages have accrued by it to the Sugar Islands, where the Negroes are fitter to cultivate the Lands than white People^c.

Fourthly, IT is an Advantage to the Negro Nations, for Criminals to be transported never to return again, and much wanted in England^d.

IN a Word, the Advantages far out-weigh the Inconveniences; and when the worst is said, it will be found, like all other earthly Advantages, tempered with a Mixture of Good and Evil^e.

Way of
treating
Slaves.

BE that as it will, the Negroes, who dread foreign Slavery above all Things, watch all Opportunities to regain their Liberty. But the Mutinies raised by them on board Ships, are generally occasioned by the ill Usage of the Sailors. The Author shews how they are managed; and as they generally suspect they are to be eaten (a Story he has been told much credited by the inland Negroes) he took care immediately to acquaint them, that they were bought to till the Ground, &c. and that if any one abused them on board, they should, on their Complaint to the Linguist, have Justice done them; but that if they made a Disturbance, or offered to strike a white Man, they should expect to be severely punished.

WHEN they purchase Negroes, the sturdy Men are coupled together with Irons, but the Women and Children are suffered to go freely about: And soon after they have sailed from the Coast, all the Men are loosened.

THEY are fed twice a Day, and allowed in fair Weather to come upon Deck at seven in the Morning, and remain there till Sun-set. Every Monday they are served with Pipes and Tobacco, which they are fond of. The Men Negroes lodge separate from the Women and Children; and the Places where they lie are cleaned every Day,

under some white Mens Inspection. The rest would be tedious; and therefore he concludes this Head with observing, that if a Commander be well inclined, Negroes are easily governed^f.

Negro
Mutiny.

THE first Mutiny, which the Author saw, happened in his first Voyage, 1704, in the *Eagle*, Galley of London, commanded by his Father, with whom he was Partner. They had bought four hundred Negroes at Old Kallabar, and were in that River when they mutinied, having on board only ten white Men able to do Service; for many were dead, and others sick; besides, twelve People were gone ashore to fetch Wood. These Circumstances being considered by the Negroes, they rose just before Supper; but as the Mens Irons had been always carefully examined Morning and Evening, none had gotten them off, which was a great Means of preserving them. Three white Men stood on the Watch with Cutlasses, one of whom being on the Fore-Castle, and seeing them lay-hold of the chief Mate in order to throw him over-board, soon made them quit him, who ran on the Quarter-Deck to get Arms. The Author was then sick of an Ague on a Couch in the great Cabin; but hearing the Cry of a Mutiny, took two Pistols and ran on Deck with them, where meeting with his Father and the Mate, he gave them each one; whereupon they went forward on the Booms, calling to the Negroes, who little regarded their Threats, being busy with the Centry, who had disengaged the chief Mate. They had seized him, but not being able to break the Line, which fastened the Cutlafs to his Wrist, could not make Use of it; upon which they tried to throw him over-board, which he prevented, by clinging fast to one of them.

OLD Snelgrave ventured at last amongst them to save this Fellow, and fired his Pistol over their Heads, thinking to frighten them: But a lusty Slave almost stunned him with the Stroke of a Billet; and was going to repeat his Blow, when a young Lad about seventeen, whom he had been kind to, received the Stroke upon his Arm, by which the Bone was fractured. At the same Instant the Mate shot the Negro with his Pistol; at Sight of which the Mutiny ceased, and all those on the Fore-Castle threw themselves on their Faces, crying out for Mercy. Upon Examination, not above twenty Men were concerned; and the two Ringleaders, when they

Mutiny of
Negroes

Luckily
quelled.

^a Supposing this to be Fact, yet it does not make the Trade lawful: Besides, the Negroes commonly prefer Death to Slavery. ^b As to this, the Negroes must judge for themselves. But supposing it to be Fact, how does it help to justify the Trade? ^c This Argument may as well justify landing in any Country of the Blacks, and carrying off the Natives by Force to the *English* Plantations. ^d Ben hits may arise from evil Practices, and therefore Arguments drawn from the Advantage of the Thing are of no Weight. ^e These Arguments suppose the Slave-Trade not *malum in se*: But that is begging the Question. ^f Snelgrave's New Account, p. 157, & seqq.

1721. found their Project defeated, jumped over-board a Snelgrave. and were drowned; which was all the Loss they suffered.

THE *Kormantines*, upon the Gold-Coast, are the most stubborn Fellows. In 1721, the Author sailed thither in the *Henry of London*, and bought a good many of these People, whom he secured well in Irons, and watched narrowly. However, they mutinied at a Place called *Mumfort* on the same Coast. There were five hundred Negros on board, three hundred of them b Men; but then he had fifty white Men, all in Health, and very good Officers.

Second Mutiny.

THE Mutiny began at Midnight (when the Moon shone very bright) in this Manner. The two Centries at the fore-Hatch-Way, suffered four Negros to go at once to the House of Office, and neglecting to lay the Gratings again, four more came-up. These eight having gotten-off their Irons, fell, all together, on the two Centries, who immediately called-out for Help. The Negros tried to force their Cutlasses from them, but the Lineyards (or Line with which they were fastened to their Wrists) were so twisted in the Scuffle, that they could not get them off before Assistance came-up. Upon this, the Negros jumped over-board, but they found them all clinging to the Cables the Ship was moored by.

AFTER they were secured, the Captain asked them, how they came to mutiny? They answered, he was a great Rogue to buy them, in order to carry them away from their own Country, and that they were resolved to regain their Liberty, if possible. He replied, that they had forfeited their Freedom before he bought them, either by Crimes, or being Prisoners of War; and finding they had no ill Usage on board to complain of, he observed to them, that if they should gain their Point and escape to Shore, their Countrymen would catch them, and sell them to other Ships. This had its Effect, for they immediately begged Pardon, and went quietly to sleep.

A third threatened.

HOWEVER, in a few Days they were plotting again, and one of the Ringleaders proposed to a Linguist, that if he would get him an Ax, he would, in the Night, cut the Ship's Cable; by which Means, on her driving ashore, they could get-out, and would become his Servants during Life. The Linguist (or Broker) acquainted the Captain with this, advising to keep strict Watch; for he could assure him, his former Reasoning had now no Effect upon them. This made *Snelgrave* very uneasy, knowing the *Kormantines* to be desperate Fellows, who despised Punishment and

even Death itself: For it has often happened at *Barbados* and other Islands, that, on their being any Ways hardly dealt with, to break them from their Stubbornness in refusing to work, twenty, or more, have hanged themselves, at a Time, in one Plantation.

Negro Mutinies.

HOWEVER, some Time after, a sad Accident brought the Slaves to a better Temper. At *Ani-mabo*, the principal Part of the Gold-Coast, the Author met there with the *Elizabeth*, another of his Owner's Ships. Captain *Thompson*, who commanded her, was dead, as also his chief Mate; and she had been taken, at *Cape Laboe*, by *Roberts* the Pirate, with whom several of the Sailors had entered. However, some of the Pirates had hindered the Cargo from being plundered, and got the Ship to be restored to the second Mate; telling him, they did it out of Respect to the generous Character his Owner bore, in doing good to poor Sailors.

WHEN *Snelgrave* met with this Vessel, he had almost disposed of his Ship's Cargo; and the *Elizabeth* being under his Direction, he proposed to the Mate to take her Slaves, being about an hundred and twenty, into his own Ship and go-off the Coast, delivering him the Remainder of his Cargo to dispose of with his own. The Mate readily complied, but the Ship's Company would not agree to it, especially the Cooper; who told him, the Slaves had been aboard a long Time, and that having a great Friendship with them, they would keep them. Finding all Reasoning fruitless, he took his Leave, telling their Captain that he would come next Morning and see who durst oppose him in this Affair.

BUT that very Night, being near a Month after the Mutiny at *Mumfort*, the Moon shining now very bright, as it did then, they heard, about ten o'Clock, two or three Muskets fired on board the *Elizabeth*; upon which, *Snelgrave* went himself in the Pinnace, the other Boats following him, on board her. In their Way, they saw two Negros swimming from her, who were torn to Pieces, by the Sharks, before they could reach them. Coming to the Ship's Side, they found two other Negros holding by a Rope, with their Heads just above Water, being frightened at the Sight of their two Countrymen's Fate. These they took into their Boat, and going into the Ship found the Negros very quiet and all under Deck, but the Ship's Company in great Confusion on the Quarter-Deck; saying, they believed the Cooper, who was placed Centry at the fore-Hatch-Way, was killed. *Snelgrave* was surprized to hear this, wondering that these cowardly Fellows, who had so irrefully opposed his taking

Her Negros mutiny.

1722. the Slaves out a few Hours before, had not Courage enough to venture forward to save their Ship-Mate, but had secured themselves by shutting the Quarter-Deck-Door, where they all stood with Arms in their Hands. So he went to the fore-Part of the Ship, with some of his People, and there found the Cooper on his Back, quite dead, his Skull cleft afunder, with a Hatchet that lay by him ^a.

The Cooper killed.

THIS Mutiny was hatched by a few *Kormantine* Negros, who had been purchased two or three Days before; the rest, being Windward Negros, who knew nothing of it. At last, one of the two Men they had taken-up along-Side the Ship impeached his Companion; and he readily confessed, he had killed the Cooper with no other View, but that he and his Countryman might escape undiscovered, by swimming ashore: For, on their coming on Deck, they observed that all the white Men set to watch were asleep, and finding the Cook's Ax by the Fire-Side, he took it up, not designing to do any Mischief; but the Cooper, who was Centry, beginning to awake as they passed by, he rashly struck him on the Head with it, and then jumped over-board.

SNELGRAVE having sent the Slaves out of the *Elizabeth* to his own Ship without Opposition, followed himself; and there being then in the Road of *Animabo* eight Sail besides, he sent to their Commanders to desire their Company on board, upon an Affair of Consequence. Most of them came, and, on hearing the Affair, unanimously advised him to put the Negro to Death.

ACCORDINGLY, they let the Negro know, that he was to die in an Hour's Time, for murdering the white Man: His Answer was, that he confessed it was a rash Action in him to kill the Cooper, but desired the Author to consider, that, if he put him to Death, he should lose all the Money he had paid for him. To this *Snelgrave* replied, that though it was customary in his Country to commute for Murder with Money, yet it was not so with the *English*; that, on the contrary, he should find his Purchaser had no Regard to Profit in this Respect ^b; for that as soon as an Hour-Glass, just then turned, was run-out, he should be put to Death. Hereupon the other Commanders went on board their respective Ships, in order to have all their Negros upon Deck at the Time of Execution, and to acquaint them with the Occasion of it.

The Slaves put to Death.

THE Hour-Glass being run-out, the Murderer was carried on the Ship's Fore-Castle, where he had a Rope fastened under his Arms, in order to be hoisted-up to the Fore-Yard-Arm to be shot

to Death. Some of his Countrymen observing how the Rope was fastened, bid him not be afraid, saying it was plain he was not to be put to Death, else the Rope would have been put about his Neck to hang him; for they had no Notion of his being to be shot. But they immediately saw the contrary; for as soon as he was hoisted-up, ten white Men, placed behind the Barricado on the Quarter-Deck, fired their Muskets and instantly killed him. This struck a sudden Damp upon all the Negromen, who thought, on account of his Profit, that he would have spared him.

Negro Mutinies.

THE Body being let down on Deck, the Head was cut-off and thrown over-board. This was done to let the Negros see, that all who offended thus should be served in the same Manner: For many of the Blacks believe, that if they are put to Death and not dismembered, they shall return again to their own Country after they are thrown over-board: But the *Kormantines* are not so weak.

WHEN the Execution was over, *Snelgrave* told his Negros, that they should all be served in like Manner who killed a white Man. Upon this, they promised due Obedience, and he assured them of kind Usage, if they kept their Promise, which they faithfully did: For, two Days after, he sailed from *Animabo* for *Jamaica*, and, though they were on board four Months before they were sold on that Island, they never gave him the least Reason to be jealous ^c.

THESE are all the Mutinies that happened to *Captain* himself; but he relates one very remarkable, *Messervy*, which happened on board the *Ferrers-Galley* of *London*, *Captain Messervy*. *Snelgrave* met-with this Gentleman at *Animabo*, in *January*, 1722, who informed him of his good Fortune, in having purchased near three hundred Negros, in a few Days, at *Setre Krue*.

It seems, the Inhabitants of this Town had been often misused by their inland-Neighbours, who, knowing they depended upon them for their Food, which is Rice, extorted what they pleased, of Salt and other Commodities, in-Exchange for it. At last, the *Setre Krues* took Arms to revenge themselves, and being crowned with Success, destroyed or took all the Inhabitants of the principal Town, where they used to buy Rice. *Captain Messervy* happening to touch there just at the same Time, bought the Captives at an easy Rate; for if a Ship had not been in the Road, the *Setre Krues* must have killed most of them for their own Security.

SNELGRAVE hearing this, advised him *His imprudent Conduct*.

^a *Snelgrave*, p. 170, & seqq.

^b And yet the Truth is, he was hanged, for fear of losing more by other Mutinies.

^c As before, p. 129, & seqq.

1718. (for he had never before been this Voyage) to be a very careful, as he had gotten so many Negros, of one Country, together. Next Day Snelgrave went on board his Ship, where seeing the Captain go himself on the Main-Deck, when the Negros were at Supper, and put Pepper and Palm-Oil into their Rice, observed to him the Imprudence of going near them when at Victuals, or at any Time, without a good Guard of white Men with Fire-Arms; which Advice he thanked the Author for, but did not seem to relish, saying, he thought the old Proverb good, *That the Master's Eye makes the Horse fat.*

He failed in three Days, for Jamaica; at which Place, some Months after, Snelgrave arriving, had this melancholy Account of his Death, which happened about ten Days from his leaving the Coast of Guinea.

BEING on the Forecastle amongst the Men-Negros, when they were at Victuals, they laid hold on him, and beat-out his Brains with the little Tubs out of which they eat their boiled Rice. This Mutiny having been plotted among all the grown Negros on board, they ran to the fore-Part of the Ship in a Body, and endeavoured to force the Barricado on the Quarter-Deck; not regarding the Muskets or half-Pikes presented at them, by the white Men, through the Loop-Holes: So that, at last, the chief Mate was obliged to order one of the Quarter-Deck Guns, loaden with Partridge Shot, to be fired among them, whereby near eighty of them were killed or drowned, many jumping over-board when the Gun went-off.

THIS, indeed, put an End to the Mutiny, but after it, most of the rest, through Sullenness, starved themselves to Death; and, after the Ship arrived at Jamaica, they attempted twice to mutiny before the Sale began; which, with their former Behaviour, coming to be publickly known, none of the Planters cared to buy them, though offered at a low Price: So that this proved a very unsuccessful Voyage; for the Ship was detained many Months at Jamaica on that Account, and, at last, was lost there in a Hurricane.

SECT. VI.

An Account of the Author's being taken by Pirates, in 1718.

Leaves England. Cocklyn and Davis, two Pirates. Arrives at Sierra Leona: Taken by Cocklyn: Narrowly escapes being killed. Pirates Cookery. Snelgrave examined: An old Schoolfellow, saves his Life. The Mate turns

Pirate. Pirate Extravagance. A Quarrel arises. The Author's third Escape. Strange Waste. A Pirate's Admonition. Pilferers chastized. The Pirates Generosity, to Snelgrave: Gets a Ship and Goods.

IN November, 1718, the Author was sent by Mr. Morrice, in the Bird-Galley, to take-in a Cargo for Guinea. December the tenth, at Helvoetsluis, the Ship being driven ashore in a Storm, was carried against the Dyke, and stuck seven Foot deep in the Strand; but digging a Trench near three hundred Foot long, to the low-Water Mark, they got, without any Damage, into Helvoetsluis Peer. Here refitting, they failed upon their Voyage in January, but were driven, by another Storm, into Spithead; where, setting-out again, they met with another severe Storm about seventy Leagues West of the Lizard, which carried-away the Lion from the Cutwater, and obliged them to put into Kingsale in Ireland. They failed from thence, March the tenth, and had a fine Passage to Sierra Leona in Guinea; where they arrived, April the first, 1719.

In their Passage near the Canaries, they were chased by a Ship they judged a Salee-Rover, but out-failed her.

At his Arrival in Sierra Leona there were three Pirate Ships, who had then taken ten English Vessels. The first which arrived, was called the Rising-Sun, one Cocklyn Commander, who had not above twenty-five Men. These, some Months before, had been marooned (or put aboard without their Share of the Plunder formerly taken by the Brig,) by Captain Moody, a famous Pirate, and arriving in that River, surprized there, in his Sloop, one Seigneur Joseph, a black Gentleman, who had formerly been in England, a Person of good Account in this Country. His Ransom procured them Provisions and Ammunition, and several Bristol and other Ships arriving soon after, were likewise taken; and many of their People entering with the Pirates, they had, when the Author fell into their Hands, near eighty Men.

MOODY's Crew, soon after parting with the Rising-Sun, disliking that Action, mutinied, and put him, with twelve others, into an open Boat they had taken from the Spaniards off the Canary Islands; who being never heard of afterwards, were thought to have perished in the Ocean. After this, they chose one Le Bonse, a Frenchman, for their Commander, who brought them into this River; where they joined Cocklyn and his Crew, about a Month after they had parted.

1718. *Snelgrave*. THE same Day, arrived also one *Davis*, who had been pirating in a Sloop, and had taken a large Ship at the Cape de Verde Islands. He came-in with a black Flag at the Main-Top-Mast-Head, which Pirate-Ships generally use to terrify Merchant-Men. This *Davis* was a generous Man, and kept his Crew, consisting of near an hundred and fifty Men, in good Order; nor did he join with the others, to the Author's Misfortune: For *Cocklyn* and his Crew (who took them) were a Set of the basest and most cruel Villains that ever were. They told him afterwards, that they chose him for their Commander on Account of his Brutality and Ignorance; having resolved never again to have a Gentleman-like Commander, as they said *Moody* was. The Captain of a Pirate-Ship is elected chiefly to fight the Vessels they meet: Besides him, they chuse a Quarter-Master, who has the general Inspection of all Affairs, and often controuls the Captain's Orders. This Person is also the first in boarding any Ship they attack; or to go in the Boat on any desperate Enterprize. Besides these two, the Pirates had all other Officers, as usual on board Men of War^a.

Arrives at
Sierra
Leona.

THE Day that the Author made Land, within three Leagues of the River's Mouth, it became calm, and seeing a Smoke ashore, he sent for *Simon Jones*, his first Mate, who had been formerly at *Sierra Leona*, and bid him go ashore with the Pinnace, where the Smoke was: But *Jones* saying, no People lived there, and that this was only some Travellers roasting Oysters, *Snelgrave* was satisfied, not then suspecting his Treachery. About five, they stood-in, with a strong Tide of Flood, for the River's Mouth, and, at Sun-set, perceived a Ship at Anchor a great Way up the River, which was the Pirate that took them soon after. The other two, with their Prizes, were hid by a Point of Land.

It being calm about seven, and growing dark, they anchored in the River's Mouth; and about eight, when the Author was at Supper, the Officer of the Watch, on Deck, sent him Word, he heard the Rowing of a Boat. Whereupon they all got on the Quarter-Deck, where he ordered his Mate, by Way of Precaution, to send him twenty Men with Fire-Arms and Cutlasses. It being dark also, he commanded his Men to hail the Boat; to which the People answered, they belonged to the *Two-Friends*, Captain *Eliot* of *Barbados*: However, he ordered the Fire-Arms to be haftned, and Lanthorns and Candles being brought-up, he hailed the Boat again; to which the People answered, they were from *America*, and, at the same Time, fired a Volley of Small-Shot at the Ship, though they were then not above

a Pistol-Shot Distance: Which, says *Snelgrave*, showed the Boldness of these Villains; for there were only twelve in the Boat, and they knew nothing of the Strength of his Ship, which was considerable, having sixteen Guns and forty-five Men.

Taken by
Pirates.

WHEN they first began to fire, the Captain called to his first Mate to fire out of the Steerage Port-Holes. This not being done, he went down himself and found the People staring at one another; and some told him, they would have taken Arms, but the Chest could not be found: So the Pirates immediately boarded them without any Resistance, and coming on the Quarter-Deck, fired several Times down the Steerage, and shot a Sailor into the Reins, of which he died. They likewise threw several Grenado-Shells, which burst among them, but did no Hurt. At last, somebody calling for Quarter, down comes the Quarter-Master, enquiring where was the Captain: On *Snelgrave's* saying, he had been so till now, the other asked, how he durst order his People to fire upon them out of the Steerage? The Author answered, that he thought it his Duty to defend the Ship. Upon that, the Quarter-Master presented a Pistol to his Breast, which he had but just Time to parry before it went off, and the Bullet passed between his Side and Arm. The Rogue finding it missed, gave him such a Blow with the But-End of his Pistol that it brought him on his Knees, but recovering immediately, he jumped upon the Quarter-Deck; where the Pirate Boatswain lifting-up his broad Sword, swore no Quarter should be given any Captain who offered to defend his Ship; and, at the same Time, made a full Stroke at his Head. As he stooped to avoid the Blow, the Quarter-Deck Rail received it, and was cut, at least, an Inch deep; the Sword also breaking with the Force, he escaped being cut to Pieces^b.

By good-Luck, the Pistols which hung at his Girdle were all discharged, but he attempted to beat out the Author's Brains with the But-End of one of them: This one of the People observing, cried out, do not kill the Captain, for we never were with a better Man. This saved his Life; but one of the Men had his Chin almost cut-off, and another received such a Wound, that he fell on the Deck as dead. The Quarter-Master coming-up, told *Snelgrave*, some of his Men must fetch their Boat, which they let run adrift on boarding him, else he should be cut to Pieces. Accordingly his first Mate, *Jones*, going after her, brought her back; then he took the Author by the Hand, and told him, his Life was safe, provided none of his People complained against him.

Escapes being
killed.

^a *Snelgrave*, p. 194, & seqq.

^b The same, p. 200, & seqq.

1718.
Snelgrave.

THE Pirates next firing several Volleys for a Joy on their Success, their Comrades in the Ship presently cut their Cable and drove-down with the Tide upon them: Seeing their Lights, without asking any Question, they gave them a Broadside with their great Guns, verily believing they had destroyed the Pirate's Boat and People. Being thus put into great Confusion, Snelgrave asked the Quarter-Master, why he did not call with the speaking-Trumpet, and tell their Ship they had taken him? Upon that, he asked him angrily, whether he was afraid of going to the Devil by a great Shot; for, as to his Part, he hoped he should be sent to Hell, one of these Days, by a Cannon Ball: However, he made use of the Advice, informing them, that they had taken a brave Prize, with all Manner of good Liquors and fresh Provisions aboard.

Pirates
Cookery.

JUST after this, Captain Cocklyn ordering some to be dressed, they took many Geese, Turkeys, Fowls, and Ducks, and put them, without picking, except the great Wing-Feathers, into the great Furnace together, with several *Westphalia* Hams, and a large Sow with Pig, which they only boweled, leaving the Hair on, and the Cook was ordered to boil them out of Hand.

ABOUT this Time, a Person came from the Quarter-Master to Snelgrave, to know what o'Clock it was by his Watch, which was Gold: He judging this to be a civil Demand, sent it him, with a Message, that it was a very good-going Watch. The Quarter-Master presently laid it down on the Deck, and kicking it, said, it was a pretty Foot-Ball; on which one of the Pirates took it up, saying, he would put it into the common Chest to be sold at the Mast.

Snelgrave
examined.

PRESENTLY after this, he was carried on board the Pirate-Ship, where the Commander told him, he was sorry he had met with bad Usage after Quarter given, but that it was the Fortune of War sometimes: That he expected he would make a true Answer to all such Questions as he should ask, otherwise he would cut him to Pieces; but that if he told the Truth, and his own Men made no Complaints of him, he should find it the best Voyage he ever made in his Life by what they would give him. One of the Questions was, how his Ship sailed, both large, and on a Wind? To which Snelgrave answering, very well, Cocklyn threw-up his Hat, saying, she would make a fine Pirate Man of War.

An old
School-
fellow.

WHEN he had gone through his Examination, a tall Man, with four Pistols in his Girdle, and a broad Sword in his Hand, coming-up to him, told him, his Name was James Griffin, and that they had been School-fellows. The Au-

thor, though he knew him, thought best to dissemble it: Upon which he said, he was not one of the Crew, but a forced Man, and had been lately chief Mate to Captain James Crichton of *Bristol*, who was then with his Ship in the River, in the Pirates Possession; that they had obliged him to act as Master, and he went so armed to prevent their imposing on him, for they were cruel Villains; but said, he would take Care of him for that Night, in which he would run most Danger, as many of them would soon be drunk with the good Liquors found in his Ship.

Taken by
Pirates.

THIS generous Declaration brought Snelgrave to own his former Acquaintance. Then Griffin turned to Captain Cocklyn, and desired a Bowl of Punch; which being made, they all three went to the great Cabin; where, for want of Seats, they sat cross-legged upon the Deck, and Cocklyn, among several other Healths, drank the Pretender's, by the Name of King James the Third.

AT Midnight Griffin begged a Hammock for *Sawn his* School-fellow, (for the Pirates, the Captain *Life* not excepted, all rough it) which being granted, he got into it, but could not sleep, and was shocked with their horrid Oaths and Blasphemies. Mr. Griffin, according to his Promise, walked by him with his Sword in his Hand; and about two o'Clock the Pirate Boatswain came on board very drunk; and being told who was in the Hammock, made-up to it with his Cutlafs. Griffin asking what he wanted, he answered, to slice Snelgrave's Liver, for that he was a vile Dog for ordering his People to fire on their Boat; nor would he deliver his Watch when the Quarter-Master first demanded it. Griffin being told this last Charge was false, he bid the Boatswain keep his Distance, or he would cleave him: Nevertheless the Villain pushing-on to kill him, Griffin struck at him with his Sword; so that he had a narrow Escape, and ran away. As soon as all were sober, Griffin complained to the Quarter-Master and Company of this Assault of the Boatswain's; representing, that they ought to observe strictly that Maxim among them, *Not to permit ill Usage to their Prisoners, after Quarter given*. At hearing this, many of them voted for his being whipped; but Snelgrave, in Prudence, pleading for him, he received a general Order not to give him the least Offence afterwards; yet, says he, did that vile Wretch attempt once more to kill me.

THE Morning after he was taken, Jones, his *The Mate* first Mate, came to him and said, his *former Pirates* Circumstances were bad at home, and that he had a Wife whom he could not love; for which Reasons he had entered with the Pirates, and signed

1718. their Articles: But *Snelgrave* saw him afterwards a
Snelgrave. despised by his Brethren in Iniquity, and heard
 he died a few Months after they left the River; yet he was always civil to him, as were the other ten Men he had drawn over. Several of them afterwards repented, and desired the Author to get them cleared again, for they durst not mention it to the Quarter-Master, it being Death by their Articles; but it was too nice a Matter for him to meddle with. Some Days after, one of them told him, that several Times, during the Voyage, in the Night-Watch, he had heard *Jones* say, that he hoped to meet with some Pirates when he came to *Sierra Leona* River, and that he had put the Chest of Arms purposely out of the Way; that several of the Men offering to break it open, when the Pirates fired upon them, *Jones* prevented them, by declaring, that was an Opportunity he had wished for; and that if they fired a Musket, they would be all cut to Pieces: Farther, that to induce them to enter with the Pirates, he affirmed, that the Author had promised to enter himself. He added, that the Pirates likewise had told him, that *Jones* had been the chief Occasion of their keeping his Ship^a.

*Pirate Ex-
 traordinary.*

ACCORDINGLY, as soon as the Fumes of the Liquor had gone-out of their Heads, all Hands went to work to clear the Prize, by throwing over-board Bales of Wool and Goods, Cases of *India* Commodities, with many other Things of great Value; so that before Night (being the second of *April*) they had destroyed between three and four thousand Pounds Worth of the Cargo; for they little regarded these Things, Money and Necessaries being what they chiefly wanted.

THERE were then residing at *Sierra Leona*, among several *Englishmen*, who traded on their own Accounts, Captain *Henry Glynn*, who afterwards was Governor of *James-Fort* in the *Gambra*, and died there. This Gentleman engaged the two Pirates, *Davis* and *le Boose*, to go with him to visit *Snelgrave*, and soon after *Cocklyn* and his Quarter-Master, with others, coming on board from the Prize, *Davis* being a generous, brave Man, spoke very strenuously in the Author's Favour, telling *Cocklyn*, he hoped he would use him kindly, and give him some Necessaries, and what remained of his private Adventure. This was not at all relished by *Cocklyn*; however, he invited him and *Glynn* on board the Prize; where, at their Request, *Snelgrave* accompanied them.

Soon after they were on board, they all went into the great Cabin, where he found two Escrutoirs and Chests of Books he had broken to Pieces, and all the fine Goods and Necessaries contained in them gone. The Books had been

thrown over-board, for one of the Pirates swore there was Jaw-work to serve a Nation: He also feared there were some Volumes among them that might breed Mischief enough, and prevent some of their Comrades from going on in their Voyage to Hell, whither they were all bound.

*Taken by
 Pirates.*

THE Liquor, which had been poor *Snelgrave's*,
Quarter-Master's
 going round very merrily, the chief Pirates began to be in good Humour; which Opportunity Captain *Glynn* laid hold of to beg several Necessaries for him of the Quarter-Master. This being readily granted, they were tied-up in Bundles, and Captain *Glynn* designed to take them ashore with him to his House for the Author; but by an unlucky Accident he lost them all: For some of *Davis's* People coming on board one of them, a pert young Fellow of eighteen had broken a Chest open to plunder it. The Quarter-Master hearing of it, went-out of the Cabin to tax him about it; and the Lad replied, that as they were all Pirates, he thought he did what was right. The other struck at him with his broad Sword; but the young Man running away escaped the Blow, and fled to his Master in the Cabin, the Quarter-Master pursued him, and making a Thrust slit the Ball of one of the young Man's Thumbs, and at the same Time slightly wounded Captain *Davis* himself in the Back of his Hands. *Davis* vowed Revenge, saying, that though his Man had offended, yet no-body had a Right to punish him in his Presence, without first acquainting him with it. Hereupon he immediately goes on board his own Ship, and bore-down upon *Cocklyn*; who had certainly been demolished, had not the Author desired Captain *Glynn* to go on board *Davis*, and intercede with him. With much ado the Matter was compromised on these Terms: That *Davis* and his Ship's Company should have their Share of Liquors and Necessaries on board the Prize; and that the Quarter-Master should, before all *Davis's* Crew, acknowledge his Fault, and ask Pardon. Night now approaching, *Glynn* was obliged to go ashore without calling for the Things he had begged, intending to come for them next Day^b.

THE Author staid aboard the Prize with only *Snelgrave's*
third Escape.
 three or four of the Pirates, among whom the bloody-minded Boatswain was one; and as the Carpenter and he sat in the Cabin, down comes the Boatswain very drunk, and began to abuse him; upon which the Carpenter said, he was a base Villain, and turned him out of the Cabin, Soon after a Puff of Wind put-out their Candle, and both rising to blow it in again, they, in the Dark, shifted Places.

MEAN Time the Boatswain came into the Steerage, and finding the Candle out, began to

^a *Snelgrave*, p. 216, & seqq.

^b The same, p. 223, & seqq.

1718. rant and swear; saying, *Snelgrave* had done it with a Design to go into the Powder-Room, undiscovered, and blow-up the Ship. But although the Carpenter told him it was done by Accident, he came into the Cabin; and not knowing they had changed Places, presented a Pistol, swearing, at that Instant, he would blow *Snelgrave's* Brains out. By good Fortune the Pistol only flashed in the Pan; by the Light of which, the Carpenter perceiving that he should have been shot if it had gone off, was so provoked, that he ran in the Dark to the Boatswain; and wrenching the Pistol out of his Hand, beat him with that and his Fist to such a Degree, that he almost left him for dead. The Noise alarmed the Pirate-Ship, who sent an Officer and took away this Villain, says the Author, who had three Times attempted to murder me.

Strange
W'affe.

He slept well after this, but was waked early in the Morning by the Noise of *Davis's* Crew, who came to fetch away the Liquors and Necessaries, as had been agreed-on. They and *Cocklyn's* Crew made rare Havock of it. They hoisted on Deck a great many half Hogheads of Claret and French Brandy, knocked-out their Heads, dipped Cans and Bowls into them to drink out of, and in Sport threw whole Buckets-full on one another; then in the Evening washed the Decks with what remained in the Casks. As to bottled Liquor, they would not be at the Trouble of drawing-out the Cork, but nicked them, as they called it; that is, struck-off their Necks with a Cutlass, by which Means one in three was generally broken: So that, in a short Time, there was no Liquor left, but only a little French Brandy; and the Eatables, such as Cheese, Butter, Sugar, &c. were gone as soon.

Pirate's
Admonition.

As for Necessaries, which the Quarter-Master gave the Author, a Company of drunken Pirates coming into the Cabin, and stumbling over some Goods, took them with three of his Bundles and threw them over-board: So that he had then but one Bundle left, in which was a black Suit of Cloaths and other Things the Gang had spared. They being gone-out, another, who was tolerably sober, came-in soon after, and observing the Bundle, said, he would see what was in it. Accordingly, he took-out the black Suit, with a good Hat and Wig; and when *Snelgrave* expostulated mildly with him not to deprive him of them, he lifted-up his broad Sword and gave him a Blow on the Shoulder with the flat Side, whispering at the same Time, I give you this Caution, never to dispute the Will of a Pirate: For supposing I had cleft your Skull asunder for your Impudence, what would you have gotten by it, but Destruction? Indeed you may flatter yourself I should have been put to Death for killing a Prisoner in cold

Blood; but be assured, my Friends would have brought me off on such an Occasion. *Snelgrave* gave him Thanks for his Admonition, and soon after he put-on the Cloaths: But in less than half an Hour after he took them off, and threw them over-board; for some of the Pirates, seeing him dressed in that flouting Manner, had foused him with Buckets of Claret. This Person told the Author, that his Name was *Sam*, but his true Name was *Francis Kennedy*; and he was afterwards hanged at Execution-Dock.

Taken by
Pirates.

By the Time Night came-on, the Author had nothing left of the Bundles but a Hat and Wig; which hanging on Pins in the Cabin, a Person half drunk came-in and put them on, saying, he was a great Merchant on Shore, and that his Name was *Hogbin*: But supposing him to be a Pirate, *Snelgrave* said little to him. As he was going-out of the Cabin, he met *Cocklyn's* Quarter-Master, who knowing him not to be one of the Crew, beat him very severely for taking Things he had no Right to. Then coming to the Author, civilly asked him, how he did after all the Hurly-Burly? On his replying, that he had lost all the Necessaries he had given him, he promised to recover what he could, but was not as good as his Word. However *Snelgrave* owns, that whenever they plundered him, no Affront was offered to his Person; on the contrary, several brought him Liquor and Slices of Ham broiled, with a Biscuit for his Plate, saying, they pitied his Condition.

Pirates
glutted.

Next Day *le Boose's* Crew were permitted to come on board the Prize, where they finished what was left of the Liquors and Necessaries, acting in the same Manner the others had done before them.

AFTER this Hurry, the Author got Leave to go to *Glynn's* House, where he and the Pirate Captains received him very civilly; and upon his telling them he had lost all his Necessaries, the latter promised to do what they could to recover some again. He was greatly refreshed by putting-on a clean Shirt begged of *Glynn*, with whom he likewise rested well that Night.

The Pirates
Generosity

Next Day, going on board in Company with the Pirate-Captains, *Davis* desired *Cocklyn* to order all his People on the Quarter-Deck, and made a Speech to them in his Behalf; which they relishing better than that he had formerly made, it was resolved to give *Snelgrave* the Ship they designed to leave, in order to go into the Prize; with the Remainder not only of his own Cargo, but those of several other Prizes also; which, in the Whole, were worth several thousand Pounds. One of the leading Pirates proposed, that they should take him along with them

* See *Johnson's* History of Pirates for an Account of this Man.

* *Snelgrave*, p. 231, & seq.

1718. *Snelgrave* down the Coast of *Guinea*, where he might exchange the Goods for Gold; saying, that if, to make a quick Sale, he sold them at prime Cost, he should get Money enough by them: That, no Doubt, as they went down the Coast, they should take some *French* and *Portuguese* Vessels, and then they might give him as many of their best Slaves as would fill his Ship: That then he would advise the Author to go for the Island of *St. Thomas* in the *West Indies*, a free Port belonging to the *Danes*, and sell them there with the Vessel: That, in short, after rewarding his People in a handsome Manner, he might return with a large Sum of Money to *London*, and bid the Merchants Defiance.

SNELGRAVE demurring to this, they began to grow angry, many of them being so ignorant as to think their Gift would have been legal. On this Captain *Davis* said, I know this Man, and can easily guess his Thoughts; which are, that if he should act in the Manner you propose, he should for ever after lose his Reputation. Now I am for allowing every-body to go to the Devil his own Way; so desire you will give him the Remains of his own Cargo, with what is left of his private Adventure, and let him do what he thinks fit with it.

THIS was readily granted, and they advised the Author to take *le Boose's* Brigantine, which he had just then quitted, and carry her along the Ship's Side, in order to save the Goods then left undestroyed in her; allowing him some of his own People to do it. By this Means they saved a considerable Part of the Cargo; but of his private Adventure, not above thirty Pounds Value; for that chiefly consisting in Necessaries and Liquors, with fine Goods, was soon destroyed by the Pirates: For Instance, they took several Pieces of fine *Holland*, opened them, and spreading them on the *Dock*, lay down on them: Then others came and threw Buckets of *Claret* on them, which rousing them, and staining the *Hollands*, they flung them over-board.

CAPTAIN *DAVIS* further obtained for *Snelgrave*, that he might lie on board the *Two Friends*, Captain *Elliot* of *Barbados*, whom they had taken and forced to be their Store-Ship; and that he might go on Shore when he pleased to Captain *Glynn's* House, on Condition he should return whenever they sent for him. So he brought the Brigantine along-Side the Prize, and as *Bale-Goods* and *Cases* came to Hand, they got them into her; only now and then they lost some: For if they could not receive them as fast as they expected, they would let them drop over-board. The same they did by a Quantity of *Irish-Beef* the Day after *Snelgrave* was taken; for they de-

spised it, having so much *English* in the other Prizes; and when *Snelgrave* begged it for his People, *Cocklyn* told him, there were *Horse-beans* enough in the Prize to serve him and his People for six Months.

Taken by
Pirates.

SECT. VII.

TRANSACTIONS with the Pirates continued.

Danger from false Reports. Bravery of two Captains. The Quarter-Master dies. The Pirates wavering. Their Captains turn Beaus. Stripped of their Finery. Many Ships taken. Cruel Usage. A narrow Escape. Snelgrave set free. The Ship takes Fire. Danger of blowing-up. Luckily quenched. A kind Pirate: An ill-natured one. Davis the Pirate, treacherously slain by the Portuguese. Roberts succeeds him. The Author sails for England: Arrives at Bristol.

THE same Day the Prisoners were put in great Danger by Means of some *Negros*, who confidently averred, that one of the Pirates Crew was murdered by two Captains, *Bennet* and *Thompson*, who had fled into the Woods formerly from their Rage; adding, that these two coming to the House of one *Mr. Jones* (who lived a great Way up the River) to seek for Provisions, they there met-with the Person whom they had killed. Upon this Report, the Pirates resolved to revenge the Murder on their Prisoners, and the Author among the rest; who, however, by pleading the Injustice of it, as also the Uncertainty of the Truth, calmed their Fury, till the Man, who was reported to be killed, came on board, and told his Comrades, that they had indeed met-with those Captains at *Jones's*, but were only threatened by them.

As to these two Captains, the Author had this Account of their Misfortunes from their own Mouths. *John Bennet* being bound from *Antigua* to *Guinea*, was taken at *Cape de Verde* Islands by *Davis*; who, after plundering, restored him his Ship, with which he went into the River of *Sierra Leona*, where that Person had put-in before him. On *Cocklyn's* Arrival, they carried their Ships up to *Beuse-Island*, the Settlement of the *African-Company*, where one *Plunket* was Governor. Here they made a Battery, and landed Ammunition. When *le Boose* entered the River, he went-up to attack them, and they bravely defended themselves: But soon after, *Cocklyn* coming to his Assistance, their Men began to falter; so that the two gallant Captains, with *Plunket* and several of their Officers, to save their Lives, were obliged to fly into the Woods;

Bravery of
two Cap-
tains.

* *Snelgrave*, p. 238, & seq.

b In the Original, *Brents-Island*.

where,

1718. where, for many Weeks, they subsisted on Rice a
Snelgrave. and some Oysters they got in the Night from the
 River-Side. Their Ships were burnt, and *le*
Boose took, for his own Use, one *Lambe's* Ship,
 which, at that Time, lay farther-up the River.

BUT to return: The Author was four Days
 employed in saving his Goods. He slept on board
 the Pirates Tender, commanded by *Ellist*, who
 having a great Ascendant over the leading Pirates,
 used the common Sort roughly, beating them,
 and telling them, he was sure he should see them
 hanged one Day at Execution-Dock.

The Quar-
ter-Master
dies.

ABOUT this Time the Quarter-Master fell
 sick of a Fever, and sent for *Snelgrave* to beg
 Forgiveness for attempting to shoot him. He
 said he had been a most wicked Wretch, and now
 his Conscience tormented him, fearing he should
 be punished, as he deserved, in Hell-Fire. *Snel-*
grave preaching Repentance to him, he replied,
 O! Sir, my Heart is hardened! promising, how-
 ever, to try for it. While he was in this good
 Mood, he ordered his Boy to let the Author take
 what Necessaries he would out of his Chest, by
 which Means he provided himself with Shirts,
 Stockings, and several other Things.

THE Quarter-Master died that Night in ter-
 rible Agonies, curling his Maker in so shocking
 a Manner, that it affected many of the new en-
 tered Men, who applied to *Snelgrave* for his Ad-
 vice and Assistance how to get away. He durst
 not meddle in it, but exhorted them not to be
 guilty of Murder, or any other Cruelty to those
 they should take; which, he said, would be a
 great Advantage to them, if ever they resolved to
 embrace the King's Pardon. It seems he had
 on board his Majesty's Proclamation for a Pardon
 to Pirates that should surrender themselves at any
 of the British Plantations by the first of July,
 1719. This and the Declaration of War against
Spain fell into the Hands of the Pirates; who,
 not being able to read, bid him do it for them.

Pirates
supplicating.

There being Rewards offered in the Proclamation
 to those who should take or destroy Pirates, this
 put them into a Rage; however, upon reading
 the Declaration of War, some said, they wished
 they had known it before they left the *West In-*
dies. In Answer to this, *Snelgrave* observed, that
 they had yet Time enough, there being still three
 Months to come of the Term limited by the
 Proclamation. He added, that as War was de-
 clared against *Spain*, they might go a Private-
 teering, and enrich themselves. Many of them
 relished it very well; but some old Buccaneer,
 who had been guilty of Murder, &c. used the
 Proclamation with great Contempt, and tore it
 in Pieces.

AMONG the rest that came to consult the Au-
 thor, how to get-off, there was one *Ambrase*
Curtis; who, being in a bad State of Health, ge-
 nerally walked the Deck in a Silk Night-Gown.
 He knew *Snelgrave*, though not remembered by
 him; and said to him, I was, eleven Years ago,
 at Sea with your Father, who used me severely,
 as being an unlucky Boy. On his dying in *Vir-*
ginia, you brought the Ship home, and used me
 kindly on the Voyage. He promised, when the
 Author's Things came to be sold at the Mast, to
 buy some of them for him, in which he proved
 as good as his Word: But he died before they
 left *Sierra Leona*.

Taken by
Pirates.

AMONGST the Author's Adventure of Goods,
 he had in a Box three second-Hand embroidered
 Coats; and one Day the three Pirate Captains,
 coming on board the Prize, ordered them to be
 taken-out, and immediately put them on. The
 longest falling to *Cocklyn's* Share, who was a
 very short Man, it reached almost to his An-
 cles: And he would fain have changed with *le Boose*
 or *Davis*; but they refused, telling him, as they
 were going ashore among the Negro-Ladies,
 who did not know the white Mens Fashions, it
 was no Matter. Moreover, as his Coat was
 Scarlet, embroidered with Silver, they believed
 he would have the Preference of them (whose
 Coats were not so showy) in the Opinion of their
 Mistresses. This making him easy, they all went
 on Shore together.

The Captains
turn Pirates.

IT is a Rule among Pirates to allow no Wo-
 men on board their Ships, when in Harbour;
 and if they take a Prize at Sea with a Woman
 on board, no one dares force her. This being a
 good political Rule, to prevent Disturbances, is
 strictly observed. So now these went ashore to
 the Negro-Women, who were fond of them,
 for the Sake of their Presents. Nay, some white
 Men there did not scruple to lend them their
 black Wives on that Account.

BUT these Cloaths being taken without the
 Quarter-Master's Leave, greatly offended the
 whole Crew; who alledged, if they suffered such
 Things, the Captains for the future would assume
 a Power to take whatever they liked for them-
 selves. In short, upon the Captains Return, next
 Morning, their Coats were taken from them, and
 put into the common Chest to be sold at the
 Mast; and it having been reported, that *Snel-*
grave had a Hand in advising them to put them
 on, it gained him the ill Will, particularly of
 one *Williams*, who was Quarter-Master of *le*
Boose's Ship. This Man seeing the Author in the
 Tender's Boat going on board a French Ship,
 lately taken where he then was, swore that if

Stripped of
their Privileges.

1718. he came there, he would cut him to Pieces, for a the Advice he had given the Captains: But *El-list*, who was then in the Boat, whispered *Snelgrave*, saying, do not be afraid of him, for it is his usual Way of talking; but he sure call him Captain, as soon as you get on board. It seems, he had been Commander of a Pirate-Sloop, who, with a Brigantine, two Years before, took Captain *Laurence Prince*, in the *Whidow-Galley*, near *Jamaica*; and being now Quarter-Master, which Post he did not like, loved to be called Captain. On entering the Ship, the Author said, Captain *Williams*, pray hear me upon the Point you are so offended at. Thereupon *Williams* gave him a slight Blow on the Shoulder with the flat Side of his Cutlass; saying, he had not a Heart to hurt him. And when the Author told him how the Affair really happened, he gave him a Cag of Wine, and was his Friend ever after.

Many Ships taken.

THE French Ship fell into their Hands thus: She was driven, for Want of an Observation, into *Sierra Leona*; where, seeing a great Number of Ships, she came boldly towards them. The Author, being then on board *Cocklyn's* old Ship, saw the great Fear and Confusion among them, and his Mate, who had entered with them, said, he believed, by her Boldness, that she was the *Launceston* Man of War of forty Guns, which *Snelgrave* had left in *Holland*, and was to have followed to the Coast of *Guinea*.

THE Author wished it had been either that, or a twenty-Gun Ship, for that or any other would have easily destroyed them whilst he was with them; in regard the new-entered Men wanted Courage, and all were so much in Liquor. In such Case, that terrible Destruction would have been prevented, which beset above an hundred Sail of Ships that fell afterwards into their Hands in going-down the Coast of *Guinea*; together with those Damages that happened a good while after in the *East Indies* by some of this Gang; and the great Ravage made by *Roberts* (who rose out of *Davis's* *Athes*) the second Time on that Coast, till he was happily destroyed by *Sir Chaloner Ogle* in the *Swallow* Man of War. But, says the Author, the Reason why no timely Care was taken to prevent so great a Destruction, is not proper for me to mention in this Place.

SNELGRAVE desiring to go aboard the Tender, it was readily granted; several also of his People, who had entered with the Pirates, said, they would go along with him, for that they had never seen a Gun fired in Anger. *Cocklyn* hearing this, told them how they should learn to smell Gunpowder, and canted them heartily.

THE Frenchman made no Resistance; but because he did not strike on their first Firing, they put a Rope about his Neck, and hoisted him several Times up and down to the Main-Yard-Arm, till he was almost dead: But *le Boosé* coming at that Instant luckily saved his Life; and highly resenting this cruel Usage to his Countrymen, protested he would remain no longer in Partnership with such barbarous Villains. So to pacify him, they left the Frenchman with the Ship in his Care; and after the Cargo was destroyed, cut the Ship's Masts by the Board, and ran her on Shore, for she was very old, and not fit for their Purpose.

Taken by Pirates.
Cruel Usage.

AFTER this, the Author was employed in landing out of the Brigantine the Goods that had been given him out of the Prize, and carrying them to the House of Mr. *Glynn*, who worked very hard as well as himself: For his own People not entered with the Pirates were obliged to work in fitting the Prize for them; and the Natives, who served *Glynn* at his House, were grown so insolent, (on Account of the large Quantities of Goods given them by the Pirates) that they would do nothing but just what they pleased: However at last they got them housed.

APRIL the twentieth, the Prize (which had been the Author's Ship) being completely fitted, next Day she was named: To which Ceremony he was invited. When they came into the great Cabin, Bumpers of Punch were put into their Hands; and on Captain *Cocklyn's* saying aloud, God bless the *Wyndham-Galley*, they drank the Liquor, broke the Glasses, and the Guns fired.

A narrow Escape.

THE Ship being Galley-built, with only two stush Decks, the Powder-Room Scuttle was in the great Cabin, and happened at that Time to be open. One of the aftermost Guns blowing at the Touch-hole, set Fire to some Cartouch-Boxes, that had Cartridges in them for small Arms, the Shot and Fire of which flew about, and made a great Smother. When it was over, Captain *Davis* observed the great Danger that arose from the Scuttle's being open, there lying in a Room under, above twenty thousand Weight of Gunpowder. *Cocklyn* replied, He wished it had taken Fire, for it would have been a noble Blast to have gone to Hell with.

AFTER this, three Prizes, that remained undestroyed, were ordered to be burnt: But upon *Snelgrave's* Application to *Davis*, they were all saved, and they made a Bonfire only of the *Old Rising-Sun*. Captain *Davis* likewise obtained the Author his Liberty; and he went on Shore to his Friend *Glynn's* House again.

Snelgrave's
set free.

1718. Two Days after this, being sent for, he went a *Snelgrave*, to Captain *Elliot*, who, on his coming on board, privately represented to *Snelgrave*, That, as he had been obliged by the Pirates, against his Will, to receive into his Ship a great Quantity of other Peoples Goods, for which he might, hereafter, be called to an Account, he therefore desired from him a Certificate, testifying the Truth of it; to which the Author readily complied. *Elliot* was a very honest Man; for the Pirates compelling him to go-out of the River with them as their Tender, he took the first Opportunity of going from them, as there happened a Tornado that very Night; and succeeding in his Attempt, he made a good Voyage for his Owners, with Slaves to *Barbados*, where he fell-sick and died.

WHILE he was here, the three Pirate-Captains coming-by, took him along with them to sup on board Captain *Davis*. Supper being brought, the Music played, amongst which was a Trumpeter who had been forced to enter out of one of the Prizes. But, about the Middle of Supper, there was a sudden Cry of Fire, and instantly a Person came and said, the main-Hatch-Way was all in a Flame. At that Time, besides the Crew, which were mostly drunk, there were on board at least fifty Prisoners; and several Boats being along-Side, many People jumped into them and put-off: Upon which, *Snelgrave* observing to *Davis* their own Danger, on being left without ever a Boat, he fired one of his great Guns at them, and brought them back.

AFTER this, one *Golding*, the Gunner's Mate, called, out of the main-Hatch-Way, for Blankets and Water to lay upon the Bulk-Head of the Powder-Room. Both were, with much ado, provided; and thus the Ship was saved: For it must have blown-up, had the Bulk-Head taken-Fire, there being on board, thirty thousand Weight of Gunpowder, which had been taken-out of several Prizes; it being a Commodity in great Request among the Negroes. Still the Fire continued in the Hold, and the Boats having, in the Confusion, slipped away again, the Author took one of the Quarter-Deck Gratings and lowered it, by a Rope, over the Ship's-Side, designing to get on that; if he should be forced to quit the Ship. While he stood musing here, he heard a loud Shout on the Main-Deck, with a Huzza for a brave Blast to go to Hell with; but many of the new-entered Pirates were struck with a Panic, and began to condemn their own Folly, for entering among such a Crew of Villains.

UPON this Alarm, above fifty People crowded on the Bowsprit and Sprit-Sail-Yard, expecting when the Ship should be blown to Atoms: But one *Taylor*, the Master, a very brisk and courageous Man (who afterwards commanded the *Cassandra*, an English East-India Ship, and carried her to *New-Spain*, where he and his Crew separated) with fifteen more, who had spared no Pains to conquer the Fire in the Hold, came upon Deck about ten o'Clock, and declared the Danger was over, when least expected: But they were miserably burnt, and the Surgeon dressed them. This Fire happened through the Carelessness of a Negro, who holding his Candle too near the Bung-Hole of a Hogthead of Rum, while he pumped it, a Spark fell into it and set it on Fire. This fired another Cask, and both their Heads flew off, with a Report equal to that of a small Cannon: But though there were twenty Casks of Rum, with as many Barrels of Pitch and Tar near them, yet all escaped.

BEFORE Morning, *Golding*, the Gunner's-Mate, above-mentioned, having spoken in *Snelgrave's* Favour, on his Behaviour at the Fire, several of the Crew desired him to come on board the *Wyndham-Galley*, where his Things were sold at the Mast, and they would be kind to him. The like did Captain *Davis*, who being assured his Watch was a good one, said he would buy it, at any Rate, for his own Use. As they were talking, one of the Mates, half drunk, proposed that the Author might go Pilot with them down the Coast of *Guinea*; but *Davis* told him they wanted none, and, on his growing troublesome, caned him off the Quarter-Deck. Soon after, *Snelgrave* went ashore to his Friend *Glynn's* House.

Two Days after, a small Vessel coming into the River was taken by them: She was called the *Dispatch*, Captain *Wilson*, belonging to the *African-Company*. *Snelgrave's* first Mate, *Jones*, told them, on this Occasion, that he had once commanded a Ship, hired and freighted by the *African-Company*, and had been very unjustly used by them; so he desired the *Dispatch* might be burnt for his Revenge. This being ordered accordingly, one *John Stubbs*, a witty, brisk Fellow, stood-up and said, Pray, Gentlemen, hold, and I will prove to you, if this Ship is burnt, you will thereby greatly serve the Company's Interest. This Speech drawing every one's Attention, he went-on, saying, The Vessel has been out two Years, is old and crazy and almost eaten to Pieces by the Worms; besides, her Stores are worth little, and her Cargo consists only of a little red Wood and Malaghetta Pepper; so the Com-

1718. *any have little to lose if she be burnt, and they a Snelgrave, will save all the Mens Wages, which is three Times the Value of the Vessel and her Cargo.* Upon this she was spared, and delivered again to Captain *Wilson*, who afterwards came safe to England in her ^a.

An ill-natured one.

APRIL the twenty-ninth, the Author's Necessaries being sold on board the *Wyndham-Galley*, Captain *Cocklyn*, he went himself; and several of the Pirates bought many that had been his, and gave them to him, and *James Griffin*, his School-fellow, begged from others. Likewise, two white Men, in whose Canoe he came, got several great Bundles of Cloaths and Goods for themselves. All these together made a great Heap, which the Pirates observing, said, *Snelgrave* was insatiable, and that it would be a good Deed to throw them over-board. *Griffin* hearing this, advised him to go immediately on Shore; and it was well he did, for soon after his Watch was put to Sale; and having been run-up to an hundred Pound, to spite *Davis*, who paid the Money down, one of them, greatly vexed at it, said, he believed the Cases were not good Gold, and tried them on a Touch-Stone. The Touch looking of a Copperish Colour, (as usual by the great Alloy put-in to harden them) this Villain made it a Handle to exclaim against the Author, saying, he was a greater Rogue than any of them, who openly professed Piracy, since he was so fly as to bring a base Metal Watch, and endeavour d to put it off for a Gold one.

THIS Speech procured him the Anger of many who knew him no better. And though *Davis* laughed at it, yet several swore, that if he was aboard, they would have whipped him. *Griffin* informed him of all that had passed, and advised him to go into the Woods, for that they should sail quickly out of the River. This Advice he was going to put in Execution, when he was informed, that the three Pirate-Ships with their Tender were actually under Sail. The News was brought by Mr. *James Bleau*, his Surgeon; (who, on the Surgeon of the French Ship entering with them, obtained his Liberty) and gave all those on Shore the highest Satisfaction; for *Snelgrave* had been in their Hands a Month, and many others much longer.

HAVING thus gotten rid of the Pirates, the Author informs us what became of his two Friends, *Griffin* and *Davis*.

THE first took an Opportunity of getting from the Pirates, by taking away a Boat from the Stern of a Ship he was in, when off the Road of *Animabo* on the Coast of *Guinea*. He was

driven on Shore there unperceived in the Night-time, and from thence went to *Cape Coast-Castle*, belonging to the *African-Company*; from which Place he sailed a Passenger to *Barbados* in an English Ship, where he was taken with a violent Fever, and died.

Taken by Pirates

As to *Davis*, having discovered, a few Days after he left *Sierra Leona*, a Conspiracy to deprive him of his Command, carried-on by *Taylor*, his Master, he timely prevented it: But he and some others went on board the *Wyndham-Galley*, Captain *Cocklyn*, by whom he found *Taylor* had been set-on to displace him. This causing him to leave their Partnership, he took, a few Days after, one Captain *Plumb*, in the *Princess of London*, whose second Mate, *Roberts*, so famous afterwards for his Villanies, entered with him: But the Crew, after plundering the Ship, restored her to *Plumb* again. After this, *Davis* went for the *Island Princes*, belonging to the *Portuguese*, in the Bay of *Guinea*. Here they gave themselves out to be a King's Ship, but were soon discovered by their Lavishness in purchasing fresh Provisions with Goods, although the Governor winked at it on Account of the great Gains. But at last, some putting him in Mind, that if this Affair should come to the King of *Portugal's* Ear, it might prove his Ruin, he plotted how to destroy *Davis* and his Crew, in order to colour over his Crime in permitting them a free Trade, after having discovered they were Pirates.

Davis the Pirate

CAPTAIN *DAVIS* being one Day on Shore with the Governor, told him, that designing to fail from the Island in three Days, he would come and take his Leave of him the Day before: Accordingly he went, carrying with him his first Surgeon, Trumpeter, and some others, besides the Boat's Crew. When they came to the Governor's House, they saw no-body to receive them, so they went-on into a long Gallery fronting the Street. Here the Major Domo came to them, saying, his Master was at his Country-House, but they had sent a Messenger to him, and no Doubt he would soon be in Town. However, the Surgeon observing many People had gotten together in the Street with Arms, advised *Davis* not to stay; and on their going-out, the Major Domo called on the People to fire at them: Whereupon the Surgeon and two more f were killed on the Spot. The Trumpeter, who was wounded in the Arm, seeing two Capuchin Friars, (from whom the Author had this Account at the Island ^b) fled to them. One of them took him in his Arms to save him, but the Por-

Trachery of Spain.

^a *Snelgrave*, p. 268, & seqq.

^b Which differs much from that given in *Johnson's History of Pirates*,

1710.
Snelgrave.

Portuguese shot him dead, not regarding the Friar's Protection. Captain *Davis*, though he had four Balls in divers Parts of his Body, yet continued running towards his Boat: But being closely pursued, a fifth Shot made him fall; and the *Portuguese*, amazed at his great Strength, cut his Throat, that they might be sure of him.

Roberts suc-
ceeds him.

THE Boat's Crew observing the Fray, rowed on board the Ship to give Notice of it, where the Pirates, all in a Flame, directly chose *Roberts* for their Commander, vowing a severe Revenge on the *Portuguese*. The Water being shallow, they could not get their Ship near the Town, so they mounted several Pieces of Cannon on a Raft, with which they fired at the Place: But the Inhabitants having quitted it, and all the Houses being of Timber, they did little Damage: Nor durst they land to burn the Place, for Fear of the great Number of People they saw with small Arms among the Bushes. Upon this they returned on board, and next Day left the Harbour.

THUS fell Captain *Davis*, who, (says the Author) allowing for the Course of Life, he had been unhappily engaged in, was a most generous, humane Person. And thus *Roberts* arose, who proved the reverse of him, and did afterwards a great deal of Mischief in the *West Indies*, and on the Coast of *Guinea*, till he was suppressed by Sir *Chaloner Ogle*; in which Engagement *Roberts* and several of his Crew were killed, as may be seen in the History of the Pirates^a.

WHEN the Pirates were gone from *Sierra Leona*, *Bennet* and *Thompson*, with several others, came-out of the Woods to Captain *Glynn's* House; where they all consulted about preparing the *Bristol-Snow*, which the Pirates had spared at *Snelgrave's* Intreaty, in order to return to *England* in. There was with them one Captain *David Creighton*, in the *Elizabeth* of *London*,

laden with dying Wood: Him they had plundered, but spared the Ship at the Instance of *Griffin*, who had been chief Mate with the Captain's Brother. *Creighton* took as many People as he could, and sailing a few Days after for *London*, they sent Advice by him to their Owners.

Taken by
Pirates.

THE *Bristol-Snow* was commanded by one *John Morris*, a very worthy Person; but finding they should be in great Want of Provisions, Captain *Glynn* sent a small Sloop belonging to him for some to *Sherboro*, where the Pirates had not been. With this, and some Casks of Beef found by one Captain *Nisbet* in his Ship's Ballast, and a large Quantity of Biscuit found in the *French Ship* which had been taken, they were sufficiently provided in all Respects. Lastly, they went to demand the Goods left on Shore by the Pirates, and Messieurs *Mead* and *Pearce* very readily and honourably delivered all they had; but others only shewed what Goods they thought proper, for which *Snelgrave* allowed one Third for Salvage. So shipping all these with the other Goods given him by the Pirates out of *Morris's* Vessel, they embarked in her; being about sixty Passengers, besides six Masters of Ships, whose Vessels had been destroyed, or fitted for the Pirates Use. They left *Sierra Leona*, May the tenth, and came safe to *Bristol*, August the first, 1719.

Arrive at
Bristol.

ON the Author's landing at the Key, he received a Letter from Mr. *Morris*, acknowledging the Receipt of his by Captain *Creighton*, and promising him the Command of another Ship (which he performed soon after.) He likewise ordered Mr. *Casemajor* (the Merchant who delivered him the Letter) to supply him with Money for the poor Sailors; in order to enable them to go to their several Habitations, which were in several Parts of *England*^b.

^a See also before, p. 554.^b *Snelgrave*, p. 277, & seqq.

B O O K IV.

*A Description of GUINEA, including the Geography,
with the Natural and Civil History.*

C H A P. I.

The Malaghetta, Grain, or Pepper-Coast.

S E C T. I.

Guinea, its Name: Division. The Malaghetta or Grain-Coast. Bay of St. Anne. Sombros-Isles. Rio Gamboa and Sherbro. Isles Tota. Sherbro-Isle. English Port. Bagos-Town. Soil and Produce. Rio de Galinhas. Rio Maguiba. River Mavah, or Maffah. Cape Monte: Anchorage: Soil and Produce. The Inhabitants. Dress of the Men: Of the Women. Their Houses: Cookery: Trade: Commodities: Language: Religion.

a *das Palmas*, the Space of an hundred and sixty Leagues: Others make it commence at Cape Monte, fifty-three Leagues to the Eastward of *Sierra Leona*; and some confine it between the River *Sefra* and *Growa*, which reduces its Extent to fifty-five Leagues.

THE Coast, from Cape *Tagrin* to the Island of *Bay of St. Anne*, is encompassed by the *Baixos de St. Anna*, or Shoals of *St. Anne*, and runs South-East by South; forming the large *Angra*, or Bay of *St. Anne*, which reaches at most to *Rio de Gamboas*. On the North-Side of this Bay are the Islands *Bravas*, or *Bananas*; the largest of them is the highest Land, and affords Wood, Water, and Provisions.

Guinea, its Name. **GUINEA**, or *Ghinney*, is a large Extent of Coast, reaching from the River *Sanaga* to Cape *Lope Gonsalvo*, and even as far as Cape *Negro*. The Name, which is unknown to the Natives, and in Use only with Europeans, was first imposed by the Portuguese; probably from the Country of *Gheneboa*, mentioned by *Leo* and *Marmol*, which first occurred on the South-Side of the *Sanaga*.

It is commonly divided into two Parts, the North and South Guinea: The first extending from the *Sanaga* to *Sierra Leona*; the latter from thence to one of the Capes above-mentioned.

Division. **SOUTH GUINEA**, which we come now to treat of, is subdivided into six Parts, or Coasts, the *Malaghetta* or *Grain-Coast*, the *Ivory-Coast*, the *Gold-Coast*, the *Slave-Coast*, the *Benin-Coast*, and the *Biafara-Coast*. There are other Divisions of it*, according to the Fancy of Navigators and Geographers; but this seems the most just and natural.

Malaghetta-Coast. THE *Malaghetta*, the *Pepper*, or the *Grain-Coast*, taken in its largest Sense, extends from *Sierra Leona* to *Growa*, two League Easts of Cape

THE five Islands, called *Sombros*, lie on the South of the Bay, producing Plenty of Oranges, Lemons, *Pimento del Cola*, or *Raba*, a long Pepper, wild Wine-Palms, and Sugar-Canes; *Bananas*, Bees-Wax, and Camwood; besides *Angelin*, a Timber fit for building Ships. The Natives make Soap with Palm-Oil, and Palm-Tree Ashes; which is so highly valued by the Portuguese in these Parts, that they will not suffer it to be exported to Portugal, lest it should undo the Soap-boilers of that Kingdom. The Natives pretend there are Gold and Iron-Mines in their little Island, and that they were separated from the Continent by an Earthquake^b.

THE Depth of the Bay is from five to eight Fathom Mud. Four Rivers run into it, whose Banks are lined with Mangrove-Trees, loaded with Oysters. The *Rio Banquo* is navigable for large Ships; the rest are not much frequented, the adjacent Country being over-grown with thick Forests, full of wild Beasts.

THE *Rio Gamboas* is two Leagues to the South of the *Rio Gamboas* and *Sherbro*.

* See the Division of it by *Snelgrave* before, p. 486.

^b *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 106.

Fig. I. p. 585

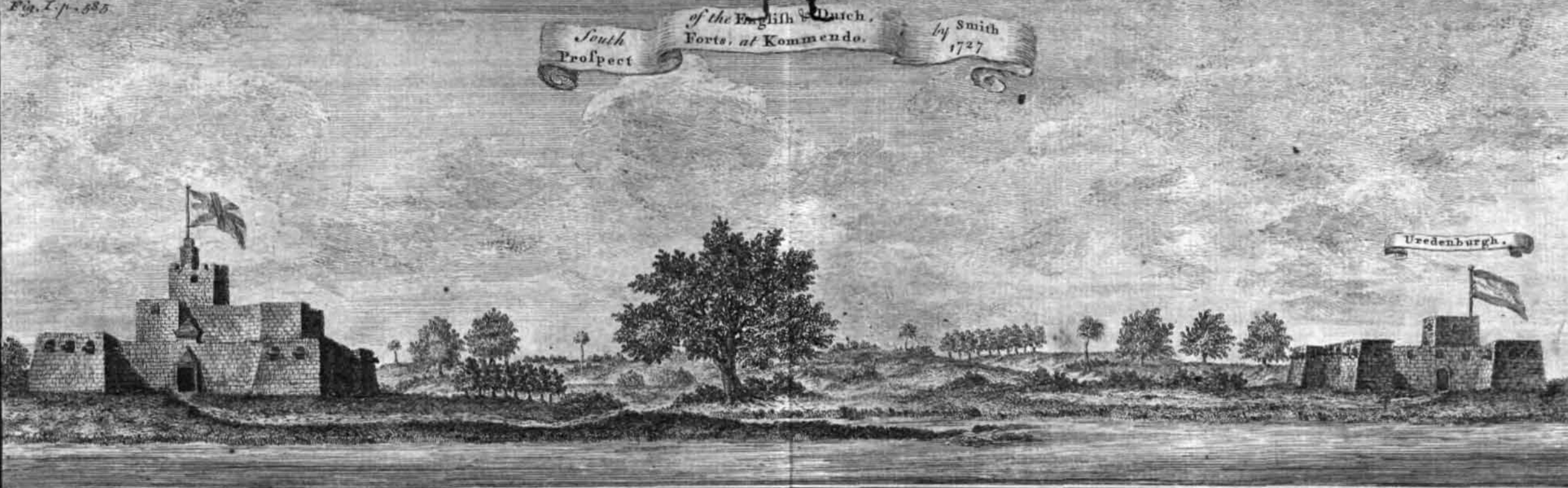


Fig. II. p. 585

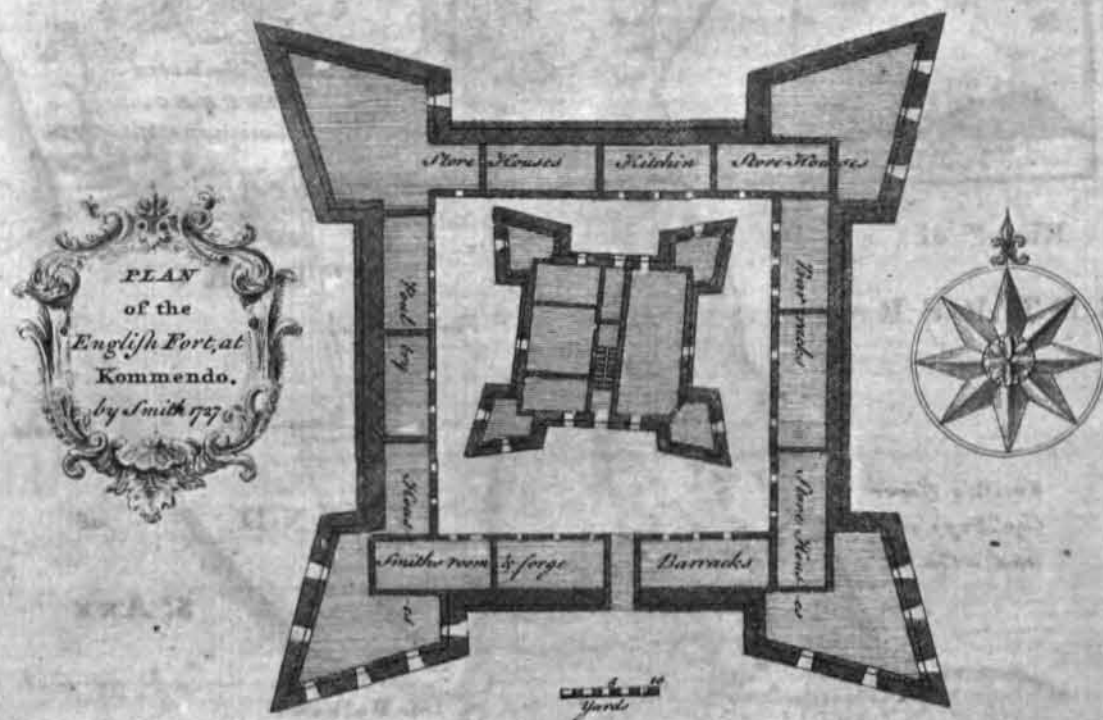


Fig. III. p. 585, 589



Gold-
Coast.European
Traders.Salt and
Fishing.Soko King-
dom.

Inhabitants.

the Author's Time a good Male Slave might be bought there for fifty-five or sixty Pound of *Kowrie*, and sometimes they rose to seventy.

THE French, English and Portuguese chiefly frequent this Coast for Slaves and Provisions: However at some Times, when the inland Country is at Peace, here are no Slaves to be had, as it happened in 1682, when the Author lay three Days here, without being able to get one; though, as *Santi* told him, but two Months before, one of the Men of War, of his little Squadron, had gotten three hundred Slaves in a short Time, which shows the Trade here is uncertain.

THE Country of *Ninge*, *Lampi*, or *Alampi*, is flat and low, populous and fertile, well stored with Cattle; as Cows, Sheep, and Swine, besides Poultry, which are continually bought-up there to supply the Gold-Coast. Their Fishery is inconsiderable, the Shore being high and inaccessible; but the Want of Sea-Fish is made-up by the great Plenty in the Lakes and Rivers.

THE English and Dutch terminate the Gold-Coast at *Lay*, or *Alampi*, above-mentioned, because there the Trade of Gold begins to cease, and that of Slaves commences: But we chose to extend it, with *Artui* and the old Navigators, to the *Rio Volta*; considering the Country between that River and *Lay* as a Frontier, which mixes its Commerce with that of its Neighbours Eastward.

THE Kingdom of *Soko* extends on the West of *Okka*, (a Village East of *Lay*) Eastward to *Rio da Volta*, along the Coast. How far it runs Inland is uncertain, it being a Country of little Commerce with the Europeans, unless by Chance: Some, especially the Portuguese, touch at its maritime Places (which are, *Angulan*; *Bribergu*, or *Bribreku*; *Boya*, and *Aqualla**) either to get Corn, of which it affords Plenty, or to buy *Akanzee* Cloths, which the *Akanzee* bring here, when the inland Roads are safe from Robbers, and sell it to good Advantage.

THE Negroes of *Kale* likewise come to *Soko* by Sea, when they hear of European Ships there, and bring some Slaves.

THE People of *Soko* are chiefly Husbandmen, having no Employment but that and Fishing, though their Fishery turns to little Account on this Coast till you come to *Akra*. Very few of them are rich, unless it be the *Lampi*, *Akra*, or *Aquambe*-Blacks, a pretty Number of whom are settled amongst them, as well as at *Lay*, *Ninge*, *Sinche*, and so to *Pempene*, or *Penni*, Westward.

BESIDES the four Villages before-mentioned on the *Soko*-Coast, there are several Hamlets and Cottages intermixed between them on the Shore, but of no Note. Some Authors reckon this Country a Part of the Kingdom of *Lampi*. The maritime Port of *Soko* is flat and low, rising gradually Inland, and very woody.

RIO DA VOLTA was so called by the Portuguese for its rapid Course and Reflux. Its Source (according to a very modern Author) is in the Kingdom of *Akam*, bordering South on that of *Gago* in nine Degrees North Latitude; running thence through the Country of *Tafeu*, in which are said to be Mines of Gold, and so downwards South through *Quake*, *Aboura*, *Inge*, and other Places. The Coast about it is flat and low, but up the Land it rises into Hills and very steep Mountains. The Shore is bordered all along with a fine, large, sandy Strand, forming several little Bays, having nine Fathom deep about a League out to Sea. The Land is pretty open for some Miles on either Side of the River, where you see a great Number of Palm-Trees placed at equal Distances. The Country farther-up is all woody, or covered with Shrubs and bushy Trees.

BOSMAN says, this is a fine, wide River, discharging its Waters so violently into the Sea, that it is sometimes visible three or four Miles from Shore. How far it extends its Course Inland, the Author knew not. The great Freshes carry-down continually great Numbers of Trees, which sticking fast in the Mouth of the River, occasion a very high Burning of extraordinary Violence, as well as lofty Agitation of the Waves: So that this Place is passible with Canoes but twice in the Year, and that is usually betwixt April and November, the Weather being then calm on the Coast, which generally is just before the rainy Season, when consequently the Reflux of the River is not so swift: But after the Rains, it is not possible to persuade a Negro to venture, though they are constantly used to pass in Boats along Shore, which here, by reason of the mentioned Burnings, they cannot do.

THE Author had passed the Mouth of this Mouth near River four Times aboard a Ship, when the Sailors, who were aloft for the Purpose, always said they saw it; but in 1699, coming in a Canoe from *Wbidah*, he caused himself to be rowed as close to the Shore as the Turnings would permit, but could neither discover the Mouth, nor the least Opening. This verified what he had been told by one of his Servants, who had performed this

* Smith in his Map inserts a Place called *Quittab*, between *Ningo Grande* and *Rio Volta*, but mentions no such in his Voyage. This Name differs but little from *Quedab*, which Phillips gives as another Name to *Wbidah*.

* Barbot, p. 319, & seq.

Gold-
Coast.

Journey by Land, viz. that this River at a small Distance from the Shore and throughout is prodigious wide; but that Westward it is thwarted by a whole Tract of Land, which leaves it but a small Opening or Passage. This Straitness of the Mouth, probably, makes the Ebb much stronger than it would otherwise be^a.

Great Ra-
pidity.

MARSHALL says, that the Rapidity of its Current is such, that its Waters may be distinguished two Leagues at Sea. The Mouth is very broad, and divided in the Middle by a small Isle, steep on all Sides, desert and woody. This Isle is defended by a Shole or Bank which runs about two Leagues from the Shore, on which the Sea breaks with great Violence on the East-Side. The River *Volta* comes from a great Way Inland, but its Course, or the Countries through which it passes, are unknown. Its Inundations do great Mischief, as appears by the large Trees it brings down to the Sea. At these Times it is impossible to cross it even in Canoes. In the dry Seasons it is passable^b.

THE best Mark to discover the Mouth of the *Volta* from the Sea, is a small Wood standing on the East Point of it, though at a Distance the Coast seems to be all Continent.

Free from
Sand-Banks.

ALL the Dutch and English Maps represent the Shore about *Rio Volta*, especially for some Leagues West of the Mouth, as faced with a high, large Sand-Bank. For avoiding this, most European Ships, bound from *Lay* to *Whidah*, or *Ardra*, steer wide of the Coast ten or twelve Leagues, which, if they knew better, they would not do, as it lengthens their Navigation: For there is no Shole or Bank, but a very small one just East of the River's Mouth, (omitted in the above-mentioned Maps) beginning exactly at the East-Side of the Channel or Passage of the River; so that any Ship whatever may safely sail from *Lay* along the Coast

a of *Soko* and *Volta*, steering directly a League and an half distant from Shore.

Geography.

THERE is another Bank of Sand across the Mouth of the River, in the Nature of a Bar, which rendering the Water more shallow, contributes with the violent Reflux and the Narrowness of the Passage to the horrid Swell before-mentioned. The Dutch General at *el Mina*, *Verbouter*, supposing the Author was making Discoveries on the Coast, when he visited him at that Place, advised him by no Means to venture his Yatch into this River, as being the most perilous Thing he could do, even at the Time he spoke, which was in April, the best Season of the Year for entering it: But in the Course of Conversation, some Time after forgetting what he had said before, he added, that he used now and then to send Sloops to *Volta*, which brought back some Quantities of Slaves and Cloths. These Goods, as he told the Author, the Natives bought of the *Nu-*

der-
of
the Dutch.

Ribes near
Nubia.
bians and *Abyssinians*, with whom they have a free Commerce by Means of this River running wide and large a great Way Inland to the North North-East. He shewed *Barbot* some of these Cloths, not unlike the Borders of Needle Tappstry: But *Barbot* supposed this Trade was not very considerable, since the Dutch had made no Settlements there. The Portuguese sometimes touch here, and get some Slaves, Teeth, or Maiz; of which last there is Plenty, but little or no Gold, the Natives scarce knowing that Metal^c.

ATKINS says, the River *Volta* is remarkable for the Rapidity of its Stream, making a very great Sea upon the Bar, and carrying itself off for some Way unmixed: At two Leagues Distance it is only brackish. From hence begins the *Papau* (or *Papa*) Coast, low and woody^d.

^a *Bosman*, p. 328, & seq.

^b *Marshalls*, vol. 2, p. 2, & seq.

^c *Barbot*, p. 320, & seq.

^d *Atkins*, p. 109.

C H A P. VI.

The Inland COUNTRIES behind the Gold-Coast.

S E C T. I.

Inland Countries: Their Names. Awina. Igwira. Great Inkassan. Inkassia Iggina. Tabou Territory. Adom Republic: *Very powerful.* A cruel Monster: *Inflances.* Soil. Gold Mine. Momp. Wassahs. Wanqui. Aquambo: *Its Power: Inhabitants: Government. Effects of Fertility.* Dutch Fort. Quoy Foro. Bonu. Atti. Little Akkani: *Its Inhabitants.* Dinkira: *Trade there.* Inta, or Affienta. Great Akkani: *Its Trade.* Akam. Aqua. Sanquay. Abonü. Quahü. Tafü. Aboura. Quakü. Kammanach. Bonü. Equca. Latabi. Akkaradi. Infoko.

THE inland Countries behind the Gold-Coast being very slenderly known to Europeans, the Reader is not to expect any satisfactory Account of them from Authors. However, as Mention has been made of them in describing the maritime Countries, it may be proper to insert what little is to be found relating to their Situation.

THE inland Countries, according to the best Account of the Blacks, are, *Awina; Igwira; Great Inkassan; Inkassia Iggina; Tabou; Adom; Momp; Wassahs; Wanqui; Abambo; Quoy Foro; Inta, or Affienta; Achim; Aqua; Quakü; Kammanach; Bonü; Equca; Latabi; Akkaradi; Infoko; Dankereis, or Dinkira; Kabsferra,* and the large Kingdom of *Akkance*, which encloses most of the others from the North-West, round to the North-East, besides several petty Kingdoms and Territories interspersed.

ALL these Countries are very rich in Gold, as well as those along the Coast, which the Natives either dig-out of the Earth, or get at the Bottom of their Rivers. They lie between four Degrees thirty Minutes, and eight Degrees North Latitude, and between fifteen and nineteen Degrees of East Longitude from Ferro; containing about three hundred and fifty Leagues in Circumference: A small Compass of Ground for so many Nations!

1. *AWINA* lies near *Adom*, the first on the Gold-Coast. The Natives usually return large Quantities of fine and pure Gold to *Issini* and other Parts of the Coast, and are the fairest

2. Traders of all the Blacks, so that it is a Pleasure to deal with them.

2. *IGWIRA*, or *Egwira* Kingdom, borders *Igwira* South on that of *Achim*, or *Asim*, North on *Great Inkassan*, and East on *Momp*. It is accounted extremely rich in Gold, and that of the purest Sort, either dug-out of the Ground, or found at the Bottom of Rivers. Most of it is conveyed to *Asim* or *Issini*, as Occasion offers, for which Reason these two Places have the finest Gold on the Coast, it passing through few Hands.

Two *Kommendo*-Blacks went some Years ago into *Igwira* with European Goods to trade, and, as they reported, made a good Hand of it: But the Roads between that and *Kommendo* being seldom free from Robbers, the Distance great, and the Nations in the Way guarding the Passes, and exacting heavy Duties for the Liberty of Trade, few care to venture so far.

3. THE Country of *Great Inkassan* is bounded on the South by that of *Igwira*, on the East by those of *Wassahs* and *Wanqui*, and by unknown Countries to the West. The Natives are almost unknown on the Gold-Coast, only a few of them now and then coming down through the Country of *Adom* to trade at *Little Kommendo*, or *Issini*, chiefly to the latter, as much nearer.

4. THE Kingdom of *Inkassia Iggina* reaches on the South to that of *Great Inkassan*, on the East to those of *Wassahs* and *Wanqui*; but to what Parts it extends North and West, is uncertain. The Natives have no Manner of Correspondence with the Negroes on the Coast, and therefore it is quite unknown beyond the next neighbouring Nations.

5. THE little Territory of *Tabou* has *Anta* on the South, *Adom* on the West and North, and *Kommendo* or *Guaffo* on the East, being there separated from it by a little River. The Blacks of *Tabou* trade with the Dutch at *Sama*, or *Shama*, bringing thither Corn, Poultry, Fruits, &c. The Portuguese of *el Mina* used formerly to draw their Subsistence from hence and *Asim*.

6. THE Kingdom of *Adom* has *Tabou* on the West, *Guaffo* on the South, *Wassahs* on the North, and *Abambo* to the East North-East. The Blacks of this Country trade to *Asim* or *Bautri*; but when the Passes are shut, or the

* Barbot's Description of *Gambia*, p. 145.

^b In the Original, *Atym*.

^c Barbot, as before,

Island
Country.
The Country
of Adom.

Roads infested with Robbers, they come usually a

to Little Komendo.
THE Country of Adom stretches along the River Shama in a strait Line, and contains several Islands in it, adorned with fine Towns and Villages: And hence advances above eighteen Leagues West to the River Ankobar.

Very power-
ful.

It is governed by five or six of the principal Men, there being here no King. One of these is so potent, that he can (it is said) carry the King of Tuti upon his Horns. This Republic is an Assembly of Thieves and Villains; yet, if they could be unanimous, might be a Terror to their Neighbours. In 1690, they began a War jointly against the Blacks of Anta, which held for three or four Years, till they had almost ruined the Country and People, who yet will not submit to them, but continue to bid them Defiance. They also were at War with the three Nations on the River Ankobar a few Years past, whom they obliged to buy a Peace, at the Price of a large Sum of Gold.

A great
Master.

In these Expeditions, they had one Anqua, a Negro, for their General, so born for War, that he could not live in Peace; but, as greedy of War as he was, there scarce happened an Encounter with those of Anta, in which he was obliged to his Heels for his Safety: So that, his Companions had been no better Soldiers than himself, he had soon been stopped in his Career; yet the other Governors dared not displease him, as being the most powerful of them all in Men and Money. This was a Monster for Bloodshed and Cruelty: In 1691, having taken five of his principal Antef Enemies, he wounded them all over, and then, with more than brutal Fury, sucked their Blood. One of them, against whom he bore a more than ordinary Grudge, he caused to be laid bound at his Feet, and his Body to be pierced with hot Irons, gathering the Blood that issued from him in a Vessel, one Half of which he drank, and offered up the rest to his God. Thus he served his Foes; and for Want of such, his Subjects took their Turn.

Influence.

In the Year 1692, when he took the Field the second Time against the Anta Blacks, the Author made him a Visit in his Camp near Shama; he was very handsomely entertained according to the Custom of the Country: But whilst they both were diverting themselves, a fresh Opportunity offered for the Exercise of his brutish Cruelty. A Negro observing that one of his Wives had a new-fashioned Coral on, took Part of it in his Hand to look-at, which she, not thinking any Harm, freely permitted him to do; (these Negroes allowing all honest Liberty of Conversation,

even with their Slaves:) But Anqua so much resented this innocent Freedom, that, as soon as Bosman was out of the Camp, he caused both Wife and Slave to be put to Death, drinking their Blood^b, as he used to do those of his Enemies.

For such another trivial Crime, a little before, he had caused the Hands of one of his Wives to be cut off, after which, in Derision, he used to command her to look his Head for Vermin; which being impossible with her Stumps, afforded him no small Diversion. Bosman infers these as Instances of Inhumanity, very contrary to the natural Disposition of the Guinea Blacks.

As the Inland Dealers must come through Adom, in Order to traffic on the Coast, they have a fair Opportunity of enriching themselves by Trade. Besides, they have also several Gold Mines in their Country, one whereof was discovered about three Years before. The Riches of these People, and their Populoufness, have made them so insolent, that it is hard to deal with them.

THE Soil is good, and fruitful in Corn, and other Produce, not only to serve the Natives, but to sell to their Neighbours. Here are Numbers of Cattle, wild and tame, and the Rivers well-stored with Fish; so that nothing necessary is wanting to human Subsistence^c.

7. THE Country of Mompa, or Mumpu, is Mompa utterly unknown; but said to extend West to Igwira, North to Great Inkassan, Wajjabs, and Adom, and East to Anta.

8. THE Country of Wajjabs, (or Warjahis, as Barbot often writes it, and in his Map) has Wanqui on the North, Qui-Foro and Abrambo to the East, Great Inkassan on the West, and Inkassia Iggina on the North-West. It is famous for the great Quantity of Gold brought out of it, though it has but few Rivers; wherefore some say, this Gold comes from within Land. The Soil is usually barren, and produces nothing considerable, the chief Business of the Natives being to gather Gold, in order to purchase European Goods, and so trade with their Neighbours.

9. THE Territory of Wanqui, (Wanqui, or Wanqui Wanki) is bounded on the West by Inkassia Iggi-Terney, on the South by Wajjabs, on the North by Bono. The Natives have the Art of weaving fine Stuffs with Gold, which they sell to the People of Akkani, who sell them again to the People of Gago, and Akkani, to the North of them.

10. THE Kingdom of Aquambo (or Akombu) extends to Adom, and Wajjabs, on the West, to Guaffo on the South, to Atti on the East, to Ak-

^a Observe, Bosman saw none of these bloody Doings. See and Barbot's Description of Guinea, p. 153.

^b Bosman's Description of Guinea, p. 274. ^c In the Original, Aquambo.

*Island
Coast.*

kani on the North; and to *Petä* to the South-^a West. It is a populous Country, and of considerable Trade, great Numbers of the Natives constantly resorting to *Mouri* to exchange their Gold for Linen and Iron, and some of them being settled there as Brokers or Traders.

THESE *Aquambo*-Negros are naturally brave and warlike, and for the most Part at Variance with the *Akkaneze*, by whom, for many Years, they have been infested, there being a natural Hatred between these two Nations ^a.

Barbar.

BOSMAN observes, that several Kingdoms of the Coast, for above seventy Miles, are subject to him of *Aquambo*, who exercises an unlimited Sovereignty over them, as well as his own Subjects. His arbitrary, despotic Power has given Rise to a Proverb, *That there are but two Sorts of People in Aquambo, of which the King and his Friends are one, and their Slaves the other.*

Inhabitants.

THE *Aquambo*-Negros are very haughty, arrogant, and warlike, their Power being very terrible to all their Neighbours, except *Akim*. Those under their Dominions are miserably tormented with the daily Inroads and Plunders of the Soldiers, whom they dare not oppose in the least, for the King never fails severely to revenge his Soldiers Quarrels.

Government.

SOME Time ago the *Aquamboan* Government was administered by two, the old and young King; but the latter was excluded as a Minor by his Father's Brother, assisted by his own Mother: So that the two Brothers reigned in Conjunction. This double-headed Monarchy was so much worse for the Subjects, who found in it two Tyrants instead of one; till, in 1699, the old King dying, the young one established himself on the Throne, and utterly excluded the other.

THE old King was a Man of a wicked, abject Temper, an inveterate Enemy to the Europeans; and though he received from the *English*, *Danes* and *Dutch* an Ounce of Gold in Acknowledgment of the Liberty given them by his Predecessors to build in his Dominions, yet he horribly plagued them; and upon any fancied Injury, shutting-up the Passes, entirely stopped the Trade, and thus obliged all three to make Satisfaction.

*State of
Country.*

The young King was a more intelligent and rational Negro, as well as a Friend to the Europeans, especially the *Hollanders*; for being dangerously ill of a Disease, which his own Physicians could not cure, he confidently entrusted himself in their Hands, came in Person to their Fort, with a few Attendants only, and resided there for some Time. He was handled indeed a little roughly by their Barber, who, in the End,

luckily succeeded pretty well, though he could ^{completely} not perfectly restore him to his Manhood, and the Embraces of his Wives, any more. This was the Effect of excessive Venerie in his Youth.

IN the old King's Time the *Dutch* were very *Dutch* desirous to build a Fort, and began one near the Village *Penni*, at the End of the *Gold-Coast*: But when the Ship, with the building Materials, arrived at *Akkra*, being informed that *Ado* was gone with his Army against the Enemy, they desisted, for fear the old King should impose on them too much; which proved very fortunate, for they found the Trade would not have answered the Expence of a Fort, a Lodge with a Man or two being sufficient.

11. THE Land of *Quy Fero* (otherwise called *Quy Fero*, *Juffer*) is bounded by the *Wajabs* to the West, *Abrambo* to the South, *Bono* to the North, and *Akkani* to the East. It is a barren Country, the Natives simple and little acquainted with Trade.

12. THE Land of *Bono* (*Bonä*, or *Bonaw*) ^{North} reaches West to *Wangui*, South to *Quy Fero*, East to *Akkani* and *Inta*. The Natives never go to the Coast any more than those of *Mompa*.

13. THE Territory of *Atti* has *Abrambo* on the West, *Petä*, *Sabü* and *Fantiu* to the South, and *Dabo* on the North. These People had formerly a great Trade with the *Dutch*, but being exhausted by their Wars with *Sabü*, they have since employed themselves in Tillage, the Country being fruitful. They are in some Measure dependent on those of *Akkani*, whose Inhabitants can cut-off their Interourse with the Coast at Pleasure. The *Akkaneze*, to engross the Trade, have settled a great Market at *Akkani*, on certain appointed Days, where the neighbouring Natives resort to buy Iron, which the *Akkaneze* bring from the Coast.

14. THE Kingdom of *Akkani* (or *Akkaneze*) ^{Little Ak-} is commonly distinguished by the Names of *Akkani Grandé*, or the *Great*, and *Akkani Pequeno*, or the *Little*. The latter is said, on the West, to extend to *Quy Fero* and *Bonä*; on the South to *Dabo*, *Atti*, and *Abrambo*; on the North to *Inta*; and on the East to *Akim*, or *Achim*. The great Town of *Dabo* is near the Frontiers next to *Atti*.

THE *Akkaneze* are famous for the great Trade ^{Inhabitants} they drive not only on the Coast, but Inland. These Blacks, in Company with those of *Kabesterra*, (a Country between them and *Sabü*) used to bring-down the Gold from *Affienta* and *Akim*, with some of their own to trade on the Coast; and that which they sold was so fine, that to this Day the best Gold is by the *Kommodo* and *Wimba*, or *Winneba* People, called *Akkani*.

^a *Barbar*, p. 188.

^b *Id.* 189.

^c Or, *Pompna*, between *Clinka* and *Ley*, or *Alampi*.

^d *Bosman*, p. 64.

Clinka.

Gold Coast. *Dinkira*, because it was never mixed like that of

THE *Akkani*-Blacks are naturally of a turbulent Temper, haughty and warlike, which makes them either much feared or loved by their Neighbours, and entertained at free Cost, as they travel through these Countries. Their usual Weapons are an *Affagaye*, or Javelin, a Buckler, and a Simitar. Their Language nearly resembles that of *Fetù*, *Atti*, *Sabù*, *Abramba*, and *Fantin*, but is a little softer to the Ear. The *Akkaneze* Merchants carry all the Goods they buy on the Coast by Land on their Slaves Backs to the Markets at *Atti*, *Sabù*, and other inland Places; paying at the Passes the Duties to the Governors or Kings of the Countries through which they pass. Many of them can still speak some Words of *Portuguese*, and the *Lingua Franca* handed-down from their Ancestors, who learnt it when the *Portuguese* had the sole Trade on the Coast. This *Lingua Franca* is a Corruption of *Italian*, *Latin*, *French*, and *Portuguese*.

Dinkira Kingdom.

15. THE Country of *Dinkira* lies ten Days Journey by Land from *Axim*, and five from *Mina*, due North, having *Kabesterra* on the East, *Adom* on the West, and *Akkani* on the North. The Roads from *Axim* and *Mina* hither are very bad and winding, which makes the Distance, in travelling, double. Whether the Blacks cannot or will not remedy this Inconvenience, which might be easily done, is uncertain.

THIS Country was formerly of small Compaſs, and not very populous, but the natural Valour of its People has enlarged its Limits, and raised its Power so high, that they are respected by all their Neighbours, except those of *Affienta* and *Akim*, who are more powerful than they.

Trade.

THE *Dinkireze* are rich in Gold, as well what their own Mines afford them, as what they get from other Parts, either by Plunder or Trade, in the last of which they are more expert than any other Blacks.

WHEN the Roads are open and free, the *Dinkira* Merchants come with the *Akkaneze* either to *Shama*, *Kemendo*, *Mina*, or Cape *Corſe*, according to the Distance of the Places where they reside: But if the inland Passes be stopped, they go farther-up the Coast; by which Means the upper Factories have a brisk Trade in their Turn, when it falls short on the middle Forts of the Coast. The *Dinkira* Gold is very fine, but often mixed with *Fetish* Gold, which will be described hereafter.

Inta, or Affienta.

16. THE Territory of *Inta*, or *Affienta*, (which a modern Author supposes to be one and

the same) is bounded on the West by *Mandingo*; on the North by unknown Regions; on the East by *Akim* and *Akam*; and on the South by *Akkani*. This Country is entirely unknown for want of Correspondence. It is only known to be rich in Gold, some Parcels of which are brought-down by the *Akkaneze* to the *Gold-Coast*. It lies well for the Trade to *Iffini* and *Axim*, being seated towards the Head of the River *Suira do Costa*.

Great Akkani.

17. *AKAM*, *Akim*, *Akin*, or *Akkani Grande*, the *Great Akkani*, borders to the West on *Akkani Picquens*; on *Aqua* and *Songus* to the South; on *Inta* and *Akkra* to the North; and on *Aquambo* and *Quakù* to the East. Some of the *Akkaneze*-Blacks report, that it reaches to the *Barbary-Coast*, for which *Barbot* supposes they have mistaken the River *Niger*, on account of its great Breadth; for the *Barbary-Coast* lies above six hundred Leagues distant. This Country of *Great Akkani* was formerly a Monarchy, but is now a Commonwealth; and being troubled with domestic Factions, is less formidable to its Neighbours.

MOST of the Gold of this Country, which is very fine, is carried to *Akkara*, and thence to the Western Forts on the Coast.

THESE *Akim* or *Great Akkani*-Blacks are proud and haughty, and as rich again in Gold and Slaves as those of *Little Akkani*, on which Account they pretend a Sort of Superiority over them. The Natives drive most of their Trade towards the Countries lying along the *Niger*, being those of *Gago* and *Mekara* on the North of them: The first being a large Kingdom famous for Gold, much whereof is sent to *Marrakek* with the *Karawans*, by Way of *Tombuto*. The *Akkaneze* also trade with *Affienta* and *Akim*, this latter lying North, and the other North-West of them, where they sell Abundance of short Cloths, &c. for Gold. Sometimes they repair to the Markets at *Aveni* near *Akkra*, and there, as well as at *Little Akkani*, buy-up European Goods to carry Inland.

THE Territory of *Akam* has *Inta* or *Affienta* *Akam* on the West, *Akim* on the South, unknown Lands to the North; and on the East *Quakù* and *Tafu*. The Europeans on the Coast are entirely unacquainted with the Natives of this Country.

18. THE Land of *Aqua* (or *Aka*) extends to *Aqua*, *Atti* and *Dahù* on the West, to *Fantin* on the South, and to *Akim* on the North. It is a small Country, and has some Dependence on the King of *Fantin*.

19. *SANQUAY* (or *Sengway*) borders South *Sangway*,

* *Boissan's Description of Guinea*, p. 77; and *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 188. before, p. 73; and *Barbot*, as before, &c. / 19. before, p. 78; and *Barbot*, as before, p. 185, &c. / 19.

* *Boissan*, 23. before, 23. before.

* So the Portuguese term it.

- West Coast.* on *Fanten*, North on *Akin*, and East on *Anguina*. The Blacks of this Nation used to come down to *Monte del Diabla*, or, *The Devil's Mount*, and *Dajou* on the Coast, to buy Sea Fish to supply their Markets, and make a beneficial Trade of it, though the Fish is rotten before it gets so far. This Land pays some Tribute to the King of *Anguina*.
- Aboni.* 20. *ABONI* is a Territory of a very small Compass, inclosed on the West by *Aquambo*, on the South by *Anguina*, on the North by *Aboera*; and on the East by *Great Akkra*, and Part of *Aboera*. It is remarkable only for the extraordinary Markets held at [*Aboni*, the chief Town near] *Great Akkra*, much frequented from all the adjacent Countries.
- Quak.* *KUAHOE* (or *Quabú*) has on the West *Akam*, on the South *Aquambo* and *Axim*, on the North *Tafú*; and *Aboera* and *Kammanach* on the East. The Natives are little known, but are reputed a treacherous People.
- Taf.* 21. *TAFOE* (or *Tafú*) joins *Akam* on the West, to *Quabú* on the South, and on the East to *Kammanach* and *Quabú*. The Country is rich in Gold, which the Natives sometimes carry to *Aboni* Market, sometimes to *Mowri*.
- Aboera.* 22. *ABOERA* (or *Aultra*) is bounded by *Aquambo* on the West, *Kammanach* and *Quabú* on the North, *Aboni* and *Great Akkra* on the South, and *Bona* on the East. The Natives are rich in Gold, which they bring to *Aboni* Market.
- Quak.* 23. *QUAKU* borders on *Kammanach* and *Little Akkra* to the South, and on *Tafú* West. The Inhabitants carry much Gold to *Aboni*, *Akkra*, and *Great Ninga*.
- Kammanach.* 24. *KAMMANACH* extends on the West to *Quabú*, on the North to *Quakú*, on the South to *Aboera* and *Bona*, and East to *Latabi*, *Equa*, and *Little Akkra*. The Natives chiefly apply themselves to Tillage, and dispose of their Maize to their Neighbours.
- Bona.* 25. *BONU* is limited by *Aboera* on the West, by *Kammanach* on the North, by *Agrava* and *Akkra* on the South, and by *Equa* and *Ninga* on the East. The chief Business of the Natives is Husbandry, especially sowing Maize.
26. *ESUEA* is bounded West by *Bona*, *Equa*, North by *Kammanach*; on the North-East by *Little Akkra*, and by *Ninga* and *Latabi* on the South. The Natives are employed in Agriculture.
27. *LATABI* on the West joins to *Equa* and *Latabi*, on the North-East to *Little Akkra*, and to *Ninga* and *Labadde* on the South. This Country is renowned for its Markets, in which great Quantities of Goods are sold, though not so much as in that of *Aboni*.
28. *AKKARADI* has *Kammanach* on the West, *Quakú* on the North, and *Latabi* and *Ninga* on the South. The Natives carry much Gold to *Aboni* Market, which is reckoned as pure and fine as that of *Akkani*.
29. *INSOKO*, according to the Account the *Akkaradi* give of it, lies five Days Journey from the Coast. Its Southern Borders are little known, because scarce frequented, the Roads being infested with Robbers. The Natives are good Weavers, making curious Stuffs and short Cloths, which yield a good Profit, sold to the neighbouring Nations, who purchase them for Plate and Pieces of Eight; also for *Harlem* Cloth. The *Akkaradi* say, these Blacks of *Insoko* know not what Copper and Gold are, having never seen these Metals in their Country.
- ALL the above-mentioned Territories in general are not so woody as the Country about *Kermantín*, and the others higher on the *Gold-Coast*, nor so fruitful, but they are rich in Gold; in particular, *Inta*, or *Affienta*, *Awina*, *Igwira*, *Dinkira*, *Akam*, and *Akkani*, afford great Quantities; most of the Gold traded for on these Coasts coming from these Parts, besides the large Quantity the Natives draw from *Mandingo*, *Gage*, and *Tafú*, either by Trade or Barter, or by Plunder and War.

* Barbet places next, another *Aquambo*, which, he says, is bounded on the East by *Aboni* and *Aboera*, on the West by *Akim*, on the North by *Quakoe*; and by *Anguina* on the South. He adds, that the Inhabitants have no Commerce with the Europeans.

* In the Map, *Anguina*.

* Barbet, p. 190, & seq.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Gold-Coast Negros, their Persons, Character, and Drefs.

SECT. I.

The Men: Their Persons: Character. The Women. Fine Teeth, Long Nails. Their Virtues, and Vices. Liars, and Thieves. Dexterity in Stealing. Great Memories. Their Pride: Insensibility: Inhumanity to one another. Mens Drefs: Their Hair: Hats and Caps: Ornaments. Clothing of the better Sort: Of the Vulgar. Womens Drefs: Their Hair: Painting, and marking their Bodies: Ornaments. Clothing of the Women of Fashion. Common Drefs: Their Frugality: Cleanliness. Mulattos: Their Character: Drefs.

ARTUS, Villault, Besman, and Marchais, have given the Character of the Gold-Coast Negros at large, each borrowing from his Predecessor, with some small Additions of his own; and Barbet has summed up the Substance of what they all, especially Artus, say upon the Subject, in the following Description of them.

The Men, their Persons.

THE Gold-Coast Blacks are generally of a middle Stature, well-limbed, and proportioned, with good oval Faces, sparkling Eyes, small Ears, and their Eye-brows lofty and thick. Their Mouths are not too large. Their Teeth are curiously clean, white, and well-ranged; and their Lips red, and fresh, not so thick as those of the Angola Blacks, nor their Noses so flat. They have little Beards before they are thirty, and their elderly Men wear them pretty long. They are usually broad-shouldered, with large Arms, thick Hands, long Fingers, and long hooked Nails, small Bellies, long Legs, broad large Feet, with long Toes, strong Waists, and little Hair on their Bodies. Their Skin, though not very black, is always smooth and sleek. They are of a hot Complexion, their Stomach quickly digesting the coarsest Food, even the Intrails of Fowls, which they will eat greedily. They are very careful in washing their Bodies Morning and Evening, and anointing them with Palm-Oil: This they reckon both wholesome, and a Preservative from Vermin, which they are naturally apt to breed. Breaking of Wind upwards, or downwards, they have in great De-

a testation, and will die sooner than offend that Way.

THESE Negros are for the most Part of a quick Apprehension, and good Memory. In the greatest Hurry of Business they discover no Confusion, yet they are very slothful and idle; so that nothing but Necessity makes them industrious. They seem, as to Temper, indifferent either to Prosperity or Adversity. Though they are very covetous, yet on the Loss of Wealth they discover no Concern. They are all generally cunning, deceitful, and addicted to Theft, as well as given to Avarice, Flattery, Drunkenness, Gluttony, and Lust. They are envious and selfish, and apt to quarrel among themselves for the least Trifle. They are very vain and proud in their Carriage, and bad Paymasters.

THE Women of the Gold-Coast are straight, of a middle Size, and pretty plump, having small, round Heads, sparkling Eyes; for the most Part high Noses, somewhat hooked; long curling Hair, little Mouths; fine, well-set, white Teeth, full Necks, and handsome Breasts.

THEY are very sharp and witty, extremely talkative, and by Europeans represented as very wanton. They are covetous, addicted to steal, and very proud. It is certain they are good Housewives at home, where they take all the Pains of dressing their Corn and Meal, and breeding their Daughters to it betimes. They are very fond of their Children, frugal in their Diet, and tight and cleanly in their Persons.

MARCHAIS observes, that the Women here are well-shaped; and that though they appear delicate, they are generally healthy, and of a strong Constitution; that they are naturally sober and industrious; their Disposition artful, brisk, and engaging; that they love Pleasure, yet are very covetous, and sell their Favours dear to the Europeans; that no Women on Earth know better how to fleece their Lovers; that they neglect nothing to please them, and are extremely neat.

We shall enlarge a little upon the Character of these People out of the above-mentioned Authors. Artus observes, that they take great Care to preserve their Teeth, which are like Ivory, from

* Barbet's Description of Guinea, p. 235, & seq. p. 148. * Marchais's Voyage, vol. 1. p. 285.

* Barbet, as before, p. 238. See also Villault,

Cost.
Cost.

all Foulness, rubbing them with a Wood*, pro- a per for this Use, which gives them an admirable Whiteness. They suffer their Nails to grow sometimes the Length of one of the Joints of their Fingers; for the longer they are, the more they are respected. They take Care, by scraping, to keep them free from Dirt, and white as Ivory. They are very useful often to their Merchants, serving, when they want their Spoons, to take up their Gold-Dust, one Nail holding half an Ounce. They do not pink their Skin, as other Negroes do. The Palm of their Hands, and Soles of their Feet incline to White^b. About thirty they are in their greatest Blackness; but at seventy and eighty their Colour begins to fade, their Skin turns pale and yellow, and becomes flaccid and loose, like wrinkled Spanish Leather.

Fort and
Vices.

THE Negroes are not only robust, but laborious, industrious, and expert, especially at Agriculture and Fishing. They have a quick Apprehension, and ready Wit, soon learning whatever they see. They are very sharp-sighted, and perceive Objects at a greater Distance at Sea than the Dutch can do.

They are prudent, and improve so fast in Trade, that they exceed the Europeans. On the other Hand, they are envious and malicious, and such Dissemblers, that they can hide their Resentment for Years together. They will die sooner than break Wind in Company, and are greatly shocked when any Europeans are guilty of such Rudeness before them. In making Water, they urinate not all at once, but by Intervals, as Hogs do.

THEY are greedy, and covetous, and sturdy Beggars, and what they get this Way, they will share liberally, though they are very close-fisted of what is their own.

THEY are much addicted to Women, so that the foul Disease is very frequent here; but they think nothing of it. They are very gluttonous, and Drinkers to Excess, nor are to be reclaimed. They cannot bear Cold, and shun Rain carefully, being unable to endure Wet on their Bodies.

Lies and
Deceits.

THEY are great Liars, and so naturally addicted to Theft, (their great Men and Kings not excepted) that the Disposition seems born with them^c.

The Negroes are so dexterous in stealing, that the Author thinks no Nation can compare with them: But then, there is so heavy a Fine on Theft, that they dare not steal from one another; and if a Robbery be committed in any

Town, the People express such an Abomination of it, as nothing can exceed. Yet sometimes Thefts happen in the Night. However, they think it no Crime to steal from the Dutch; but value themselves on cheating them, considering it as a Proof of their Skill and Ingenuity. For this End, when they come on board the Dutch Ships, they bring a good Company with them, and have large Baskets, which they call *Abaffs*. Then sitting near the Clerk, or Captain, they examine the Goods, pretending to want a great many Sorts; so that while the Captain, hoping a good Market, is laying-out his Wares, they are intent on stealing and secreting what they can; which they do with surprizing Sleight of Hand. The Rich have the same Property this Way as the Poor; and those who come to lay-out three or four Pounds of Gold, or more in Goods, are as ready at pilfering as the others, though they are under no Necessity; yet, if any Thing be taken from them, they make a great Noise about it.

If caught in the Fact, they excuse themselves by saying, the Europeans were rich to Superfluity, and therefore, to steal from them, was doing them a Kindness; as it sent them home sooner, and supplied themselves, who were poor, and destitute of all Things. However, as such arch Apologies do not always excuse them from a heavy Drubbing, whenever that happens, they are only laughed at by the rest, who ridicule them for their Bungling, and not managing their Affair better: But if they are aware of being found out, they jump over-board, and then you are sure never to see them more^d.

MARCHAIS says, they are so covetous, that they think it a mighty Present to give a few Fruits to an European, and that only with an Expectation of receiving ten Times the Value^e.

ACCORDING to Villault, they have incomparable Memories; for, though they can neither read nor write, yet they manage their Trade with the greatest Exactness: So that you shall see one of them manage four Marks of Gold for twenty particular Persons, each of whom wants five or six different Commodities, and perform it without Hesitation or Mistake. Their Address appears by this Dexterity in Commerce. They are exceedingly proud and haughty in their Carriage. They walk with their Eyes fixed on the Ground, seldom looking about, or taking Notice of any Body, unless spoken to by a Person of higher Rank: But to Inferiors they will scarce vouchsafe a Word, unless to bid them hold their Tongue, as if they

Indolence
Character.

Dexterity, is
stealing.

Their Pride.

* Villault says, it comes from *Athanas*; it is the *Quile* used by the Blacks on the Western Coast. ^b Par-
cians, who has translated *Arctus*, adds, And under their Lips. ^c *Arctus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient. Part 6*,
p. 16, & seq. ^d The same, p. 67, & seq. ^e *Marchais's Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 1. p. 288. ^f A
Mark is eight Ounces.

Gold Trinctets more or Spells.



Bracelets



Small Stools



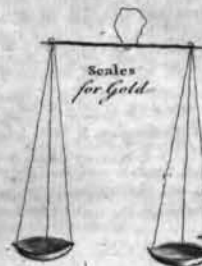
Arm-Rings



Hair-Combs



Large Wooden Stools.



Scales for Gold



Piece of Gold

Kovras or Bigis



Earthen Pot.



Pea-Weight



Krakas Gold



Iron Pin Money.



Gold-
Coast.

thought it a Disgrace to converse with them^a. To Strangers, indeed, they are very complaisant, not out of Humility, but that they may be treated with Respect again, of which they are very fond: Their Merchants, (who are all of them Nobles) walking with a Slave, who carries a Chair behind them, that they may sit down when they speak to any Body. They answer their Inferiors with great Contempt^b; but pay much Respect to the Whites, especially if Persons of Rank: However, they expect to be treated the same Way, and are mightily pleased with the Civilities of the Europeans.

Inferiority.

BOSMAN is very severe upon the Guinea Negroes. He says, that they are all, without Exception, crafty, villainous, and fraudulent, and very seldom to be trusted, being sure to slip no Opportunity to cheat an European, nor indeed one another. A Man of Integrity is as rare as a white Falcon, and their Fidelity seldom extends farther than to their Masters. They seem equally affected with good or ill Fortune, which is seen only in clothing and shaving their Heads. Mr. Pocquet's Description of them is entirely true, when he says, that they feast at Sepulchres, and if they should see their Country in Flames, would cry out, *Let it burn*, and not suffer it in the least to interrupt their Singing, Dancing, and Drinking; that they are equally insensible of Grief or Necessity, sing till they die, and dance into the Grave. Although they very greedily heap-up Money and Goods, yet if they lose all afterwards, you can never perceive it by their Carriage, nor does it ever rob them of an Hour's Repose^c.

Inhumanity.

ONE of the worst Articles in their Characters is, that they have no Humanity or Affection. Villault observes, that they will scarce give a wounded Man a Drop of Water; but will see one another die like Dogs, without Compassion or Relief; their Wives and Children being the first to forsake them in such Circumstances^d. Nothing can better shew, says Marchais, the Barbarity of these People, than their Neglect of their nearest Friends in Time of Sickness. It is a settled Custom to give them no Assistance. The Wives, on this Occasion, forsake their Husbands, the Children their Parents, if they have not Slaves to attend them, or Money to hire the Attendance of others. Nor is this Desertion rec-

koned scandalous, (or perhaps taken amiss) for, if they recover, the Wives and Children again live with them, as if they had exactly done their Duty^e.

Scholarship
their Dress.

THE Dress of the richer Sort is various, especially with Respect to their Heads, in which they take the greatest Pride; but this is the Business of their Wives. Some wear their Hair very long, curled and plaited together, or tied up to the Crown: Others adjust it in small Curls, smeared with Palm-Oil, and a Sort of Dye, which they order in the Form of a Rose, or Crown; decking it with Gold Toys, and a Kind of Coral, called on the Coast *Canta de Terra*, which they sometimes value three Times beyond the finest Gold. They use also for Ornament a Sort of blue Coral, called by the Europeans, *Agrie*^f, and by the Blacks *Akkerri*, which is brought from Benin; and, when of any Bigness, is prized equal with Gold, and sold for Weight. Some shave-off all their Hair, leaving only one Part, about an Inch broad, and in the Shape of a Cross, or a Half Moon, or Circle^g. They also wear in their Hair, one or more small narrow Combs, of two, three, or at most four, sharp Teeth, being like a Fork without a Haft, or Handle: This they thrust through their Crowns or Roses of Hair when they are bitten by Vermin; scratching themselves thus, without discomposing their Head-Dress, which would require some Time to adjust again^h.

SOME let their Hair, or rather Wool, grow, and others shave it often, according to their different Customs. Usually the young People shave often, and every Morning wash their Heads, and rub them over with Palm-Oil, to clear them of Vermin, to which they are very subjectⁱ.

MANY of the Blacks wear Hats, which they buy of the European Traders, at great Rates, though very coarse; or else make themselves of Rushes^k, Goats or Dogs Skins, by moistening the Skins, and shaping them on wooden Blocks, after which they dry them in the Sun. These Hats, or Caps, they adorn with small Goats Horns, Gold Toys, or Strings of the Bark of the *Fritsh* Tree, and some add Monkey's Nails to the rest. None but the Slaves go bare-headed^l, which is the Mark they are known by.

THEIR Necks, Arms, and Legs, they adorn with Strings of the finest Sorts of Venice Bugle, intermixed with Gold, and the *Canta de Terra*,

^a Do not Europeans behave the same Way? ^b Artus, in de Bry's *Ind. Orient.* p. 19. And Villault's *Voyage*, p. 142. ^c See *seq.* ^d Bosman, in his Description of *Guinea*, p. 117. ^e See *seq.* ^f Villault, as before, p. 200. ^g Marchais's *Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 132. ^h Agrie Stone, often mentioned before. ⁱ Artus, p. 18, adds, that they cut and dress their Hair in fifty different Shapes. ^j Bosman, as before, p. 119. ^k Marchais's Description of *Guinea*, p. 236. ^l Marchais, as before, p. 230. ^m Artus says, they wear high pointed Caps of the Bark of Trees, with a long String at them, painted, or dyed, of different Colours, which they wind about it like a Hatband. ⁿ The Romans had the same Custom among them.

Gold-
Coast.

or *Agrie* Coral before-mentioned. They wear them so thick about their Waist, that their Nakedness would be sufficiently covered thereby, if they wore no Clothes; and the rather, because they always have a Garter or Girdle. Some of these Chains or Strings, are worth above an hundred Pound. They also take great Pride in wearing large Ivory, Gold, or Silver Collars, and Rings, on their Arm. The latter they call *Manillas*, some having three or four of these Ivory Rings one above another on an Arm.

Clothing

THE common Dress of the Men consists of three or four Ells of Velvet, Sattin, Cloth, Perpetuanas, Sayes, *India* Chints, or rather Stuffs. This which they call *Pain*^a, they wind about their Body rolled-up in a small Compass and make fast; so that it hangs from the Navel downward, covering the Legs half Way^b.

THEIR Merchants wear a Piece of Silk Tafety, or fine *Indian* Damask, two or three Ells long, folded round their Waist, the Ends hanging down before and behind, almost to the Ground. Sometimes they wrap another Piece of Stuff about them, from their Breast to the Mid-leg, or else throw it across their Shoulders like a Mantle, carrying in their Hands two or three *Affagayes*^c.

Of the latter
Sort,

THE Bachelors, called *Manferas*, dress thus pompously; but the *Kabishirs*, or Prime Blacks, like those of *Cape Verde*, and on the *Quagna* Coast, wear only a fine Clout about their Waist, a Deer-Skin Cap on their Heads, and a Staff in their Hands, with a String of Coral about their Necks; so that, by their Appearance, they look rather poor than rich.

Of the Fish-
ermen.

THE Dress of the common Sort, as Fishermen, Wine-Drawers, Gold-divers, Handicrafts, is also various, but very poor and ordinary; some wearing an Ell or two of coarse Stuff, of their own Country Cloth; others using a Sort of Clout, or Wrapper drawn through between their Thighs, tied with a String round the Middle. The Fishermen usually wear a Cap or Bonnet of Deer-Skin, or Rushes, or an old rusty Hat purchased from the Sailors; which is of good Use to them in the hot, scorching, as well as in the cold, rainy Weather. The younger of both Sexes are seldom clothed till eight or ten Years of Age^d. *Marchais* says, they go naked till twelve or fifteen Years old. In some Places the Girls have no Pagnes till they are married; so that when they happen to be ugly, or for other Reasons

want a Husband, they go as naked at thirty, as *Isabelliers* their Dress.

BEFORE the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* traded here, the Women had little Notion of Ornaments and Dress, conversing naked with the Men, till the Age of Maturity. But when they perceived the *Europeans* disliked these Manners, they began to study the Arts of adorning themselves, that they might appear agreeable in their Eyes. By Degrees they taught them Vanity and Pride, adjusting their Hair in various Modes, and taking a Pleasure in viewing themselves in a Looking-Glass. They also rub their Hair with Palm-Oil, till it curls into Ringlets, and use Combs with two Teeth, which at saluting each other, they take out with their Left-hand, and then put in again; a Sign of great Respect among them^e.

Women's
Dress.

Their Hair.

VILLALULT observes, that the young Women every Morning are at great Pains in washing and combing themselves, anointing their Hair with Palm-Oil, instead of Gum, and adorning it with Ribbands, if they are able, or else with small Bits of Gold, and a Sort of red Cockle-Shell, common here^f.

ARTUS says, they make three or four Incisions in their Foreheads, as also near their Ears and Eye-brows, which they paint with various Colours, adorning their Faces with many white Spots, appearing like Pearls. They also cut their Skin on their Arms, and round their Breasts into Figures; and every Morning, as they rise, lay-on fresh Colours, so that they look like a Piece of flowered Damask, or a wrought Stomacher^g.

ACCORDING to others, they dawb their Foreheads, Eyebrows, and Checks with red and white Paint mixed; often making small Incisions on each Side of their Faces, and sometimes imprinting Figures of Flowers on their Bodies, which they paint, and look at a Distance as if carved, rising above the rest of the Skin, like *Reliefs*. Some Men adorn their Faces and Arms in the same Manner. This is done with hot Irons^h.

THEY wear small Ear-Rings of Brass, Copper, Pewter, or Tin artificially wrought, and Bracelets of Copper, Brass, or Ivory, on their Arms and Legs. The unmarried Girls wear many Iron Rings, thin, and neatly made, about their Arms, sometimes thirty or forty in Number on one Armⁱ.

Ornaments.

VILLALULT says, they wear Necklaces, and Bracelets of Beads, beautified with small Works

^a Or *Pagne*, as the French term it.

^b *Boissin's* Description of *Guinea*, p. 119. & *seq.* and *Barbot's* Description of *Guinea*, p. 237.

^c *Artus*, in *de Br's Ind. Orient.* p. 18. and *Villault's* Voyage, p. 144.

^d *Boissin*, as before, p. 120. and *Barbot*, p. 237, and 239.

^e *Artus*, as before, p. 19. & *seq.*

^f *Villault*, as before, p. 148. & *seq.*

^g *Artus*, as before, p. 200.

^h *Artus*, as before, p. 200.

ⁱ *Villault*, p. 149. *Barbot*, p. 238. *Marchais*, vol. 1. p. 287.

of Gold, in Honour of their *Petish*, and consecrated with certain Prayers. They wear Rings or Jewels on the Small of their Legs, or else a String of Coral, or the Bark of the Tree sacred to their *Petish*. They are excessive fond of Ribbands, especially red^a. According to *Marchais*, the Gold Rings, and Chains worn by some of them, amount to the Value of fifty Marks^b in Gold^c.

Clathing of As to Drefs, they wear a Piece of Linen, of the Length of half a Fathom, round them, from the Breast to the Knees, fastened on with a Girdle of red, blue, or yellow Cloth; to which they hang their Knives, Purfes, and Keys in Bunches, for Shew, though they have not a Chest or Cupboard at home. They also fix by these Girdles several Rings of Straw or Twigs, interwoven with Beans and Glass Beads, fastened on a Cord or Thread, by Way of *Petishes*, or Charms. Others cover themselves with Mats, made of the Bark of Trees, to hide their Nakedness.

THIS is their House-Dress: But when they go to Market, or abroad, they first wash themselves, and then put on a new Linen-Cloth Girdle, and over that throw a Piece of Linen or Stuff, which covers their Body from the Breast to the Heels, like a Gown or Cloak, sometimes leaving one Arm bare, and carrying in their Hand a wooden Platter, lifted up. At their Return home, they undress again. They are much more saving and frugal than the Men^d.

Women of
Passions.

THE Wives of their Captains, or Merchants, when they go abroad, have a Piece of Silk Taffety or Stuff round their Waist, reaching from the Breast to the mid-Legs, stuffed out behind like a Rowler. Their favourite Colours are Red, Blue, or Violet. They have generally a Bunch of Keys at their Girdle, with Bracelets of Ivory or Gold; and so many Rings, that they sometimes hide their Fingers. When they return home, they lay all these aside, and put on a Bit of coarse Cloth, which covers them from the Navel to a little above the Knee^e. *Bosman* says, the Negro Ladies wear a fine long Cloth, (two or three Times as long and as broad as the Mens) which they wind round their Waist, fastening it on with a Slip of red Cloth, or other Stuff, about half an Ell broad, and two Ells long, to make it fit close to the Body: Both Ends of the Girdle, or Slip, hanging down over the Pet-

ticoat, Cloth; which, in those of Rank, is enriched with Gold and Silver Laces. The upper Part of their Body they cover with a Veil, or other fine Stuff, or Calico; the Colours they chuse, being usually Blue or Green. They also dress their Arms and Heads with Ribbands^f.

SOME wrap the long Pieces of Stuffs about their Bodies, close under their Breasts, and so let them hang half-way down their Legs, or lower. About the back Part of their Waist, they place a thick Wreath of Cloth, Sayes, or Perpetas, instead of a Girdle: To one Side of which, hangs a Purse full of *Krarak* Gold; and to the other, a Bunch of Keys^g.

THE meaner Sort of Women wear a Veil, or *Common* Mantle, made of four or five Ells of *Leyden* Drap. Serge, to keep them from the Cold or Rain; and adorn their Arms with Tin, Copper, and Ivory Rings, some of Iron; of which last, they have many on their Fingers^h.

THE common Women, or Ladies of Pleasure, who, according to *Artus*, are called *Etigafou*, use Copper Rings about their Legs and Ankles, with Bells fastened to them, so that they may be heard at a Distance. *Villault* says, they have no distinguished Dress, and that they are welcome every-where; but the most mercenary and covetous Jilts in the Worldⁱ.

THOUGH they love Finery, yet they are very *Frugality*, careful of their Cloaths, never wearing them but on extraordinary Occasions, and laying them by as soon as they come home. They are likewise so frugal, that they will buy nothing superfluous, or slight, chusing such Stuffs as are strongest, and most lasting^j.

BOTH Men and Women are very cleanly, and *Cleanliness*, wash their Bodies several Times a Day, where they have Opportunity, bathing as soon as they rise; for which Reason, they commonly build their Houses and Villages near the Sea, or on the Banks of Rivers. Their Children, as soon as they can walk, run to the Water like Ducks: They learn to swim from their Infancy by this Means, and become excellent Divers^k.

ARTUS says, they smell strong of the Palm-Oil they use to anoint themselves with; and often wash their Bodies, to cleanse them from the Lice and Fleas; to which Vermin they are much subject^l.

THERE are on the *Gold-Coast*, a Sort of *Peo-Mulattos*, people called *Malattos*, a Race begotten by *Europe-Charlter*.

^a *Villault's Voyage*, p. 145.

^b A Mark is eight Ounces; so that fifty Marks come to one thousand six hundred Pounds; but this is hardly credible.

^c *Marchais's Voyage*, p. 286.

^d *Artus*, in *de Biz's Ind.*

Orient, p. 21.

^e *Villault*, as before, p. 150, & *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 287, & *seq.*

^f *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 121; and *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 208.

^g The same, p. 146, & *seq.*

^h *Artus*, as before, p. 20; and *Villault*, as before, p. 151.

ⁱ The same, p. 146, & *seq.*

^j *Marchais*, as before, vol. 1. p. 290.

^k The same, p. 261, and 285.

^l *Artus*, as before, p. 17.

Gold-
Coast.

ans on Negro Women. This Bastard-Brood is a Parcel of the most profligate Villains, neither true to the Negroes, nor to each other; yet they assume the Name of Christians, though they are indeed as great Idolaters as any on the Coast. Most of the Women are public Whores to the Europeans, and private ones to the Negroes. In short, whatever is bad amongst the Europeans or Negroes, is united in them; so that they are the Sink of both. They are frightfully ugly when they grow old, especially the Women.

THE *Mulattos*, or *Tappoyers*, as the Blacks call them, are of a tawny, yellow, brown Complexion, neither white nor black. In Process of Time their Bodies become speckled, with white, brown, and yellow Spots, like Leopards, whom they resemble in their savage Nature. They are in general, a profligate Bastard-Race; who, though they take the Name of Christians, are as superstitious Idolaters as any of the Blacks.

Hair Dress.

THE Men, most of whom are Soldiers in the Dutch Service, are clothed as they are: But the Women prink up themselves in a particular Manner: Those of any Fashion, wear a fine Shift, and over that a short Jacket of Silk or Stuff, without Sleeves; which reaches from under their Arms to their Hips, fastened only at the Shoulders. Upon their Heads they wear several Caps, one upon another; the uppermost is Silk, plaited before, and round at Top, to make it fit fast. Over all these they have a Sort of Fillet, which goes twice or thrice round the Head. Thus garnished out, they make no small Shew. From the Hips, downwards, they are clad like the Negroes; and the poorer Sort go naked above the Waist.

S E C T. II.

Of their Buildings, Furniture, and Diet.

Their Towns: Very nasty: Ill-situated. Their Houses, Form: Way of Building: The Roof: The Door. The King's House. The Streets. Household Furniture. Poverty of the Negroes accounted for. Their Diet. They eat raw Flesh. Their Cookery. Common and extraordinary Dishes. Greedy Eaters: Keen Stomachs. Their Drink: Palm-Wine. The Women Managers. Their Bread: Quality, and Sorts.

Their Towns.

THEIR Towns and Villages are composed of several Huts, standing in Parcels, irre-

gular and scattering. These, by their Disposition, form so many narrow crooked Lanes, all ending in a wide open Place, usually left in the Center of the Town, which serves both for a Market-Place and a Place of Diversion for the Inhabitants.

THE Inland Towns and Villages are usually better than those on the Coast, though neither are walled, or palisaded, like those of the *Sanaga* Negroes or *Moors*; their chief Strength consisting in their Situation on some rocky high Ground, or in a low swampy Place, seldom on a River or Brook; and accessible only by some narrow difficult Path, or through some thick Wood. The Coast-Towns are generally on a dry, barren Spot, or a flat Rock, or some gravelly, sandy Place. *Artus* observes, that the Inland Towns are richer and neater in their Buildings, much larger, and more populous; but have neither Gates, Castles, nor Walls for Defence, lying intirely open to Invasion; and that the Merchants who live in them carry on a greater Trade than those on the Coast; which last are not so wealthy, being generally Linguists, Brokers, Carriers, or Fishermen, the Servants, or Slaves, of those who live up the Country.

THERE is very little either of Beauty or Cleanliness to be found in their Maritime-Towns, on Account of the Narrowness of their Streets, and the Filth they abound with: The Narrowness of the Streets makes it very incommodious Walking, especially in rainy Weather, when the Wet drops off the low Eaves; and the Stench is more intolerable, as the Blacks not only ease themselves in these narrow Lanes, and crowd them with Dunghills, but also keep great Quantities of stinking Fish about their Houses: So that the Smell is even offensive on Shipboard, at two or three Miles distant, especially in the Night, when the Land-Breezes blow from Shore. *Artus* says, it is on Account of their Nattiness that the Kings generally reside in Towns up the Country, though not far distant from the Coast: Yet, they have their Governors at these Ports. Another Inconvenience, in rainy Weather, proceeds from their Streets not being paved in any of the Coast-Towns, the Market-Place of *Mina* and *Cape Corse* excepted. Nor are the Blacks any way curious in planting Trees to shade their Houses, as they might easily do, except at *Asim*, where they have many fine, and lofty Trees about and in the Town, which are a great Refreshment to the People.

BOSMAN observes, that in building their

* *Smith's Voyage*, p. 23, extracted from *Bojman*, p. 141.
copied also from the same Author, as before.

† Like *Perto Bello*, and other Port-Towns of the Spaniards, in the *West Indies*.
Br's Ind. Orient. p. 46.

‡ *Barbot*, as before, p. 253, & seq.

§ *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 251.
|| The same, p. 142.

¶ *Barbot*, as before, p. 242, & seq.

‡ *Artus*, in *de*

§ *Artus*, as before.

¶ *Barbot*,

as before, p. 254.

Old-
Clash.

Villages, they have not the least Regard to Pleasantry of Situation. A fine Prospect, and delightful Walk, they have no Notion of; they chuse barren, husky Places to build on, neglecting well-planted Hills, charming Valleys, and beautiful Rivers, which they have in great Abundance; but serve them for no Use, nor afford them any Diversion. They are full as indifferent and careless in making Roads, which are generally rough, and unreasonably winding. A Road which need not be above two Miles long, is frequently three, by its Crookedness and Unevenness: And though they have often been made sensible of this Inconvenience by the Dutch, yet they will not mend them, though it might be done with very little Trouble.

Bad Roads.

Their Houses.

THE Houses of the Coast-Negros are generally built on the same Model. They are small and low, looking at a Distance like Barracks in a Camp, except those near some of the European Forts, which are larger and more commodious; being at *Mina*, and some other Places, two Stories high, with several Ground-Rooms, and some with flat Roofs: Which Improvements, *Villault*, and, after him, *Marchais*, (or his Editor *Labat*) says, they have taken from the Europeans.

Way of building.

THE Blacks generally build their Houses square. They first drive four Posts, or Trunks of Trees, six or seven Foot high, into the Ground, at the Corners, at such a Distance as they design the Dimensions of the House. To these main Supporters they fasten three or four long Poles athwart, at equal Distances one above another; and again, others across them perpendicularly from the uppermost to the Ground. The House thus framed, they lay on a Sort of Plastering, both within and without, eight Inches thick, which, in a very short Time, by the Heat of the Sun, becomes almost as hard and solid as Brick; leaving a few small Holes in it for Lights, and a narrow Door or Passage to go-in at. For the most Part, they lay on the Wall a second Plastering, both within and without, of white and red, or black and yellow, according to Fancy.

On these Mud and Timber Walls they lay small Quarters or Poles across, both Ways, for the Roofs; covering it, instead of Tiles, with square Mats, made of Palm-Leaves, or Rice-Leaves, or Bulrushes, as the Place affords. In most Places this Roof is so contrived, as to open at Top.

IN clear Weather, says *Artus*, they raise it by Props, appearing like two Wings, to let in the cool Air. In rainy Weather they fasten them close down, to keep themselves warm and dry. It is Penthouse-wise, else the Walls are so low, that one could scarcely stand upright in their Houses. *Marchais* says, their Cielings are light as well as their Roofs, being only small Twigs entwined basketwise, covered with Straw, or Palm-Leaves, or Reeds.

Negro
Houses.
The Roof.

THE Door-Way is usually so low, that a Man must stoop double almost to enter. For a Door, some plait Bulrushes, flat and close together; others, have sorry Pieces of Boards, hung with Ropes instead of Hinges; and either Sort open in or out, as they think fit. *Artus* says, they are made to slide into the Wall; and when shut, are fastened by a Rope. The Floor is even and smooth, made of red Clay, as hard and compact as if laid with Stone. In the Middle they leave a round Hole, to set their Pot of Palm-Wine, when they make merry.

THE Houses of the inferior Sort have usually two or three small Huts adjoining for Offices; and those of the Rich, seven or eight, somewhat separate from each other; most of which are divided into two or three Apartments by Partitions, made of Rushes bound close together: Some are for their Wives to live in; some to keep, and others to dress their Meat in; the Fire-Place being in the Middle, but without any Hole for a Chimney: Each Woman and her Children has an House to herself.

THE better Sort of Houses, with all the said Huts or Outhouses, are inclosed by a square Hedge, as it were, of Rushes made fast together, of a good Thickness, and as high as the Walls of the Houses, to which there is no Door; the only Passage into the Street being through the main House.

THE Houses of their Kings and great Men are generally situated near the Market, and separated from all other Buildings. These are generally higher and more spacious than those of other People, but built of the same Materials within. They have many Doors and Turnings from one Place to another, like a Labyrinth. In the Middle is a Portico, a Place open on all Sides, but sheltered at Top from the Sun by a slanting Roof, where the King diverts himself in the Day, sitting or walking with his Courtiers. At the Gate, or Entry of the King's Palace, are always two Pots or Jars set deep in the Ground,

The King's
House.

* *Boissier's Description of Guinea*, p. 137.

Voyage, p. 162; and *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 290.

Barbot, as before.

Artus, as before, p. 46.

Villault, as before.

Artus, as before, p. 44; also *Villault*, and *Barbot*, as before.

Artus, as before, p. 46; and *Villault*, p. 165, & seq.

* *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 253.

* *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* p. 45; and

Marchais, as before.

* *Villault*, as before.

* *Artus*, as before; and *Barbot*, p. 253.

* *Artus*, as before; and *Barbot*, p. 253.

Gold-Coast.

filled every Day with fresh Water; as the Author thinks, for the King's *Fetish* to drink.

SOME of the chief Negroes keep two Slaves, armed with *Assagayas*, at their Chamber-Door, like our Centries, which are relieved from Time to Time.

The Streets.

THEIR Houses lie confusedly together, (being only separated by these Reed-Inclosures) and so form the Streets; which are usually so narrow, as to admit but of one Person a-breast. In dry Weather, they are hard as if paved with Stone; but in Rain, the Clay is so slippery, it is scarce possible to walk. Our Author adds, that when you would go into one of their Houses, you must pass along the Street till you find a Door open; into which entering, you cross from one House to another, till you get to the Place you want.

A House here is built in seven or eight Days, and seldom exceeds in Cost forty Shillings to the Carpenters and Masons; the Materials, as Timber, Clay, and Leaves, for the Roofs, being taken by the Slaves wherever they can find them. Each Family has a Granary, or Storehouse, without the Town, where they keep their *Indian* Wheat, Millet, or Rice, for their Year's Provision.

English Furniture.

THEY are as little nice (even the better Sort) as to Furniture: All they have, consisting in a few wooden Seats or Stools, some wooden and earthen Pots, to hold Water and dress their Victuals; some Cups and Troughs; and their Arms hanging on the Walls. The richer-Sort have Tables; but, instead of Beds use Quilts, made of Rushes; which, being spread on the Ground at Night, they lay a fine Mat thereon, with a Bolster of the same Sort; and by it a large brass Kettle, with Water to wash them. The meaner Sort have a Mat only to lie-on, making use of one Arm instead of a Bolster, or else, a little Block, to lay their Head on; and go out of the House to wash. *Villault* says, they lie on Skins strewn on the Ground, or on Mattresses of Rushes, and cover themselves with Skins of Oxen, &c. only the great Men use Pillows. He adds, that all have a good Fire in the Room, by Way of Preservative against the Damp of the rainy Season, lying with their Feet towards it. According to *Barbot*, all Goods, among People of Fashion, are placed in their Wives Houses; the Men keeping nothing in their own but their Arms, Seats, and Mats: But among the common Sort, all is huddled together confusedly,

with the Tools or Instruments of their Profession.

THIS universal Poverty, and Want of Goods, which is seen throughout the Dwellings of the Negroes, in all the Countries inhabited by them, together with their great Propensity to steal from Strangers of a different Colour from themselves, is whimsically enough accounted for by the *Mohammedan Marabouts*; they tell you, that the three Sons of *Noah*, (who were each of a different Colour, as hath been mentioned before) on their Father's Death, met to divide his Goods, which consisted in Gold, Silver, Jewels, Ivory, Linen, Stuffs, Cotton-Cloths, Horses, Camels, Oxen, Sheep, and other Animals, as well as Arms, Household-Furniture, Corn, Tobacco, Pipes, &c. The Brothers supped together in a friendly Manner, and after smoking a Pipe and drinking a Bottle, went to Rest. But the white Brother, who had other Intentions than to sleep, rose as soon as he saw the other two quiet; and carrying-off the Gold, Silver, and most valuable Effects, fled with them to the Countries, where the Europeans are now settled. The Moor awaking, and perceiving the Fraud of his eldest Brother, followed his Example, and moved-off with the Tapestries, and best Furniture, on the Horses and Camels that were left. The Negro-Brother, who rose late, finding all gone, except a few Cotton-Cloths or Pagnes, some Pipes, Tobacco and Millet, and that he had been left in the Lurch, took a Pipe of Consolation, and began to study how to be revenged. He thought the best Way was, to make Reprisals on his Brothers, by stealing from them when he could. This he took care to do himself whilst he lived, and left his Example as a Rule to be followed by his Posterity, who continue strictly to practise it to this Day.

THE Diet of the Gold-Coast Negroes is but very ordinary, especially that of the meaner People; and even those of the better Sort fare little better, only allowing themselves a little more Fish and Herbs for their common Diet; yet it is but seldom they can get the Fish and Herbs. As for Oxen, Sheep, or Hens, they only buy them for Holidays. Hence it may be judged, that they are not very expensive as to Diet; Two-pence per Day being sufficient to maintain one of them. However, this Author observes, that they are not thus sparing for Want of better Food, or Dislike to it, since, when they eat at

* *Arvus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* p. 46; and *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 255.

age, p. 162.

* *Arvus*, as before, p. 45.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 253.

* *Villault's Voy-*

* The same, p. 254.

* *Villault*, as before, p. 164.

* *Arvus* says, their Brass Pans and Pots, they lock up in Chests brought from the Dutch.

* *Barbot*, as before, p. 254.

* See p. 270. d.

* *Labat's Afrique Occidentale*, vol.

* p. 268, & seq.

Wild.
Eats.

Free-coast with *Europeans*, they are sure to lay-in well, but out of mere sordid Covetousness^a.

MARCHAIS says, they eat more Fish than Flesh, and more Pulse than Fish. *Artus* observes, that they have a Sort of very delicious Beans, besides Yams, Potatos, Bananas, and other Fruits, which make the greater Part of their Diet: But the Nobles and the better Sort feed on Poultry, Goats-Flesh, Beef, and Pork, which Food is too dear for the common People.

Eat raw
Flesh.

The same Author affirms, that the *Negros* are very greedy of Flesh, which they often eat raw, or just warmed, with great Handfuls of Pepper; drinking after it a large Glass of Brandy, or *Aqua Vita*, at one Draught. They also eat Dogs and Cats, as well as the Flesh of Elephants and Buffalos, though it be full of Maggots, and stinking most insufferably.

It is reported, that Inland they eat Lizards dried in the Sun; yet the Natives, who inhabit the Sea-Coast, though provided with good Victuals, and more civilized, are so greedy and hungry a Nature, that they will eat the raw Guts of Hens, as the *Dutch* have often seen. The Author was told of a Boy, left as an Hostage on board a *Dutch Ship*, who was so greedy of raw Flesh, that although he had sufficient Food allowed him, yet he would swallow the Hens Meat out of the Troughs, and kill them with a Nail fastened at the End of a Stick, that he might have the Guts, which he greedily devoured warm as they were taken out.

They have certain little Birds like our Bullfinches^b, of a brown Colour, with red Heads^c, who build their Nests at the Extremity of the Branches of Trees, to secure them from the Snakes, &c. These, if the *Negros* can catch, they devour alive, Feathers and all.

Their
Culinary.

They also eat stinking Fish, dried in the Sun; and, indeed, all their Meat is half rotten before they eat it^d. They boil or roast their Flesh, but their Diet is principally Fish, which is commonly baked, seasoning it first with Water, Pepper, and Salt^e.

Others boil their Fish in Water, seasoned with Salt and Guinea-Pepper, and roasting the Yams and Potatos under the Embers, make a Sort of Pap, and so eat it. They bake green Figs, which serve instead of Bread, as does *In-*

lian-Corn toasted over the Fire. They boil Rice with Fowls or Matton, which is a *Portuguese* Dish, or sometimes only with Salt and Palm-Oil. Some eat the Flesh of Buffalos and Elephants boiled^f.

Their common Food is a Pot full of Millet boiled to the Consistence of Bread; or, instead of that, Yams and Potatos, over which they pour a little Palm-Oil, with a few boiled Herbs, adding a little stinking Fish. This they esteem a nice Dish. They have an extraordinary Dish, called *Malagbetta*, composed of Fish, with a Handful of *Indian-Wheat*, as much Dough, and some Palm-Oil, all boiled in Water; which, when a Person is once accustomed to it, is not disagreeable, and is esteemed wholesome^g.

Their Sauce, for almost every Thing, is Palm-Oil^h, which is well tasted when fresh. When it grows thick, they use it for anointing their Bodies and Hairⁱ. *Barbot* says, it has a sharpish Taste, and a Smell very disagreeable to Strangers^j. *Villault* observes, that the chief Merchants, who have Slaves to attend them, eat as the *Europeans* do, having their Ragous and Soups as well dressed as they are at *Paris*, which their Cooks have learned from the *French*, although in most of their Dishes Pepper is the predominant Seasoning^k.

They eat very disagreeably and greedily, tearing their Meat with their Nails, or throwing it down their Throats, using neither Table-Cloths nor Napkins^l. They thrust their Hands all together into the Dish, and throw the Victuals by Handfuls into their Mouths with such Eagerness, that it is surprizing they never miss.

Although they feed so heartily, yet they are scarce ever satisfied; so that they are almost always eating or hungry, which is occasioned by the Heat of their Stomachs. The Author wonders at this, because the Heat of the Climate, he thinks, should rather weaken than improve the digestive Faculty; and yet he observes, that the *Europeans* themselves find their Appetites sharper here than at home. *Villault* calls this a canine Appetite of the *Negros*, and he observed on board, that a Black eat as much as six of the Company, and takes Notice of their Stomachs being able to digest raw Flesh^m.

The Husband commonly eats alone in his own

^a *Beaman's* Description of *Guinea*, p. 124.

^b to be the *Kuhales* Birds. See before, p. 55.

^c *Villault's* Voyage, p. 167.

^d and *Barbot*, as before.

^e *Artus*, in this Place, says, that the Palm, whence the Oil in *Guinea* is taken, is the Female, and that it yields no Wine: That the Fruit is of the Size of a Plumb, of an Orange-Colour, and blackish at the Ends, containing a Stone the Bigness of an Acorn, which is performed at the End, with three round Holes, and incloses three Kernels like Filberts, of little or no Taste. This Account differs somewhat from that given before, p. 327, from other Authors.

^f *Villault*, as before, p. 167.

^g before, p. 24; and *Villault*, as before, p. 167, & seq.

^h *Fringillas* vel *porci*.

ⁱ *Artus*, in *de Brij's* Ind. Orient. Part 6. p. 22, & seq.

^j *Barbot's* Description of *Guinea*, p. 255.

^k *Beaman*, as before.

^l *Artus*, as before, p. 23.

^m *Barbot*, as before.

ⁿ The same.

Gold.
Coast.

Hut, and the Wives (each of them separately) a in theirs, with their Children, unless by Chance some of them agree to join together; and sometimes the Husband happens to eat with his chief Wife, or her he likes best.

SOME of them eat off a Table, but the common Sort feed on the Ground; sitting cross-legged, and leaning on one Side, or else with both their Legs strait under them, and squatting on their Heels.

Their Drink. THEIR common Drink is Water, or *Peytow*, b a Liquor not unlike Beer, brewed with Maiz. They also buy Palm-Wine, five or six joining for a Pot of it (which holds ten Dutch Pots.) This they pour-off into a Vessel, called *Kabas*, c, which will hold twelve Holland Measures*, and then sit round it to drink it out. Before they begin, each Man sends home to his favourite Wife a small Vessel full. Then the Person, who drinks first, fills a lesser *Kabas*, and the rest standing round, lay their Hands on his Head, crying-out *Tautji*: Nor must the first Man drink the *Kabas* quite out, but leaving a little, he spills it on the Ground, repeating the Word *Iou*, as if he offered that to his *Fetish*; and if they carry any *Fetishes* on their Arms or Legs, they sprinkle a little Wine on them, believing, that if they neglected this, they should not drink their Wine in Peace.

Palm-Wine. VILLAUDT says, they drink Water, or *Peytow*, a Kind of small Beer, in the Morning, d and Palm-Wine not till Night, it not being brought to the Market till after Dinner. He adds, that as this Wine will not keep till next Day, turning sour in a Night's Time, therefore in the Evening the Negroes generally meet to drink it off the Merchants Hands.

BOSMAN observes, that let the World go how it will, they must have Brandy in a Morning, and Palm-Wine in the Afternoon. The Dutch are forced to set a Watch on their Cellars at Nights, to prevent their Negroes getting to their strong Liquors, to which and to Tobacco they are besotted to Excess. He adds, that the Women are as guilty of this Vice as the Men, and, as if it were a Virtue, the Children are taught to drink e at three or four Years old.

Their Meals. THEY make but two Meals a Day, one at Sun-rising, the other at Sun-set. *Marchais* says,

the first Meal begins an Hour before Day, and *Barbot* only, that it is taken in the Morning. This last Author adds, that to their Morning-Meal, they drink Water and Brandy; and in the Evening, Palm-Wine.

THE Women have the sole Care of providing *The Women Managers* for the Family, under the Direction of the chief Wife, and for that End have the keeping of the Purse. They seldom, however, buy more than is just sufficient for the Day, chusing no unnecessary Charges. The Men concern themselves little about domestic Affairs, but employ themselves abroad either in Trade or Fishing, or making Palm-Wine, according to their Occupation, and all the Profit they make, they give to their Wives, who manage it very frugally. *Artus* says, they are excellent Housewives, and good Cooks in their Way, though they are destitute of Kettle, Pots, &c. and such Kitchen-Furniture as are in Use with Europeans. Some, who have lived at the Portuguese Forts, have learned their Art of Cookery. For the most Part they keep at home, and breed-up their Daughters in domestic Management, in order to their being good Wives.

THE first Thing they take Care of, in the *Their Bread* Article of Diet, is to make the Bread. In the Evening the Women set-by the Quantity of Corn thought necessary for the Family the succeeding Day, which is brought by the Slaves from the Barn or Granary without the Village, though some have their Storehouse at home. This Corn the Women beat in the Trunk of a Tree, hollowed for that Purpose like a Mortar, or in deep Holes of Rocks allotted for that Use, with wooden Pestles: Then they winnow and grind it on a flat Stone, as our Painters do Colours. Lastly, they mix it with Flour of Millet, and knead it to a Sort of Dough, which they divide into small, round Pieces, as big as a Man's Fist, and boil in a large Earthen Pan full of Water, like Dumplings.

THIS Sort of Bread is tolerable, but very *Quality and heavy on the Stomach.* The same Dough, baked *Sort.* on very hot Stones, is much better. The *Mina* Bread is esteemed the best on the Coast, the Women there being more expert at making it.

THEY make also a Sort of Biscuit of this Dough, which will keep three or four Months. With this

* Villault's Voyage, p. 165; and Barbot's Description of Guinea, p. 254.

c Or, *Peyré*, the same, by Barbot, called *Petaw*. See before, p. 610. d.

e *Parchus* says, as big as a Kilderkin.

f It is done also for their deceased Friends.

g *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* Part 6. p. 23.

h Our Female Gin-drinkers seem to copy from them.

i *Villault*, as before; and *Marchais's* Voyage, vol. 1. p. 293.

k *Artus*, as before, p. 22; and *Barbot*, as before, p. 254.

l *Artus*, as before, p. 20, and 23.

m The same, p. 255.

n Doubtless, a *Kalabash*.

o *Marchais* says,

p *Villault*,

q *Villault*, as before;

r *Villault*, as before,

s *Villault*, as before,

they

Gold-
Coast.

they use to victual their large Canoes, which a trade to Angola. Besides, they make a Sort of round twisted Cake, called *Quanguais*, which are sold in the Markets, and are agreeable enough.

THOUGH their Way of beating and dressing their Corn be very laborious, yet the Women perform it cheerfully in the open, scorching Air, many having their Children at their Back.

S E C T. III.

The Marriages and Education of the Negroes.

Courtship and Marriage. Daughter's Portion. Wedding Expenses; and Feast. Early Marriages. Number of Wives. The Bosum Wife. First Wife's Privileges. Favourite Wives. Women, if fruitful. Child-bearing. Children blessed. Christian Names given them. Circumcision used at Akkra. Nursing. Hard Rearing. Clothing of Children. Their Education: Discipline. Boys learn a Trade. Girls how employed. Certain odd Customs. Right of Inheritance, how it descends. Heirs at Law.

THE Customs and Formalities observed by the Blacks in their Marriages, differ a little in some Particulars along the Coast, though, in the main, they are much the same.

Courtship and
Marriage.

THEIR Weddings are attended with very little Ceremony. A Father, who sees his Son able to get his Living, seeks-out a Wife for him, provided the Son does not save him the Trouble. When the Parties are agreed, the Father of the Bridegroom speaks to the Parents of the young Woman, and fixes what they would have for her. A *Fetish* is sent for, to administer the *Fetish*, or Oaths, who obliges the Wife to promise she will love her Husband, and be faithful to him. The Husband promises to love her, and leaves the Point of Fidelity out. After this Ceremony, the Parents on each Side make mutual Presents; and spending the Day in Feasting and Mirth, at Night the Husband leads his Wife home, and the Marriage is consummated.

Daughter's
Portion.

ARTUS says, the Father of the Bridegroom makes no Provision for him, unless what he has

gained by his own Industry to begin the World: But the Parents of the Bride give their Daughter, by Way of Portion, as much Gold as amounts to fourteen Florins; and if they be rich, they give besides, between them, half an Ounce of Gold to buy Palm-Wine for the Wedding. And this Custom, he says, is so settled, that even the King's Daughters have no greater Portion, except it be a Slave or two to serve them.

Negro
Marriages.

BOSMAN observes, that the Wedding Expenses consists of a little Gold, Wine, Brandy, a Sheep for the Relations, and new Cloaths for the Bride; the Husband keeping a very exact Account of what he bestows on her or her Friends, that in case she leaves him, he may demand all back again; which they must pay, together with the Wedding Charges: But if he puts her away, he can demand nothing of her or her Relations, unless he produces very good Reasons for quitting her; in which Case, indeed, the mentioned Disbursements must be refunded.

ACCORDING to the same Author, there is no great Feasting on the Wedding-Day, but the Bride is dressed very fine, and set-off with Gold Ornaments, either bought by the Bridegroom, or borrowed, as is frequently done; for the Bride brings no Fortune but her Person. She is attended to the Bridegroom's House by some young Woman of her Acquaintance, who stay there a whole Week to bear her Company.

WHEN a Female is married too young for Consummation, there is some Ceremony used on the Occasion. BARBOT relates, that at Akkra a Black of forty was married to a Girl of eight. On the Wedding-Day all the Kindred on both Sides met at the Bride's Father's House, and had a great Feast, with much Rejoicing: After which, the Bride being carried to the Bridegroom's House, was there bedded between two Women in her Husband's Bed, to prevent his offering to touch her. This Ceremony was repeated three Nights successively, after which the Man sent her back to her Father's House, to be kept till she was of Age to consummate the Marriage. When this Time came, the Bridegroom would be obliged to give each of the young Women, who attended her home, an Akki of Gold.

* Artus writes, *Kangbes*.* Artus, in *de Brey's Ind. Orient.* Part 6. p. 22; *Fillaull's Voyage*, p. 166; and *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 256.* *Barbot*, gives the like Account.* Artus observes the same as to this mutual Oath. * *Fillaull*, as before, p. 142; *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 197, & *seq.* And *Marchant's Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 286.

* Artus, as before, p. 11.

* Smith says, p. 145, that these Expenses, among the common Sort, are seldom more than an Ounce of Gold among the Relations, two Suits of new Cloaths for the Bride, a fat Goat, with some Palm-Wine and Brandy for the Entertainment.

* *Akkin* says, p. 68, that the Husband spends four Ounces of Gold more or less, according to his Ability, on her Friends and Acquaintance, who by this are brought together as Witnesses, that he may have Redress in case of Adultery.* *Bosman*, as before; and *Barbot*, as before, p. 259.* *In the Original Akky*, which is the sixteenth Part of an Ounce.* *Barbot*, as before, p. 240.

THOUGH

Gold-
Coast.
Wives Num-
ber.

THOUGH every Man here marries as many a Wives as he can keep, yet the Number seldom exceeds twenty; and when a Person takes so many, it is only to appear great; for the more Wives and Children a Man has, the more he is respected. The usual Number of Wives is from three to ten, besides Concubines, who are often preferred to their Wives, but their Children are deemed illegitimate. Some rich Merchants and Officers have twenty or thirty Wives, according to their Circumstances, but their Kings and great Governors take sometimes eighty or an hundred *. The King of Fetu's Son-in-Law (in the Author's Time) had forty, by whom he had fourteen Sons and twelve Daughters, and kept an hundred Slaves to attend them †.

The Bassum
Wife.

ALL these Wives till the Ground, sow Maiz, plant Yams, except two; who, if the Husbands are rich, are generally exempted from Labour. The principal is called, *The Muliere Grande*, or, *The Great Wife*, and has the Government and Care of the Family. The second privileged Wife is called, *The Bassum*, because she is consecrated to their Deity. The Husband is always very jealous of these two principal Wives, of the *Bassum* Wives more especially, who, for the most Part, are Slaves bought and consecrated to their Deities, and are generally handsome and beautiful. With these they lie either from a religious Principle, or for the Sake of their Beauty, on certain fixed Days; as on their Birth-Day, or on *Tuesday*, their *Fetish*-Day, or Sabbath. This makes the Condition of these *Bassum*-Wives superior to that of the other Women, who work hard to support the Husband, while he spends his Time idly, either talking, or drinking Palm-Wine. Some of the lower Class of Men, the Fishers and Palm-Wine Sellers, are industrious enough.

First Wife's
Privilege.

THE principal Wife (or *Muliere Grande*) has the keeping of the Husband's Money, and these are so far from being jealous on Occasion of their taking many Women, that they often press them to it, because they receive, at those Times, a Fee of four or five *Akkis* of Gold from the new Wife as a Present †; or because, as *Villault* expresses it, the Honour and Wealth among the *Gold-Coast* Negroes consists chiefly in the Number of their Wives and Children ‡. However, for all the first Wife is generally fond of her Husband's having other Wives, yet it seems, before a Man can take a second, he must obtain the

Consent of the first, by giving her a certain Sum in Gold: Nor is this second Wife esteemed legitimate, but goes by the Name of *Etigafou*, or Concubine. These are free to take a Gallant, nor can the Husband sue the Offender §.

VILLAUT speaks to the same Purpose, and confirms the negative Privilege of the first Wife by an Instance; namely, That a young Merchant at *el Mina*, called *Antony*, (who often traded on board their Ship, and never brought less than ten or twelve Marks of Gold ¶) told him, he had so cross a Wife, that she would not allow him to take any more, and that this was an inviolable Custom amongst them †.

ARTUS says, the Husband generally calls *Foemoris* or chuses the Wife he designs to pass the Night with; after which the Woman retires to her Apartment, and keeps the Matter secret, to prevent Jealousy ‡.

BOSMAN observes, that there is great Emulation among the Wives, each practising all her Charms, in order to get the Preference in her Husband's Love, and so secure the greatest Share of his matrimonial Favours; which chiefly depend on the Man's Pleasure, though they generally settle an equal Distribution to prevent Dispute; so that each Wife is obliged in her Turn §.

VILLAUT affirms, that the first has a Privilege of claiming her Husband's Company three Nights in the Week, while the rest must be content with one, and that according to Seniority; yet that they live generally in good Harmony together ¶. According to *Artus*, when the first Wife grows old, the Husband substitutes a younger in her Place; yet he still keeps the former in the House, and makes her wait as a Servant †.

As the Negroes place their greatest Wealth in *Wives*, or the Number of their Wives and Children, (which *is* the first Thing they boast of to a Stranger) so they endeavour to get as many as they can. However, their Women are neither barren, nor very fruitful, and are generally two or three Years married before they bear a Child ‡; and *Marchais* alleges their being obliged to suckle the Children for four Years, as another Obstacle §. *Villault* says, that being seldom fruitful after Marriage, which is owing to their Temper and Complexion, few of them have above four or five Children ¶.

A WIFE that is pregnant is much respected,

* *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 199; and *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 240, & seq. † *Villault's Voyage*, p. 155. ‡ *Bosman*, as before; and *Barbot*, as before, p. 241. § *Villault*, as before, p. 154. ¶ *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* Part 6. p. 11. † Three hundred and twenty, or three hundred and eighty-four Pounds. ‡ *Villault*, as before, p. 153, & seq. § *Artus*, as before, p. 11. ¶ *Bosman*, as before, p. 208. † *Villault*, as before, p. 154. ‡ *Artus*, as before, p. 11. § The same, p. 21. ¶ *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 1. p. 287. † *Villault*, as before, p. 148. and

Gold-Coast. and waited on by the Husband; and if it be the first Child, rich Offerings are made the *Fetish* for her safe Delivery. As soon as she finds herself with Child, she is brought to the Shore, followed by a Crowd of Boys and Girls; who sing all Manner of Dung and Filth at her in her Way to the Sea, where she is ducked, and washed clean. This Ceremony the Author judges to be owing to an Opinion, that, if omitted, the Mother, Child, or some Relation, will certainly die soon after.

Child-bearer. ALL Authors agree, that when a Woman is near her Time, a Crowd of both Sexes, young and old, come about her; in the Midst of whom, without any Shame, she is delivered in publick: And their Labour seldom exceeds a Quarter, or Half an Hour, and is attended with no Outcries, or Signs of Pain. When the Woman is delivered, they give her a Kalibash full of Liquor made of *Indian Wheat* steeped in Water, Wine, and Brandy, tempered with *Guinea Pepper*, and, covering her up, let her sleep for three Hours; after which she gets up, and washing the Infant, falls to her Work as before. *Villault* saw an Instance of this at *Frederickburgh*. *Bosman* mentions a Woman who was delivered without Pain of two Children in a Quarter of an Hour; and *Barbot* another, who brought forth the same Number aboard his Ship, on the bare Deck, between the Carriages of two Guns, in about Half an Hour; and the next Moment took the Infant herself, carried it to a Tub of Water, and having washed it, and rested herself half an Hour, fell to Work as busily as ever, carrying her Child at her Back wrapped in a Clout. *Marchais* thinks, the Silence of the Females on these Occasions, does not proceed from their not having an equal Share of Pain with others of the Sex, but from a Greatness of Mind, and a Sense of Shame; for it would be scandalous here for a Woman to cry out. No-body knows a Woman is brought to Bed, but by the Child's crying.

Children *Wifed.* THE Child is no sooner born, but the Priest (called here *Fetishir*, or *Konfo*) is sent for, who binds a Parcel of Strings (of the *Fetish Tree*) Coral, and other Trash, about the Head, Body, Arms and Legs of the Infant. After this, he exorcizes it after their Manners; by which they believe it is armed against all Sickness and ill Accidents. The next Thing is to name it. If the Parents be rich, the Child has generally three

Names given it. The first is the Name of the Day of the Week it was born on, the second is that of the Grandfather or Grandmother, according to the Sex of the Child, and the third that of the Father, Mother, or some of the Relations. At *Akkra* the Parents call together all their Acquaintance, and give the Child the Name that is borne by most in the Company.

THE Names for Boys are usually, *Adam*, *Christias*, *Quaquon*, *Quaw*, *Karbei*, *Keffi*; and for Girls, *Kanow*, *Jama*, *Aquauha*, *Hira*, *Akajieffa*. They frequently add to their Boys Names the European ones of *John*, *Anthony*, *Peter*, *Jacob*, *Abraham*, &c. But this is only practised by the Coast Negroes.

As they grow-up, they take additional Names, or rather Titles, from any remarkable Actions, as killing an Enemy, a Tyger, &c. so that some have twenty such Names or Appellations: The most honourable of which is that conferred on him over their Cups at Palm-Wine in the Market-Place. But the Name they usually go by, is one of those given them at their Birth. Some are called after the Number of Children their Mother has borne; as the eighth, ninth, or tenth Child: But this only when she has had about six or seven Children.

ARTUS says, in a fixed Time they circumcise their Children of both Sexes with great Rejoicings. But *Bosman*, and after (or from) him *Barbot* declares, that this Ceremony takes Place nowhere on the *Gold-Coast*, but at *Akkra*; and that it is performed at the same Time that the Name is imposed. Some Europeans fancy, these two last Customs derived from the Jews, with several others retained by the Negroes, as honouring the Moon at the Time when the Jews begin that Festival, marrying the Brother's Wife, and the like. Many of the Names likewise, in Use here, are the same with those in the Old Testament. But the Author rather thinks they had all these from the *Mohammedans* of *Barbary*, with whom the Natives of *Akkra* and *Whidab* trade. It is more probable that they had them from the *Portuguese*, *French*, &c. And *Villault*, as well as *Marchais*, declare, they often give their Children the Name of some European they have been obliged to.

THEIR Children are, for the most Part, of so strong a Constitution, as to require little Cure. As soon as born, and washed in the Sea, or some adjacent River, they are folded up in some Piece of

^a *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 208.

^b *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* says, a Drink consisting of Palm-Oil, and *Malaghetta Pepper*.

^c The same, p. 12. And *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 242.

^d *Villault's Voyage*, p. 155.

^e *Bosman's Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 1. p. 281.

^f *Bosman*, as before, p. 209. And *Barbot*, as before, p. 244.

^g *Barbot*, p. 244.

^h *Villault's Voyage*, p. 155. And *Marchais*, as before, p. 282.

ⁱ *Artus*, p. 13.

^j *Bosman*, p. 210.

^k *Villault's Voyage*, p. 155.

^l *Marchais*, as before, p. 282.

^m *Artus*, p. 13.

ⁿ *Bosman*, p. 210.

Codd.
Codd.

Stuff, laid on a Mat on the bare Ground, and left to rest by themselves for five or six Weeks ^a.

According to *Villault*, after this, the Mother carries it on her Back, set on a little Board, having its Legs fastened beneath her Arm-Pits, and its Hands tied round her Neck, only untying it at Night ^b.

BARBOT says, they carry them hanging at their Back in a Clout, as the Gypsies or Beggars do ^c. Thus, notwithstanding their Labour, they suckle them from Time to Time, lifting up their Children to their Shoulder, and turning their Breasts over to them. But this is only to be understood of the meaner Sort of People; for the better Sort never carry their Children about with them, who therefore have not flat Noses like the Vulgar ^d. They are at great Pains to wash them Morning and Evening, and rub them with Palm-Oil, which keeps their Joints flexible, their Pores open, and assists Nature very much in their Growth ^e.

Rood Rec.
reg.

It is surprizing to *Artus*, that the Children receive no Hurt by being carried in the Manner abovementioned; yet he observes, that few of them are rickety, or ill-shaped. At eight Months old ^f the Mothers leave them to crawl on All-Fours, feeding on dry Bread; with which Management they grow so lusty and strong, that they are generally able to talk and go at a Year old ^g. It is true, says *Marchais*, they get many a Fall, yet are seldom hurt. They have no Nurseries here, the Mothers suckling their own Children. *Bosman*, and after him *Smith*, says, this lasts for two or three Years ^h. But according to *Barbot*, that Practice is not general, some not suckling them one Quarter of the Time. When that is over, if the Child can walk alone, and is hungry, she gives it a Piece of dry Bread, and sends it abroad; then it wanders either to the Market, or to the Sea-side to learn to swim, or where it will, nobody heeding it ⁱ. *Bosman* adds, that as they feed their Children, so they fare themselves, voraciously enough, being guilty of no Intemperance in the Article of Eating, but rather live too low ^j.

Chasing.

With regard to Cloathing; at some Weeks old, they put on their Children a Net-work, made of the Bark of the Tree sacred to their *Fetich*, adorned with many Charms, like our golden Buttons; and also Chains, or Bracelets, of Sea-Shell about their Feet, Hands, and Necks, to procure Sleep, prevent Falls, Bleeding at the

Nose, Poison, or any other Mischief they may receive from the Devil ^k. At four Years old, they bind Twigs of the same Tree (fold them by the Priests at a dear Rate) round their Arms and Legs, by Way of Preservative against Dangers or Diseases, each having its peculiar Virtue ^l. *Bosman* says, that the Ropes, and Trash, put about the Children at the Time of Consecration, commonly serve them for Clothes till they are seven or eight Years old; at which Period they pride themselves in a necessary Lappet of half an Ell of Stuff ^m.

Thus are they bred up till this Age wholly in Idleness and Play, learning nothing but to swim well, and continuing stark-naked; in which Condition they run about the Town, or dabble in the Sea, by Hundreds together: By this Means they become very skilful in swimming; so that, if their Canoe overfets at Sea, they presently reach the Shore. They are excellent Divers, and will fetch up any Thing from the Bottom. One great Fault in these Children is, that they eat all Sorts of Carrion they find abroad, often quarrelling desperately about the dividing it; which Habit they seem to take from the nasty Feeding of their Parents on stinking Victuals. Boys and Girls at this Age lie intermingled, and naked together, which takes off from their Modesty; especially as their Parents scarce ever correct or rebuke them for any Thing ⁿ. 'Tis true, as *Artus* observes, that the Parents sometimes correct them severely, beating them so with Sticks, it is a Wonder they do not break their Limbs: But as they do this very seldom, and not till they have great Provocation, their Children stand very little in Awe of them, and make slight of their Authority ^o. *Barbot* says, they seldom correct their Children for any other Faults than hurting other Children, or suffering themselves to be beaten; in which Cases they often drub them unmercifully, tho' to little Purpose ^p. The Children stay with the Mothers till they are brought up to some Business or Trade, or else sold by the Fathers for Slaves, as often happens.

Discipline

When the Boys are ten, or twelve, the Father takes them under his Care, to instruct them how to get a Living, breeding them generally to his own Business. If he be a Fisherman, he takes them out to help him. If a Merchant, he learns them how to buy and sell. Thus they continue with their Father (who has the Profit of

Boys learn a Trade.

^a *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* p. 13. And *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 242. ^b *Villault's Voyage*, p. 157.

^c *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* says, like the Dutch Soldiers Wives. ^d *Barbot*, as before, p. 242, & seq. And *Villault*, as before.

^e *Artus* says, when they are weaned.

^f *Villault*, as before. And *Marchais's Voy.*

^g *Artus*, as before, p. 13. And *Villault*, as before, p. 122.

^h *Bosman*, as before, p. 122.

ⁱ *Artus*, as before, p. 14. And *Villault*, as before, p. 158.

^j *Bosman*, as before, p. 123.

^k *Barbot*, as before, p. 243.

^l *Artus*, as before.

^m *Barbot*, as before, p. 243.

ⁿ *Artus*, as before; *Villault*, as before, p. 159. And *Barbot*, as before.

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Gold-Coast.

their Labour) till they are eighteen or twenty; at which Time, giving them Slaves to do their Work, they begin to set-up for themselves. Leaving their Father's Hut, they chuse out a proper Habitation; and, if Fishers, hire or buy a Boat for Fishing. The first Money they can save, they lay-out for a Cloth to cover their Middle. When the Parents see them thrive, and grow rich, the Father looks-out a Wife for them.

Girls, how employed.

THE Girls are brought-up to weave Baskets, Mats, Caps, Purse, and other Things for the House, as well as to dye them of various Colours; to grind Corn, bake the Bread, and go sell it in the Market. What they can earn themselves, they give to their Mothers, to lay-by for a Portion to them: By this Means the Girls are naturally bred excellent Housewives. *Marchais* adds, that they are also taught to take-Care of their own Clothes, when they have any, and those of their Parents; but, above all, to see that their Father's Dinner be ready for him at the set Hour.

Old Customs.

THE Women, during their monthly Visitations, are esteemed unclean, and obliged to remain in a small Hut near the Father's or Husband's House; not being suffered to go into another Man's House, at least to lodge. What is more remarkable, in *Anta*, a Woman, after bearing the tenth Child, is doomed to this solitary Retirement, remote from all Company for the Space of two Years, where she is carefully furnished with all Necessaries of Life: After the Expiration of this Term, and the Performance of all customary Ceremonies, she returns to her Husband, and lives with him as before. This is a particular Custom, not used (as the Author knew of) in any other Country.

MARKED People have no Community of Goods; the Man and his Wives generally adjust the Matter together; so as to bear the Charge of House-keeping jointly, whilst he clothes the whole Family at his own Expence. Hence, on the Death of either Man or Wife, the respective Relations sweep-away all, though the Relief is often obliged to help to pay the Funeral Charges: Nay, if a Negro has a Child by his Slave, whether his Wife or not, his Heir will consider it only as a Slave; on which Account, those who love their Slaves, will take Care to make their Children free, with the usual Ceremonies, before they die, after which they are in every Particular treated as free Persons.

Right of Inheritance.

As to Inheritance, *Artus* gives us this Account;

that the Wife, whether she has Children or not, has no Claim to any Part of the Effects or Possessions of the Deceased, which all devolve to the Brother, or nearest of Kin. If the Deceased has no Brother, his Father is Heir. The same Law obtains as to the Women; the Husband being obliged to restore the Wife's Portion to her Brethren, or nearest Friends. The Children here inherit nothing from their Parents, nor do the Wives get any Part of their Husband's Effects; the Successions fall to the Brothers, or nearest of Kin. The Wives have the Use of the Husband's Fortune while he lives; but as soon as they are dead, they must provide for themselves and Children as well as they can. For this Reason, the young Men and Women are industrious and careful to lay by something, that when they marry, they may have wherewithal to begin the World, knowing they can inherit nothing from their Parents, and seldom get any Portion.

BOSMAN, who seems to have taken some Pains to enquire into the Doctrine of Inheritance, as it stands among the Negroes, observes, that their legitimate Children, or those they have by their Wives, all along the *Gold-Coast*, never inherit their Parents Effects, except at *Akera* only. The eldest Son, supposing the Father a King or Captain of a Town, succeeds him in his Office only; but besides his Father's Shield, and Sabre, has nothing more to pretend to: So that it is no Advantage here to be born of rich Parents, unless something is given in the Lifetime of the Father to his Son; which rarely happens, and must be done very privately, otherwise the Relations will oblige him, after the Father's Death, to return it to the utmost Farthing.

THE Right of Inheritance, as far as the Author could observe, is thus adjusted. The Brothers and Sisters Children are the right and lawful Heirs in the Manner following: They do not jointly inherit, but the eldest Son of his Mother is Heir to his Mother's Brother, or her Son, as the eldest Daughter is Heiress of her Mother's Sister, or her Daughter. Neither the Father himself, nor his Relations, as Brothers, Sisters, &c. have any Claim to the Goods of the Deceased. For what Reason this Custom obtains, the Negroes cannot tell; but the Author thinks it was introduced on Account of the Women's Loose-ness, like as in some Part of *East India*, where the Kings educate their Sister's Son as their own, and appoint him to succeed; because they are more sure that their Sister's Son is of their Blood,

^a *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* p. 14, & seq. And *Villault's Voyage*, p. 160.

^b *Marchais's Voy. en Guinée*, vol. 1. p. 284.

^c *Bosman*, as before, p. 202.

^d *Artus*, as before, p.

^e *Bosman's*

^f *Artus*, as before, p. 94.

than they can be of their own: For being obliged to trust a Woman no Way related to them, if she be false, the Child may be an Alien to their Blood.

Heirs at
Law.

IN Defect of the above-mentioned Heirs, Brothers or Sisters take Place; and, in Defect of these, the nearest Relation to the Mother of the Deceased comes-in. Although the Negroes never commit an Error on this Head, yet their Account of it is so perplexed and obscure, that *Bozman* says, no *European* ever could, or will be able to come at a clear Knowledge. He owns, that Disputes arise sometimes on Account of the next Heir's stretching his Might beyond his Right, but never about the Right of Inheritance. However, *Mr. Smith*, who made the Voyage since *Bozman*, observes, that this Custom relating to Inheritances is lately much over-ruled among the Negroes, who live under *European* Government.

is the first Rule in Law; and the Negroes knowing this by Nature, put the Accuser upon Proof. For this the Woman, who is most capable, appears in full Assembly, and displays the whole Action in its proper Terms and Colours, with all Circumstances of Time and Place; how the Criminal behaved, and what he gave her. These are generally very smutty Causes, especially when the Accuser urges (as is sometimes done) that he was indeed just ready to commit the Offence; but thinking of the Consequences, withdrew in Time. In Answer to this, the Lady is obliged to declare all the obscene Particulars of the Affair from Beginning to End (in the same Manner as is required in our Courts of Law.) In fine, if the Judges are perplexed, they give the Man his purging Oath; which, if he takes, he is cleared, and if he refuses, Sentence passes against him.

Several Negroes marry many Wives only to get a good Living by them, and to wear gilt Horns. These are truly contented Cuckolds, who give their Wives full Orders to entice other Men into their Embraces; which done, those She-Devils immediately tell their Husbands, who know very well how to fleece the amorous Spark. It is inexpressible what Subtilties these *Phedras* use to draw Men, but especially Strangers, into the Net. To these they will pretend they have no Husband, and are yet unmarried, and free; but the Fact is no sooner over, than the Husband appears, and gives them cogent Reasons to repent their Credulity.

Others, whose Admirers know them to be married, will promise and swear eternal Secrecy, only with a Design to draw them in; for as soon as they meet with their Husbands, they tell them what has happened. Should they conceal it, and he make the Discovery himself, it might cost them very dear; but by this Method they gratify their Inclinations without Danger, and promote their Husband's Interest into the Bargain.

THIS is the Custom of the Coast Negroes with Respect to Adultery, but the Inland Negroes (as *Bozman* was informed) are more strict. He who debauches a Negro's Wife there, is not only, for the generality, entirely ruined, but his Relations often suffer with him: And if the injured Person be a rich and great Man, the Offender's Ruin will not satisfy him, he must have his Life. If the guilty Person be a Slave, his Death is inevitably determined, and that in the most cruel Manner that can be devised; besides, a Fine is laid upon his Master. The Men likewise detest the sordid Manner of trading with their Wives,

SECT. IV.

Amorous Women. Licensed Whores. Salutations.

Adultery, how punished. Obscene Trials. Mercenary Cuckolds. Inland Negroes, more strict. The Women amorous: Apology for them: Many live unmarried. Licensed Whores, for publick Use; in great Esteem. Negro Way of Salutation; at Visits. Ceremonies in Visits of Kings and great Men. Slaves here.

Adultery,
how punished.

IF the Wife breaks the Marriage-Vow, whether willingly, or by Compulsion, *Artus* says, the Man may put her away, and take another. The Fine for Adulterers is twenty-four Pesos (or nine Ounces) of Gold. If the Offender be an *European*, he is not bound to pay it; but the Woman, if able, must pay four Pesos, or she is liable to be turned-off. If a Woman be suspected, she may clear herself by swearing by her *Fetich*. If a Man's first Wife violates his Bed, it is thought a great Disgrace, so that the Offender pays his Fine to the King; yet the Husband never rests, till he obliges him to quit the Place.

ACCORDING to *Bozman*, the Fine for lying with another Man's Wife amongst the common People, is about four, five, or six Pounds *Sterling*; but the rich must bleed a greater Sum, especially for a considerable Man's Wife, which will cost him one or two hundred Pounds.

Of some
Deaths.

THESE Causes are very nicely pleaded before the Courts; on which the Author had far chief Judge above an hundred Times. To deny, says he,

* *Bozman's Description of Guinea*, p. 203, & seq.
in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* Part 6. p. 11.
Bullies do in Europe.

* *Smith's Voyage to Guinea*, p. 143.

* Claiming his Wife, says *Smith*, in the same Manner as our usual

* *Artus*,

usual

Gold Coast.

usual on the Coast. A Woman caught in Adultery is also in great Danger of her Life, unless the Relations pacify the enraged Husband with a large Sum of Money: But she who lies with her Husband's Slave, is infallibly condemned to Death, as well as the Slave her Paramour; besides all which, her Relations are obliged to pay a Sum to her Husband.

EVERY considerable Negro is in this Case, for the most Part, his own Judge; and if he be too weak alone to avenge himself, he calls in his Friends to his Assistance, who readily lend him their helping Hand, each being sure to get some Part of the Compensation.

Mori Brit.

THESE Inland-Negros are much richer than those among the Factories; and therefore a Person guilty of this Crime, is punished with the utmost Severity. The Author had heard of Fines in those Parts, amounting to above five thousand Pound Sterling, paid on Account of Adultery; whereas he did not remember ever to have met with a Negro on the Gold-Coast (and he had been at most Places there, except Akra, Apam, and Kerman-tin) whose Possessions being sold, would have amounted to any thing near that Sum, except the King of Aquambo, and (according to Report) he also of Akron; which two, joined, possess more Gold than all the rest together.

ALTHOUGH the Men are so rigorous in exacting Fidelity from their Wives; yet, in Case one of them diverts himself with other Women, he may do it with Impunity, nor dare any but his chief Wife presume to chide him for it: She indeed sometimes will charge him severely, and threaten to leave him on that Account; but this must be when the Man is in a good Humour, else he will not take it very well.

The Women answer.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this Severity, the Women will take Liberties: And indeed, says our Author, considering the natural Heat of their Constitutions, and that ten or twenty of them are confined to a single Man, it is no such mighty Wonder if they are continually intriguing, and would rather hazard their Life than live in Pain. The Men, being cooled by the Fear of the Punishment, the Women leave no Arts untried to allure them: Nay, they are so very impatient, that if they can get a young Man alone, they will tear the Clothes off his Middle, and throw themselves upon him; swearing they will accuse him to their Husband of an Attempt upon their Chastity, unless he gratifies their Desires.

OTHERS of these unhappy Women narrowly watch the Place where the Person on whom they

^a Bosman's Description of Guinea, p. 205, & seq. ^b Mr. Smith says, the Royal Negro Ladies do their utmost to gratify this Passion; and often twenty or thirty of them seize a luscious Youth, and detain him till his Strength is quite exhausted, and then send him away, making him promise to return to them at a set Time, of which he always fails; for he is sure to sell himself for a Slave. See his Voyage, p. 223. ^c Bosman, as before, p. 206, & seq. ^d Smith's Voyage, p. 222.

cast their Eye is used to sleep; and when one of them finds an Opportunity, she steals to, and softly lies down by him without his Knowledge. Soon after this, awaking him, she uses all her Arts to excite amorous Inclinations; and if all prove in vain, she assures him that she will make such a Noise, as shall occasion their being surprized together; in which Case his Death will be inevitable. Farther to allure him, she protests she is come thither without the Knowledge of any Person; and that she can retire without the least Suspicion of her Husband, or any Body else. The Youth, thus caught, is obliged to comply, in order to get clear of her; but, to his Misfortune, generally continues his Correspondence till at last they are discovered.

Lionel Wrote.

THE Men, who by this Means come to their End, are really to be pitied; and the Women, says Bosman, indeed deserve some tender Thoughts: For they being Flesh and Blood, as well as the Men, and liable to the same Weakness, it is hard such Tyranny should be exercised over them.

THE Negro Ladies have another Advocate in Mr. Smith. He observes, that he has often pitied their Case, which is very severe; especially the King's Wives, who seldom lie with him above three Times, and afterwards are strictly forbidden all Intercourse with the Men for Life. A Prohibition, so unreasonable, that, he dares affirm, the Christian Ladies would not comply with it.

SEVERAL of each Sex live unmarried, at least for some Time; though commonly there are more single Women than Men, and yet very few Negroes die, unless it be very young, unmarried. The Reason why the Women continue longest unmarried, is, first, because they are then at Liberty to have as many Men as they please; Persons of this Sort generally marry amongst common People, and seldom take-up with their Husbands alone. The second Reason is, the vast Number of Women, which much exceeding that of the Men, it is some Time before they are asked: Though this Waiting is less irksome, as it is no Scandal to stay their Stomachs, as often as they think-fit; nor are they therefore rudely accounted Whores, but, on the contrary, are chosen for Wives as soon as others.

IN Egwira, Abekrow, Ankober, Anin, Ante, and Adom, there are several Women who never marry; and these only are called Whores, being initiated into that Trade in the following Manner.

WHEN the Mansees find they want a com-

Lionel Wrote.

Coast.
Coast.

nion Whore, they petition the *Kabobiers* to buy a one for the Public. Upon this, either they, or the *Manfers*, themselves, purchase a beautiful Female Slave, who is brought to the public Market-Place; accompanied with another experienced Harlot, whose Business is to instruct her in the Way of Trade. This done, the Novice is smeared all over with Earth, and several Offerings made for her Success in her future Occupation. Next a little Boy, yet immature for Love Affairs, makes a Feint, or Representation, of lying with her before all the People; by which it is hinted to her, that, from this Time forwards, she is obliged to receive all Persons indiscriminately, not excepting little Boys. Then, a little out of the Way, a small Hut is built for her, in which she is obliged to confine herself for eight or ten Days, and lie with every Man who comes. After this, she obtains the honourable Name of *Abeler*, or *Abelerre*, signifying a common Whore, and has a Dwelling assigned her near one of her Masters, or in a particular Part of the Town; being ever after obliged to refuse no Man the Use of her Person, though he offers never so small a Sum, which seldom amounts to above a Penny: More may be given out of Courtesy, but there is no Obligation.

For public
Use.

EACH of the above-mentioned Towns has two or three of these Whores, according to their Largeness. They bring the Money earned to their Masters, who return them enough for Cloaths and Necessaries.

THESE Women are very miserable, when caught by any venereal Taint, which they seldom escape long, being Prostitutes to all Sorts promiscuously. In this Case, the Poison takes its Course: For seldom any are touched with Concern for them; not so much as their own Masters; who, on the contrary, as soon as the Gain begins to cease, withdraw their Hands, and never so much as take the least Care of her; and thus these unhappy Creatures come to a miserable End.

So great
Expense.

BUT as long as they are found and in their Flower, they are in very great Esteem; and you cannot afflict a Land more sensibly, than by seizing these Creatures. For Example, says the Author, if our Factor at *Axim* has any Dispute with his subordinate Negros, no Way will more effectually bring them to Reason, than taking one of these Whores into Custody, and confining her in the Fort: For, as soon as this News reaches the Ears of the *Manfers*, they go with flying Sails to the *Kabobiers*, and earnestly desire them to give the Factor Satisfaction, that they may

have their Whores set at Liberty again; urging, that, in this State, those who burn will be prompted to go in to other Mens Wives. This, says he, I speak by my own Experience, having had more than one Proof of it: For, at one Time, securing five or six *Kabobiers*, and, at another, two or three Whores, I found hardly any body, besides their own Relations, concerned for the former; but, on account of the other, the whole Village came upon their Knees, and every body, though he had no particular Interest in it, was very much concerned for their Liberty.

Negro
Salutation.

THE Countries of *Komanti*, or *Kommentis*, *Nandy*, *el Mina*, *Fetu*, *Sabé*, *Fautin*, &c. have none of these Whores, and yet a young Rake is not much put to it, for there is no Want of unmarried Women; and they, if of Age for it, are almost all Whores, though they do not bear the Name, and can dispute the Price of their Favour, it being Matter of Choice: But they are so very reasonable as to the Price, that seldom any Difference happens on that Head. And if this is not sufficient for the Relief of the young Sparks, there are old Matrons, who breed-up whole Schools-full, of the handsomest they can find, for their Use.

IT remains to speak a Word concerning the Complaisance of the Coast-Negros. *Artus* says, when they meet abroad in a Morning, they salute each other, with great Kindness embracing, and joining the two Fore-Fingers of the right Hand they snap them off, then bowing their Heads, repeat the Word *Auxi*, which is their Term of Salutation.

ACCORDING to *Bosman*, they salute by uncovering the Head; but he observes, that the inland People do not esteem this any Mark of Respect. Next, they ask each other, *How he slept?* To which the Reply is, *Very well*.

ACCORDING to *Barbot*, when they meet an European, they only take-off their Hat, or Cap, and making a Sort of Scrape, or Bow, with their Leg, cry, *Azio*! *Signor*. At *el Mina*, Persons of Note, when they salute each other, (after the universal Ceremony of taking by the Hand, and then withdrawing it with a Snapping of the Fingers,) say *Bere*, *Bere*, that is, *Peace*, *Peace*.

ON visiting, the Person visited takes his Guest by the Hand, and snapping his two middle Fingers together, only bids him welcome, if it be his first Visit; but if his second, or third, he bids him welcome, saying, *You went out and are returned*; to which the other replies, *I am come again*. This is the Height of Politeness among them.

* This is what the Roman Law calls a *Meretrix*, à merendo stipendium.

c *Bosman's Description of Guinea*, p. 211. & seq.

d *Bosman*, as before, p. 125.

e This seems to be the same Word with *Auxi*, as *Artus* writes it; though *Barbot* himself uses the Word *Auxi* afterwards.

b In the Original, *Caboceros*.

f *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* Part 6. p. 19.

Wagen

Gold Coast.

WHEN the Coast-Negrot are visited by an European, or Stranger, as soon as mutual Compliments are over, the Wives, or Female Slaves bring Water, Palm-Oil, and a Sort of Ointment, like Grease, to wash and anoint their Guest.

Visit of King.

THE Visits of Kings, and those of the best Rank, are accompanied with several odd Ceremonies. For Instance, when the Lord, or King of a Town is advanced very near to, or reaches that King's Town he intends the Honour of a Visit to, he dispatches one of his Attendants to compliment and advise him of his Coming; who on the other Hand, sends back a Messenger of his own with his Ambassador, to compliment and assure the first of a hearty Welcome. While they are on the Way, the King, or General, ranges all his Soldiers in Battle Array in the Market-Place, or before his Palace. These, being generally about three or four hundred Men, sit down, expecting their Guest, while he, for State and Grandeur, advances but slowly, attended by a great Number of armed Men, who, leaping and dancing, make a dismal military Noise.

And great Men.

HAVING, at last, reached the Place where the King of the Town sits expecting him, he does not make directly up to him; but first detaches all his unarmed People of Fashion to present their Hands, by Way of Salutation, to the other, and his Men who are about him. At length, the two Kings, armed with Shields, make their mutual Approaches; and if the Visitant be of higher Rank than the Visited, or the latter designs to honour the former with an extraordinary Reception, he embraces and bids him welcome three Times successively: But if the Visitant should be his Inferior, he welcomes him, by barely presenting his Hand thrice to him, and filipping his middle Finger, which is done at three Advances. This ended, the Guest and his Attendants sit down opposite to the other, expecting him to come and welcome him and his Followers; which is also soon after done with three circular Advances. After this, he returns to his Place and sits down, sending Persons to salute and welcome the rest of his Visitant's Troop, to ask after their Health, and the Intent of their Coming; which the Chief generally answers by Messengers of his own. These mutual Ceremonies frequently last an Hour or two, or till the Entertainer rises, and obliges his Guest to go in to his House; where he is presented by the King and the great Men of the Town with Sheep, Fowl, Yams, or whatever is agreeable. And

thus ends this tedious Salutation, which yet, the Author says, he has abridged by leaving-out several Circumstances.

Negro Trade.

THEY have not many Slaves on the Coast, none but the Kings or Nobles being permitted to buy or sell any; so that they are allowed only what are necessary for their Families, or tilling the Ground.

THEIR Slaves are usually such Wretches, as, through Poverty, are obliged to sell themselves to the Grandees, or Nobles, (who are the only Merchants) to prevent starving. These Masters mark them with their own Stamp. If they endeavour to escape, and are retaken, they lose, for the first Attempt, one Ear, for the second, the other Ear; and if they be caught a third Time, they sell them, or cut-off their Heads, as they please. The Children born of Slave Parents are also Slaves, and obliged to do whatever they are commanded, being generally easy Work, as watering their Fish, threading Beads, &c.

THE King has several Sorts of Slaves. Some are those, who have forfeited their Freedom by their Incapacity to pay the Fines laid on them for some Crime. These are distinguished from the other Slaves by their having no Hats, but going always bare-headed. They generally use their Slaves well, and seldom correct them.

HERE it may be observed, that the Natives will not be called *Ethiopian*, (which they say is a Name of Reproach only proper for Slaves) but *Pratto*, or Blacks.

SECT. V.

Handicraft-Trades, Occupations, and Markets.

Handicrafts: Blacksmiths: Goldsmiths: Carpenters: Thatchers: Potters: Hatters: and Weavers. Fishermen: Night Fishing with Torches: Several Fishing Seasons: Their Hooks and Lines: Pool-fishing: Their Canoes largest sized. Those for War and Pleasure: Sails and Ornaments. Canoes, how made: Lesser Canoes: How managed. Husbandry of the Guinea Negrot. Method of sowing Grain. Their Markets. The Goods brought thither. Industry of the Women. Palm-Wine. Tobacco. Their Scales and Weights. Money in Use. Country Markets, or Fairs.

THEY have very few manual Arts, or Trades; all which are employed chiefly in making wooden, or earthen Cups, and Troughs, matting Chairs, making Copper Ointment-Boxes,

* Barbot's Description of Guinea, p. 257; and Bosman's Description of Guinea, p. 126. as before. * Villault for *Ethiopian*, puts *Moor*; by which he means, *Negrot*. Bry's Ind. Orient. Part 6. p. 90, & seq. And Villault's Voyage, p. 206, & seq.

* Bosman, as in de

Gold-
Coast.
Blacksmiths

and Arm-Rings of Gold, Silver, or Ivory, with some *Fetishes* and other trifling Matters.

THE Handicraft in which the Blacks are most skilled is Smithery. The Black Smiths, who are very numerous at *Boutri*, *Kemendo*, *el Mina*, *Berqu*, and other Places, with such sorry Tools as they have, make all Kinds of martial Weapons they have Occasion for, Guns only excepted. They also make all Kinds of Instruments for Husbandry, and for household Uses. Though they have no Steel, yet they make their Simetars, and other cutting Instruments. Their chief Tools are a hard Stone, instead of an Anvil; a Pair of Tongs; a small Pair of Bellows, with three or four Nozels, which is an Invention of their own, and blows very strong. Their Files, of several Sizes, are as well tempered as we can make them in Europe. Hammers, of all Sizes, they have from the Dutch. Their Forges are smaller than ours.

Goldsmiths.

BUT their Goldsmiths excel their Blacksmiths in their Performances, having learnt this Art from the French, Portuguese, and Dutch, in former Times; and now make, of fine Gold, Breastplates, Helmets, Bracelets, Idols, Hunting-Horns, Pattins, Plates, Ornaments for the Neck, Hatbands, Chain and plain Rings, Buttons, and Shell-Fish. They also cast very curiously, all Sorts of tame and wild Beasts, the Heads and Skeletons of Lions, Tygers, Oxen, Deer, Monkeys, or Goats; which serve them for *Fetishes*, either in Plainwork, or Fillagree, all cast in Moulds. But the most curious Workmanship is shewn in the Gold and Silver Hatbands made for the Europeans, the Thread and Texture of which is so nice, as would puzzle an European Artizan to imitate them.

BESIDES Smiths, they have Carpenters, Thatchers, Potters, Hatters, and Weavers; the rest, excepting the Merchants, or Traders, are Fishermen; but all are concerned in Agriculture.

Carpenters.

THE Carpenters are chiefly employed in making the Frame, or Timber-work, of Houses and Canoes. Of the former, an Account has been already given, as there will be of the latter presently.

Thatchers.

THEY have a peculiar Way of ordering and ranging the Leaves of Palm-Trees, the Straw of Indian Wheat, or Rushes, all bound and fastened together, on round Poles of different Sizes. This Kind of Roofs they sell ready-made in the Market; so that any one who is to build or repair a House, may chuse a Roof for his Purpose.

Potters.

THEY learnt the Potter's Art from the Portuguese. Their Earthen-Ware, though thin, is

extraordinary hard, and as good as any in the World to boil Meat, or for any other Use whatever. Their Clay is of a dark Colour, and the Vessels made of it will endure the most violent Heat.

Negro
Traders.

THE Inland Blacks have also several Trades, and Abundance of Husbandmen. Some make various Kinds of Caps and Hats of the Skins of Beasts, or with Straw and Rushes. Many are Weavers, who work Cloth artificially, in little portable Looms, spinning the Bark of certain Trees, which they dye of different Colours. The People of *Iffini*, and the Country adjacent, are the best Weavers on the Gold-Coast.

THE Business of Fishing is, on the Gold-Coast, esteemed next to that of Trading, and those who profess it are more numerous than those of any other Employment. At *Anta*, and along the Coast, they breed up their Sons to it, from nine and ten Years of Age. The greatest Number is at *Kemendo*, *Mina*, and *Kormantin*: From each of which Places there go-out every Morning (*Tuesdays* excepted, which is their *Fishing-Day*) five, six, and sometimes eight hundred Canoes, each about thirteen or fourteen Foot long, and three or four in Breadth; and spread-out two Leagues to Sea, commonly with one Paddle, or Rower, besides the Fisherman, and well provided with all Sorts of Tackle, both Hooks and Nets. Each Fisherman carries in his Canoe, a Simetar, with some Bread, Water, and a little Fire on a large, flat Stone, to roast Fish, if he has Occasion. Thus they labour till Noon, seldom later, because of the Sea-Breeze blowing fresh, and so return ashore generally well laden with Fish. Those who stay-out later, generally dispose of their Fish on board Ships, for Brandy, Garlic, Hooks, and such other Trifles, as Thread, Needles, Pipes, Pins, Tobacco, Bugles, ordinary Knives, old Hats, Coats, &c. These Fishermen are very dextrous at their Business, as well as indefatigable.

ARTUS (from whom other Authors seem to take their Accounts) observes, that the Negros are very skilful and industrious in fishing, being brought up to it from their Infancy. They fish all Days of the Week, *Tuesday* excepted, which is their *Sunday*, and use various Instruments for this Purpose, according to the different Seasons and Occasions.

THEY frequently fish by Night, carrying in one Hand lighted Torches to see by, and in the other holding a Fish Spear, or Fork, with which, the Fish rising to the Light, they strike and take them. Their Torches they make of light, dry Wood, which they split and rub-over with Palm-

* *Bezon's Description of Guinea*, p. 128, & seq. And *Barbot's Description of Guinea*, p. 261, & seq.
* *Barbot*, as before, p. 268. c The same, p. 261.

Cold.
Coast.

Oil, tying them up into Bundles as thick as the Arm, and six Foot long, which produce a bright Light. Others light Fires in their Canoes, the Sides of which are pierced with three or four Holes, through which the Flames, glancing on the Water, allure the Fish, whom they kill with their Spears. Others, who fish by Night, use no Boats, or Canoes, but wade near the Shore, carrying in one Hand a lighted Torch, and in the other a Basket of Twigs, like those used for Poultry. Thus accoutred, they proceed with the Water up to their Middle, against the Tide, and the Fish coming to the Light, they take them in the Basket, clapping their Hand on the Mouth; and then running a String through their Heads, hang them across their Shoulders, till have gotten enough. The Fish they take thus, resemble our Carp, or Bream, and taste not unlike Salmon.

If the Season be not favourable for Night-fishing, they go-out early, two in each Canoe, one to steer and the other to fish. They run-out pretty far to Sea, with Instruments proper to the Season.

Fish Season.

In *January, February, and March*, they catch a small Kind of Fish, with large Eyes; which, when taken, make a great Noise and Leaping till they are killed. These Fish, which, from their big Eyes, may be called the Eye-Fish of *Pliny*, in Shape and Colour resemble our Perches, and have near the same Taste. They catch them with a Line, to which are fastened three or four Hooks, baited with Carrion. Their Lines they make of Bark, three or four Fathom long.

Second
Season.

In *April and May*, they catch another Kind of Fish, not unlike a Skate, which rise to the Surface, and are easily taken with a Hook.

Third
Season.

In *June and August*, they take a Kind of Fish like our Herring, which they call *Sardin*; but as they are full of Bones, they are not palatable. These Fish keep near the Surface, and, in fair Weather, leap, or play, upon the Water. They catch them thus: To a long Line, with a Lead at the End, they fasten several Hooks, waiting for the Fish, whom when they see appear on the Surface, they cast the Line amongst them, and, with the Hooks, catch a great Number, which they bring home. In the same Months, they also take a great Number of Crabs and Lobsters, like those of *Norway*, which are good Food, but better or worse, according to the Change of the Moon.

Fourth
Season.

In *September*, the Seas here abound with various Kinds of Fish, some resembling our Mackerel, but longer in the Head and slenderer in the Body. Some with a double Mouth, which, when boiled, they remove the upper Mouth, and the Fish tastes like Carp. Others are like our Mul-

lets, but are bearded, and have a Fin on their Back like a Saw, the Points of which are dangerous to touch; having such a poisonous Quality, that they not only raise a violent Pain and Swelling in the Part affected, but often endanger the Loss of the Limb. These are not so well-tasted as the former. They catch them with a peculiar Instrument, such as in *Holland* they use for taking Cod-Fish. They fasten to a Piece of Wood a Sort of Horn, in the Middle of which is a Clapper, resembling those hung about the Necks of our Cows. This Piece of Wood they let float on the Water, and, by the Impulse of the Waves, it sounds like a little Bell, which drawing the Fish, they endeavour to bite the Cork, and are taken with the Hooks which surround it.

N^g
Tides.

In *October and November*, they generally fish with Nets made of Bark, and about twenty Fathom long. These they lay in the Evening, when the Tide is making-out, sinking them with great Stones, and fastening oblong Pieces of Wood, which floating on the Surface, show them where their Nets lie. When they come next Morning, they generally haul a great Quantity of Fish, and while their Nets dry, they use their floating Piece of Wood to catch more.

The Fish they take with their Nets resemble our Pike, having sharp Teeth, with which they bite dangerously: And as they are very voracious, the *Dutch* call them Pikes. They also take another Fish in their Nets like our Salmon, the Flesh white and well-tasted: Likewise Starfish, and Dog-fish, so called from their having a large Head and broad Mouth, like a Warming-Pan. Their Body is marked with a Cross, and they will not eat dead Carcasses. These they dry and transport through all the Country. The larger Sort, which are big enough to load two or three Canoes, they cut in Pieces, and sell them amongst the Natives of the Place.

In *December*, as well as *June*, they catch a Fish they call *Korkeside*, which is as broad as long, with a Tail like a Half Moon. It has small Scales and few Bones. The Flesh, before it is boiled, is white, but after, inclines to red, like Sturgeon. They are caught with crooked Hooks thus: On the Hook they fasten a Piece of Sugar Cane, and carry-out a Line seven or eight Fathom long, the End of which they fasten to their Heads; so that when the Fish bites, they feel the Motion and draw it out, taking thus twenty or thirty in half a Day's Time. These Fishes sell well amongst the People, as do their Periwinkles, and Shell-fish, they gather on the Rocks, which are as good as any in *Holland*.

They pay a Tribute to the King, of all the Fish they take, as soon as brought ashore, which are carried to his Palace. They also fish in Pools

Pool-fishing.

Gold Coast.

and Lakes with Nets like the *Dutch*, only they do not draw them together as they do; but raising them up, take what Fish they get, and put them in small Baskets they carry about them. They have other Nets of equal Depth with the Water, which, being stretched on Poles, they sweep the Place with them; so that they catch vast Quantities, none being able to escape. These Fish pay no Tribute, being less than Perch, and not well tasted.

THE Men make their own Nets of Reeds. Fish will not keep long here without stinking, on Account of the Heat of the Climate; so that they must be eaten as fresh as possible.

Their Canoes.

THE most noted Places on the Coast for making Canoes, are *Axim*, *Aknan*, *Bautri*, *Takerari*, *Kommurds*, *Kormantin*, and *Winnoba*, where the Natives yearly sell great Quantities both to *Europeans*, and their Neighbours. The largest are fifty Foot long, six broad, and three deep; and so from that Size down to the smallest Sort, which are about fourteen Foot long, and three broad, few reaching to four.

Largest Canoes.

THE largest Canoes are made at *Axim* and *Takerari*, and carry eight, rarely twelve, Tons of Goods, besides the Crew. These are much used in transporting Goods over Bars, or breaking Waters, especially at *Ardra* and *Whidab*. The *Mina-Blacks*, who are the worst skilful in managing these large Canoes, venture in them all round the *Bight of Guinea*, and even to the Coast of *Angola*. They navigate them with Sails, and man them with twelve or eighteen Hands, according to their Size.

For War and Pleasure.

THEIR War-Canoes commonly carry fifty or sixty Men, besides Ammunition and Provision for fifteen Days, if required.

THEY have also a Sort of Pleasure-Canoes, of five or six Tons Burden, which are chiefly kept by the *European Directors*. The *Danish General*, in *Barbot's* Time, had a fine one of this Sort, in the Middle of which was a large Awning of red and blue Stuffs, with Gold and Silver Fringes, and surrounded with Curtains, having beneath handsome Seats covered with *Turkey Carpets*.

Sails and Rigging.

THEIR Sails are commonly of Rush-Mats, or a Sort of Cloth of the Bark of Trees, having long hairy Threads, like the *Coccol-tree*, which they spin and weave into Canvas, and their Rigging is of Palm-Tree Yarn.

THESE Canoes are commonly painted within and without, as well as they can do it, and adorned with Abundance of their *Petishes*, or Idols, fore and aft, which are generally Ears of *Indian*

Corn amongst several dry Heads or Muzzles of Lions, Goats, Monkeys, or other Animals. The Canoes, which are to make a long Voyage, usually carry a dead Goat hanging-out at the Stern.

Negro Traders.

By what has been said of their largest Canoes, it is easy to guess what prodigious Trees there must be in this Country, considering they are made of one Trunk; as also to conceive what tedious Work it is to fell such Trees, and work them into Form with only a small, crooked Knife. This would scarce be practicable, but that the *Copot-Trees*, of which they always make their Canoes, are a soft, porous Wood.

WHEN the Trunk of the Tree is cut to the Length they design the Canoe, they hollow it as much as they can with these crooked Knives, and then burn it out by Degrees, till it is reduced to the intended Cavity and Thickness, which then they scrape and plain with other small Tools of their own Invention, both within and without, leaving it sufficient Thickness, so as not to split when loaded.

THE Bottom is made almost flat, and the Sides somewhat rounded, so that it is always narrower just at the Top, and bellies-out a little lower, that it may carry the more Sail. The Head and Stern are raised long, and somewhat hooked, very sharp at the End, that several Men may lift by them on Occasion, to lay it up ashore, and turn it upside-down, so that they make it as light as possible.

THE lesser Canoes, which the Blacks call *E-Lesser Canoes*, and the *Portuguese*, *Almadia*, are reckoned best made by the People of *Kommendo*, and a great Number are made at *Agitafi* and *Kommanti*. The Name of *Canoe* is properly *West Indian*, where the *Spaniards* learnt it, and from them all other Nations have received it.

ARTUS observes, that though these lesser Canoes are light, yet they go swiftly at Sea, but are so low, that the Boatmen are obliged to sit half under Water. They will hold seven or eight Persons sitting singly, for they are too narrow to admit two abreast. They sit on small Stools in the Middle, holding their Oars in their Hands, formed like a Baker's Peel; with which, the Steersman sitting at the Stern, they row the Boat. These Canoes fly like Arrows along the Water, so that no Bark nor Shallop can come up with them, especially if the Sea be smooth and calm, when they are easily managed by one Boatman; but are not so fit to resist the Waves, when the Sea is rough; wherefore the *Dutch* cannot conveniently use them: But the *Negros*, when

* *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orienta* Part 6. p. 73, & seq. vol. 1. p. 311.
* *Elki Tiki*, or *Little Kommendo*.
p. 206, & seq.

Villault's Voyage, p. 229; and *Marchais's Voyage*.
* *Artus*, as before, p. 71, & seq. And *Barbot*,

Gold-
Coast.Here men-
tioned.

Husbandry.

Manner of
sowing.

their Canoes overfet, dexteroufly fet them up-
right again, and clearing them of Water, get
into them and continue their Voyage.

BOSMAN, fpeaking of the *ligger Canoes*,
fays, that they are thirty Foot long, and fix
broad. From this Size they go down to thirteen
and fourteen Foot long, and three or four broad;
the biggeft, being capable of carrying a reasonable
Merchantman's Boat Lading, are generally ufed
by the *Europeans* in transporting their Goods from
Place to Place. They are rowed by two, three,
five, feven, nine, eleven, or fifteen Rowers;
which, when they exceed two, muft always be
an odd Number, becaufe they are obliged to fit
in Couples, and an odd one is requifite to fteer.
Inftead of Oars, they ufe a Paddle, made like a
Spade, having a Handle about the fame Length,
with which, paddling the Water with an under-
hand Stroke, they keep the Canoe in a very fwift
Courfe.

As to Agriculture or Husbandry among the
Gold-Coaft Negroes, they fow their Grain in the
Time of the rainy Seafon, it being impoffible to do
it in the dry Seafons, on account of the Hardnefs of
the Earth. The rainy Seafon approaching, they go-
out into the Fields and Woods to fix on a proper
Place for fowing their Grain: For here is no Prop-
erty in Ground, all the Lands belonging to the
King, without whole Confeent no Man can plant
or fow. This License obtained, they go-out in
Troops, and firft clear the Ground from Bufhes
and Weeds, which they burn. The Field thus
cleared, and the Afhes ferving for Manure, they
dig it up a Foot deep with a Sort of Spades they
call *Koidon*; and fo let it remain eight or ten
Days, till the reft of their Neighbours have dif-
pofed their Grounds in the fame Manner. Then
they confult about fowing, and for that End af-
femble at the King's Court the next *Fetich*-Day
(which is their *Sunday*.) The King's Grain muft
be fown firft: Then they go again to the Field,
and pulling-up the Remains of the Briars, give
the Ground a fecond Digging, and fow their
Seed. They ufually begin on their *Sunday* by
fowing the Ground belonging to the King or
Governor, who, when the Day's Work is over,
fends-out to them feveral Pots of Palm-Wine,
with a Goat drefled and other Meat, enough to
ferve the Labourers. On this they feaft, and
then burn the Roots and Briars in a Heap, finging
and dancing round in Honour of their *Fetich*, to
obtain from it a good Harveft.

THEY fow in like Manner, next Day, the
Ground of their Neighbours, as diligently as that
of the King, and are feafted in like Manner by

the Owners; and fo continue to work in a Body,
for the public Benefit, till every Man's Ground
is tilled and fowed.

THEIR Grain foon fprouts-out of the Ground.
When it is about a Man's Height, and begins to
ear, they raife a wooden Houfe in the Centre of
the Field, covered with Straw, in which they fet
their Children to watch their Corn, and frighten
away the Birds. They never weed their Corn,
but let the Tares grow-up with it, till it be all
cut-down together.

WHEN their Harveft is over, they fell Part of
their Corn to thofe who have not fowed any, and
with the Money pay their Tax to the King. This
Tax is not fixed, but every Man carries
what he thinks fufficient to the Governor; who,
when he has collected five or fix *Bendas* of Gold,
carries it to the King, who receives it kindly;
and after treating the Governor, fends him back
well fatifhed.

MARCHAIS obferves, that in eight Days
the Rice, Maiz, and other Grains appear above
Ground, and are ripe in three Months: That
they chufe Hills to fow their Maiz, this Grain re-
quiring a good Soil, not fubject to be overflowed;
and that, on the contrary, the Rice and Millet
agree beft with low, moift Grounds, and the
more the Rice is flooded, the more it thrives.

THROUGHOUT the *Gold-Coaft* there are regular
Markets in all the Villages, furnifhed with Pro-
vifions and Merchandizes. The current Money
is Gold Duft, and in other Places, *Bujits*, or
Kowris. Thefe Market-Places are ufually in the
Middle of the Village; and as each Commodity
has its feperate Quarter, and the Prices are fixed,
there is feldom any Confufion. The Markets
are much the fame every-where. *Villault* de-
fcribes that at *Frederickburgh*, and *Barbott*, that
at *Cape Corfe*; which, the former fays, was, in
his Time, the beft in all *Africa*. They are held
every Day in the Week, except *Thursday*, which
is their Day of Reft. As foon as Day appears,
the Countrymen bring-in Sugar-Canes in fmall
Bundles; which, the Natives being very fond of
them, are quickly bought-up: Soon after, the
Country-Women come-in with Fruits and Roots,
fome having a *Kabas* full of Oranges, Citrons,
or Melons; others bringing Bananas, *Bakkobens*,
Batatas, *Iniamas*, &c. Some are laden with
Grain; as Millet, Maiz, *Manigbetta*, Rice, &c.
Others have Poultry, Eggs, Loaves, and the like
Necessaries. With thefe they fupply not only
the Inhabitants, but the *European* Ships. The
Negro-Women are very expert in buying and
felling, and extremely judicious; for they will

* *Aras*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* Part 6. p. 71.

* *Aras*, as before, p. 67, & *Seq.*

* Other Authors enumerate other Goods, and among the reft Tobacco of the Country Growth.

* *Bosman*, p. 129.

* *Marchais's Voyage*, vol. 1, p. 331, & *Seq.*

* Ten or twelve Ounces.

* *Kalaboff*.

Gold-
Coast.

repair thus daily to Market, some from five or six Leagues Distance, loaden like Pack-Horses, with a Child perhaps at their Back, and a heavy Burden of Fruit, &c. on their Head. After selling their Wares, they buy Fish and other Necessaries they want, and return home as loaded as they came.

THE Goods they have from the Towns-Folks, are chiefly *European*; as Linen, Knives, Beads, Looking-Glasses, Bracelets, &c. Likewise Fish, which the Country-People are very fond of, and carry it sometimes to sell again two hundred Miles up the Country.

THESE Markets are free from all Customs and Tolls to their King; but if the Country-People meet by the Way with the particular Thing which they have chosen for their *Relish*, they present it some of their Fruits and Corn by Way of Tithes.

Palm-Wine.

At Noon, those arrive who sell Palm-Wine, which they bring in Pots of different Sizes; some carrying one, others more, according to the Quantities they have drawn-off the preceding Night.

THEY come thus at Noon, because by that Time the Business of the Day, between the Merchants and the *Dutch*, is usually over, and the Sailors as well as *Negros* freely bestow their Money, in order to carouse the rest of the Day: But if the Sellers see a great Demand for it, they will double the Price.

THEY come armed with a Hatchet at their Girdle, and two or three *Aslagays* or Darts in their Hand, but leave their Weapons at the Entrance of the Town, having them restored as they return home.

PALM-WINE is also brought in Boats from other Places on the Coast. This is not sold in the Markets, but the People in the Evenings, after Business is over, go buy it out of the Canoes so eagerly, that it is soon sold off.

Tobacco.

THEIR Tobacco is sold in the Leaf, which they dry themselves, and smook, for they have not the Art of making it into Rolls.

THESE Women return about three o'Clock to their respective Villages, several in a Company, merrily singing and sporting all the Way. Of all these Goods, Palm-Wine has the greatest Vent. Here also the Crews of *European* Ships are supplied with Refreshments, by bartering with the Market-Women for Garlic, Pins, small Looking-Glasses, Ribbands, Flints, Steels, and such Trifles.

Their Beads and Weights.

ALL Things here are sold for ready Money, for the *Negros* are Strangers to Credit. If the

Value of the Purchase be small, they poise the Gold on the End of their Finger. If it be considerable, they use Scales.

Negro
Weights.

THEIR Scales are made of two flat Pieces of Copper, something broader than a Crown-Piece, which they hang by a Thread at the End of a short Stick, and balance very exactly. To hold or suspend these Scales, they make a Noose with Thread for their left Thumb to go in, and fasten it to the Middle of the Stick or Beam. Instead of Weights, they use a certain red Grain, called *Takus*, each of which weighs about two Penny-Weights, with which they will very nicely weigh a Mark of Gold. Some Merchants use Gold Scales, like ours in *Europe*. All that comes to this Market is Duty-free.

THE Money used at these Markets is small Bits of scarce Gold, called *Krakras*, which are used all along the *Gold-Coast*, except at *Aktra*; where, for small Matters, they use a Sort of large Iron Pin, with a Semicircle at the End, which is the current Money. *Artus* speaks as if they used this Pin-Money at *el Mina*, and everywhere else along the Coast, in 1600, and that the *Negros* had no current Money then in Use. The same Author observes, that the *Krakras* are certain square Bits of Gold, of a Scruple or Grain each, which were invented by the *Portuguese* of *el Mina* for the Convenience of buying and selling; for before, all was done by Exchange.

Money in
Use.

THEY have other Markets, resembling our *Country Fairs*, once or twice a Year, to which all the *Country* repair; for they take Care to order these Days so in different Kingdoms, as not to interfere with each other. To these they bring all Sorts of *European* Goods bought on the Coast, to carry Inland.

Country
Markets, or
Fairs.

2. Their Diversions, Dancing, and Music.

Public Assemblies. Way of dancing. Royal Assemblies. Dancing-Schools. Negro Festival. The Procession. Mock Fight. Another mock Skirmish. Warlike Dance: Women Dance. Negro Music. Blowing Horns or Trumpets. Drums, larger Sort: The smaller. Harp, or Guitarr.

THE *Gold-Coast* *Negros*, both Men and Women, are fond of dancing, especially the latter; who, in the Midst of their hardest Labour, if they hear a Person sing, or any musical Instrument, immediately fall a dancing.

IT is an immemorial Custom, for the greater Public Assemblies.

^a *Artus*, in *de Bry's Ind. Orient.* Part 6. p. 36; *Villault's Voyage*, p. 170; and *Barber's Description of Guinea*, p. 269.

^b *Artus*, as before, p. 57.

^c *Villault*, as before, p. 171.

^d *Barbot*, as before, p. 269.

^e *Villault*, as before, p. 172.

^f *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

^g *Artus*, as before.

^h *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

ⁱ *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

^j *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

^k *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

^l *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

^m *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

ⁿ *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

^o *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

^p *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

^q *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

^r *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

^s *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

^t *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

^u *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

^v *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

^w *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

^x *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

^y *Barbot*, as before, p. 274.

^z *Villault*, as before, p. 174.

Grill.
Coast.

Part of the Inhabitants of a Town or Village to meet together every Evening at the Market-Place to dance, sing, and make merry for an Hour or two before Bed-Time. On these Occasions all dress themselves in their best Garb. The Women, who come first, have Abundance of little Bells tinkling at their Feet. The Men carry little Fans in their Hands, made of the Tails of Elephants and Horses^a; much like the Brushes used to dust Pictures, but that these are gilt at both Ends. They meet usually about Sun-set, their Music consisting of Horn-blowers, or Trumpeters, Drummers, Fluters, and the like, being placed a-part by themselves.

Way of
dancing.

THE Men and Women, who compose the Dance, divide into Couples, opposite to each other, (as in our Country-Dances) and forming a general Dance, fall into many wild, ridiculous Postures, advancing, and retreating, leaping, stamping on the Ground, bowing their Heads as they pass to each other, and muttering some Words; then snapping their Fingers, and speaking loud, at other Times whispering and moving slowly or fast, tossing their Fans^b.

ARTUS and Villault add, that they strike one another's Shoulders alternately with the Horse-Tails; also, that the Women laying Straw-Ropes in Circles on the Ground, jump into, or dance round them, and taking them up with their Toes, cast them in the Air, catching them as they fall with their Hands^c. They are strangely delighted with these Gambols, but not fond of being seen at them by Strangers, because they laugh and put them to the Blush. After an Hour or two spent in this Exercise, they retire to their respective Homes^d.

Royal Af-
fairs.

THEIR Dances vary according to Times, Occurrences, and Places. Some, which are in Honour of their Fetiches, are more grave and serious. There are sometimes public Dances instituted by Order of their Kings; as at *Abramba*, a large Town in *Fetá*, where annually for eight Days together, there is a Resort of Multitudes of both Sexes from all Parts of the Country, which is called, *The Dancing Season*. To this Solemnity every one comes dressed according to their Ability^e.

Dancing-
Schools.

THEY have certain Houses set a-part for this End, where Youth learn to dance and play on their Instruments. Their young Fellows are much addicted to drinking and rambling at Night through the Streets, armed, in Companies, which occasions Quarrels. Although, in this Respect,

they are not easily provoked, yet, when once angry, they are seldom to be parted without Bloodshed^f.

ALL the public Rejoicings, as well as Diversions, of the Guinea Negroes, consist chiefly in Concerts of Music, mock Fights, and Dancing. April the twenty-sixth, 1667, there was celebrated at Cape Corfe, by the King of *Fetá's* Son-in-Law, who dwelt there, the Anniversary of a Victory he had gained over the King of *Akkani*, and Lord of *Abramba*. In this Engagement the Danish General told Villault, that five thousand Men were killed on both Sides^g. On this Occasion the Prince made a great Feast for the People, which lasted all Day; and in the Evening came to visit the Danish General at *Frederickburgh*, who was just sitting down to Supper when he arrived. Villault, who was present, tells us, that he was preceded by his Drum, fifteen or twenty Trumpets, (or Horn-blowers) and about a Dozen of his Wives, and followed by about sixty Slaves, two of which carried great Bucklers on each Side him to cover him, and two others bore his Darts, his Bow and Arrows. The Women were dressed in Damasks and Tassaties, which reached from their Breast to their Mid-Legs, with several Fetiches on their Heads, and Gold Bracelets; besides Beads and Ivory Rings round their Legs and Arms. Their Hair was well dressed according to their Fashion. The Prince had a Piece of blue Tassaty round his Waist, the Ends of which being drawn between his Legs trailed almost on the Ground. Before him he had carried a little Falcon, on his Head he wore a Cap adorned with Pieces of the Skulls of Persons he had killed, and covered all over with Plumes of Feathers; on his Arms and Legs he had several Pieces of Gold well wrought, and in his Hands two little Fans of Horse-Hair.

WHEN they entered the Court, after a thousand Shouts and Acclamations, the Men put themselves on one Side, and the Women on the other. The Slaves, Drum, and Trumpet stood behind him, sounding as he passed. The two Parties having separated, began to approach and retire with great Exactness for about a Quarter of an Hour. The Prince then gave his two Fans to a Slave, and taking a Dart made an Offer of throwing it at his Wives, who on their Side pretended to do the same; but the Slaves got about him, and quite covered him with their Bucklers. This having lasted a While, he clapped his Hand to his Sword, and ran at the Wo-

^a Artus says, a Horse's Tail; Barbot, an Elephant's; and Villault, one or the other.

^b Artus, in *de*

^c *Bry's Ind. Orient. Part 6. p. 89*; Villault's Voyage, p. 17; and Barbot's Description of Guinea, p. 275.

^d Villault says, they dance round Hoops, which they take up with their Toes.

^e Artus, as before; and Villault, as before, p. 238.

^f Barbot, as before, p. 276.

^g Artus, as before.

^h Marchais

men,