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A
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
COASTS
OF
North and South-Guinea;

AND OF
Ethiopia Inferior, *vulgarly* Angola:

BEING

A New and Accurate ACCOUNT of the Western
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History of the *Antilles*-Islands, in the North-Sea of AMERICA.

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very exactly drawn upon the Place.

By JOHN BARBOT,

AGENT-GENERAL of the Royal Company of *Africa*, and Islands of
America, at *Paris*.

Now first Printed from his Original Manuscript.

M. DCC. XXXII.

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T H E

Introductory Discourse.

IT is certain, that to judge well of parts, the whole ought first to be consider'd.

According to this maxim, and in order to give a just Idea of the parts of *Africa* I am to describe in this volume, I will present the reader with a general view of that quarter of the universe, that he may the better judge of their relation to each other.

For this purpose, I shall consider the whole terrestrial globe, as divided into three principal parts, *viz.* the old, the new, and the unknown world. The first, which is our continent, lies in the superior hemisphere in respect to us, and comprehends *Europe, Asia, and Africa.* The second, which is *America*, is in the inferior hemisphere. And the third, which comprehends the *Arctic* and the *Antarctic* world, is in both the one and the other hemisphere.

Besides these main parts of the terrestrial globe, there are several *Islands*, which are commonly assign'd to the nearest continent.

After the flood, the earth was divided into three parts, according to the number of the children of *Noah*; *Asia*, according to **Josephus*, fell to the share of *Sem*; *Africa* to that of *Cham*; and *Europe* to that of *Japhet*.

To confine ourselves to *Africa* only, it may be consider'd as the largest peninsula in the world, and as the second part of our continent in largeness. The *Ocean*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Red-Sea* encompass it almost all round; for it holds to the continent of *Asia* only by the *Isthmus of Suéz*, which lies betwixt the two latter of those seas, being not above eighty *English* miles broad.

The situation of *Africa*, is betwixt 2 and 85 degrees of longitude from the meridian of *Ferro*; and between 34 of north, and 35 degrees of south latitude: so that the *Equator* cuts it into two almost equal Sections. Its length and breadth are generally determined by the four capes, or promontories it has towards the four regions of the universe; cape *Bona* on the north, the cape of *Good-Hope* on the south, cape *Guardafuy* on the east; and cape *Verde* on the west.

The two last capes determine its length of about 1550; and the two former its breadth.

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of near 1400 leagues. Thus it is smaller than *Asia*, which lies east of it; and much larger than *Europe*, which is on the north; and much more thinly peopled than either of them.

As it lies in the *Torrid Zone*, the heat is excessive, which is the reason it has so few inhabitants, and so many monsters and fierce animals.

Authors differ very much about the etymology of its name: the *Greeks* call'd it *Lybia, Olympia, Coriphea, Hesperia, Ogygia, Ammonites, Ethiopia, Cyrene, Cephenia, Eria, and Opbiusa*: but these were rather names of parts than of the whole. The *Latins* call it only *Lybia* and *Africa*. The *Moors, Alkebulan*; the *Indians, Bezecath*; and the *Arabs, Ifriquia*; from which, strangers changing the *I* into *A*, call it *Africa*, as do the *Latins, Italians, Spaniards, French, Dutch*, and others. *Josephus* says, it receiv'd the name from *Opbres* grandson of *Abraham*, who is named in † *Genesis, Hepber*; and *Clodomenes*, cited by † *Josephus*, calls him *Japhram*, † *L. 1. c. 6.* and that he fought jointly with his two Brothers, sons of *Abraham* by *Ketura, i. e. Aphram* and *Sur*, in *Lybia*, against *Antaus*, under the conduct of *Hercules*. Some also derive the name of *Africa* from the Hebrew word *Aphar, i. e. Dust*; but *Bochartus* in his *Canaan* takes the truest etymology from the *Punick* word *Pberik*, an ear of corn, because of the great plenty of corn produced in *Egypt, Barbary*, and many other countries of *Africa*.

Africa is of a pyramidal or triangular form, the basis whereof extends along the *Mediterranean*, from the mouths of the *Nile*, to the streights of *Gibraltar*: the other two sides are water'd on the east by the *Red* and *Indian* seas, and on the west by the *Atlantic* ocean.

When the sons of *Noah* divided the world among themselves, the lot of *Cham*, as *Josephus* relates, contain'd all the countries from the mountains *Amanus* and *Libanus* to the western ocean, and his children gave them their own names; some of which are now entirely lost, and others so much corrupted, that they are scarce to be known. Only the *Ethiopians*, descended from *Chus*, *Cham's* eldest son, have retain'd their name,

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not only among themselves, but in several parts of *Asia*, where they are still call'd *Chuseans*. *Egypt*, call'd *Mesre* from another son of *Cham*, who bore that name, is still known by it. Besides these, scarce any will be found that have names of such antiquity, nor does it belong to this work to enquire so nicely into the original of those countries. Let it suffice that the posterity of *Cham* first peopled *Africa*, of which we are now to speak.

The *Egyptian* kings were the first we have any account of in that part of the world, and of them the scripture makes mention; and *Josephus*, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others have writ much. The next great state we find there, was the commonwealth of *Carthage*, which was very potent; and the kings of *Numidia* were also considerable in those days; but both the aforesaid kingdoms and the commonwealth were subdu'd by the *Romans*, and continu'd subject to the emperors till the fifth century, when *Gensericus*, king of the *Vandals*, pass'd over out of *Spain* into *Africa*, and there laid the foundation of the kingdom of the *Vandals*; which continu'd till the year 534, when the renown'd general *Belisarius* recover'd that country from *Gilimer* the sixth and last king of those people.

In the year 647, the *Arabs*, call'd *Agarenians* and *Saracens*, being *Mahometians*, enter'd *Africa*, from *Arabia Felix*, in the reign of the emperor *Honorius*, and fill'd it with their race and sect. The *Turks* have since made themselves absolute masters of *Egypt*, and a great part of *Barbary* is tributary to them. The kings of *Spain* and *Portugal* have possess'd themselves of several towns along the coast, some of which they still hold. But this relates only to the northern part of *Africa*, lying along the *Mediterranean*; the southern parts were but little, or not at all known to the ancients. Let us proceed to the description.

Two thirds of *Africa* lying under the torrid zone, the heats are there very violent, and they are increas'd by the nature of the country; for most of the middle parts being sandy, the reflection of the sun makes them the more insupportable. All those vast sandy regions are little inhabited, as scarce producing any thing for the support of life, nor affording water. Besides, where the sand affords any thing for living creatures to subsist on, it swarms with multitudes of ravenous wild beasts, as lions, leopards, tygers, panthers, ounces, wild cats, and prodigious venomous serpents, and the waters are full of crocodiles. There are also camels, dromedaries, buffaloes, horses, asses, and many other sorts of creatures.

In the more fertile parts, the cattle are large and fat; in the barren, poor and small.

There is great variety of excellent fruit and plants, some very wholesome, and others of a poisonous nature; of which latter sort the *Adad* is singular, for one dram of it is immediate death. In several parts there are mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, crystal, salt, and quarries of marble and other sorts of stone. Of all the regions of *Africa*, *Barbary* is the best and most convenient to live in, tho' *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* are more renowned. *Barbary* is not only the best, but the most populous part of *Africa*; as most properly situated for trade, and abounding in corn. It is that part, which lies all along the *Mediterranean* from the Ocean to *Egypt*, and contains the ancient *Mauritania*, *Africa* properly so called, and part of *Lybia*. At present there are in it the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, on the west; and to the eastward of them, *Tremessen*, *Tunis*, *Algier*, *Tripoli*, and *Barca*.

The most considerable rivers in *Africa* are, the *Nile*, the *Niger*, and the *Zaire*; of which two last, I shall have occasion to speak in the description of *Nigritia*, or the *Lower-Ethiopia*.

I will not enter upon the several divisions of *Africa*, in the time of the *Romans*, and of *Ptolemy*, who liv'd at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, in the second century; for then very little of the interior part of it was known, as appears by the many fabulous accounts of it set forth by authors of those times, so full of absurdities, that they are not worth taking notice of. *Ptolemy* goes no farther than 24 degrees of south latitude along the coast, where he places his *Prassum Promontorium*, now call'd cape *Corrientes*, in the province of *Chicanga*, south of *Sofala*; but says nothing of it farther southward, either on the east or west sides, being fully persuaded that the inhabitants beyond that were utterly savage and inhuman, and therefore call'd them *Anthropophagi Ethiopes*, that is, man-eating *Ethiopians*. About the year 1486, *Bartholomew Diaz*, a *Portuguese*, sail'd round the cape of *Good-Hope*, and by that means made us fully acquainted with the utmost extent of *Africa*.

Several geographers much more modern than *Ptolemy* knew little more of that part of the world; and *John Leo Africanus*, who lived in the year 1526, notwithstanding the great care he pretends to have taken, did not succeed in his division; for he makes but four parts, which are *Barbary*, *Numidia* or *Biledulgerid*, *Lybia*, and *Nigritia*, by the *Arabs* call'd *Beled Ala Abid*.

One of the best modern general divisions of *Africa*, is that which makes four parts of it, viz. the countries of the *Whites*, wherein are comprehended *Egypt*, *Barbary*, *Numidia* or *Biledulgerid*, and *Zabara*, or the *Deserts*. Secondly, the country of the *Blacks*,

or *Nigritia*, in which are *Guinea*, *Nubia*, and part of the *Western Ethiopia*. Thirdly, *Ethiopia* properly so call'd, which may be subdivided into the *Upper* and the *Lower*; which last contains *Congo*, *Monomotapa*, *Casreria*, and *Zanquebar*. The fourth part consists of the islands lying about *Africa*, in the *Red Sea*, the *Ocean*, and the *Mediterranean*.

Thus much may suffice concerning *Africa* in general, it being foreign from the subject in hand to treat any more fully of it, there being many accounts in several languages extant, which the curious reader may consult. I proceed to that which makes more to my purpose.

It will not be improper, before I enter upon the description of that part of *Africa* commonly call'd *Guinea*, to give some account of the etymology of that name, and of the situation, extent and limits of the country, for the better information of such as are unacquainted therewith; having observ'd, that very few writers have taken upon them to state those things right, and that not one traveller I have met with has been careful in these particulars. And it is a great misfortune that among such a multitude of men as have been employ'd in voyages to *Guinea*, and residing there, since navigation has been brought to the present perfection, so few have been curious to make proper remarks and observations of what might be found entertaining and useful.

This defect is so universal, that I have known many, and among them some who have had good education, yet after several voyages made to *Guinea*, or residing there many years, could scarce give any tolerable account of those parts, but only in general, and after a very confus'd manner; nor were they provided with any printed accounts of those countries, to compare their own particular observations with them.

This omission, I am of opinion, proceeds from the opinion generally conceiv'd, that *Guinea* and *America* are already so well known, that it is not worth their trouble to make any farther observations, than what have been already publish'd in several languages; never considering, that countries of such a vast extent daily afford matter of new discoveries, and that it is impossible for those who have writ already, tho' ever so capable and indefatigable, to have seen and found out all things.

This being granted, any man may justly conclude there is still room enough for his remarks, among so great a diversity of people and nations as are contain'd in such a vast tract of land. Besides, there is scarce any other voyage that will afford a man more leisure to observe and write, whether he goes only on a trading voyage, or resides there; because there is not always a brisk

trade, so that every man may have spare hours to make his remarks, and write them down as they occur; all which may be afterwards transcrib'd during the passage from one continent to the other, for that commonly lasts two months, and sometimes longer; and two or three hours every day may be better employ'd that way, than in drinking, gaming, or other idle diversions too frequently used.

It is not always incapacity that obstructs the making of such observations, but rather a slothful disposition; for there are men enough of so much sense and judgment, as to be able to give a rational account of what they see and hear, and to distinguish between what is, and what is not worth their noting down, especially when they have had any liberal education. Perhaps there are not many such, that will expose themselves to the dangers and fatigues of such voyages: but if they could conceive how great a satisfaction it is to see remote and strange countries, and to observe the various effects of nature in them, their number would certainly be much greater, and they would cheerfully expose themselves for the pleasure of contemplating the glorious effects of providence, and the reputation of transmitting such works to posterity. For my own part, I must own I have often lamented my misfortune, of not having been brought up to learning, which disables me from delivering what I have observ'd in *Guinea* and *America*, in so good a method, and with such elegance of style, as might be expected; especially writing in a language which is not natural to me. The only satisfaction I have, is, that my pencil has made some amends for the defects of my pen and want of literature, which encourag'd me to present my readers with so many cuts as are contained in this book, all the draughts being taken by me upon the spot. Another inducement was, that I observ'd the best accounts we have of *Guinea*, are all deficient in this particular of good cuts; for without reflecting upon any person whatsoever, I must affirm that what has hitherto been made publick of this sort, is nothing exact, or to be depended on: and for those I here present the world, I can safely protest, they are exact and lively representations of the things themselves, as near as my skill could reach.

To come now to the subject in hand, *viz.* the etymology of the name of *Guinea*, being a considerable part of the country of the *Blacks* lying along the sea-coast: It is unquestionably deriv'd from that of *Geneboa*, another province of *Nigritia*, or the country of the *Blacks*, lying betwixt that of *Gualata*, which is on the north of it, and the river *Senega* on the south; along the north side of which river, this province of *Geneboa* extends

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extends above eighty leagues up the country eastward.

The natives of this country call it *Geunii*, or *Genii*, ancient geographers *Mandori*, and the *African* merchants and *Arabs*, *Gheneva* and *Geneboa*; from which, the first *Portuguese* discoverers corruptly came to name it *Guinea*, or, as they pronounce it, *Guiné*; which appellation they gave to all the countries they successively discovered from the river *Senega* to that of *Camarones*, which last is in the gulph of *Guinea*: and many have since extended this name of *Guinea* to the country still southward, as far as cape *Lope Gonzalez*; and others beyond *Renguela*, which is to the southward of *Angola*, as far as cape *Negro*, in 16 degrees of south latitude.

Little or nothing of these countries having been known in former ages, modern geographers have been obliged, in this and many other particulars, to take up blindly with whatsoever accounts travellers could give of those parts; and accordingly, after the example of the *Portuguese*, applied the name of *Guinea* to all the above-mentioned countries. Antient geography could not afford them much light in this particular; yet *Ptolemy*, in the second century, says concerning the name of *Guinea*, that it is a word of the country, and signifies hot and dry, to denote the temperature of the climate, as being in the torrid zone. The same author places in those countries the people *Rerorci*, *Leve Æthiopes*, *Aphricerones*, *Derbici*, and others successively: and in one of his eight books of geography, where he treats of *Nigritia* and *Guinea*, he places the *Sophuccæi Æthiopes* betwixt *Sierra Leona* and *Rio Grande*; the *Anganginae Æthiopes* from *Sierra Leona* to cape *Palmas*, and the *Perorsi* farther inland than the others. Both *Nigritia* and *Guinea* are there indifferently laid down under the denomination of *Nigritarum Regio*.

Hence may be deduced, that the name of *Guinea* has been imposed on those countries only by *Europeans*; for the inhabitants of all that tract of land from the river *Senega* down to cape *Lope*, and even as far as cape *Negro*, are perfect strangers to it, none of them knowing what is meant by the name of *Guinea*, except some few at the *Gold Coast*, who have been taught it by the *Europeans* residing among them.

This being supposed, it is also very probable that these vast countries were afterwards, for the sake of method, subdivided into distinct parts, by geographers, as they gain'd farther knowledge of them in process of time; for the natives know nothing of geography, nor so much as writing, as shall be hereafter observ'd in its proper place. The best division of it, made by our modern geographers, is, into three parts, *viz.*

Nigritia, *Guinea* properly so call'd, and the *Lower Æthiopia*; but sea-faring men, who are not commonly confin'd to methods, give arbitrary names to these several countries.

The *Portuguese*, who seem with most right to claim the first discovery thereof, divide it only into two parts, the *Upper* and the *Lower Guinea*; the upper, that which is on this side the equator, and the other that beyond it, as far as cape *Negro* abovemention'd.

The *English* and *Dutch* differ very much in their descriptions of *Guinea*, tho' they agree in the name. The former commonly make *North Guinea* to begin at the river *Gambia*, and extend it no farther southward than to cape *Palmas*, in four degrees of north latitude: and from the said cape to that of cape *Gonzalez*, in one degree of south latitude, they reckon all the intermediate space *South Guinea*.

The *Dutch*, by *North Guinea*, generally mean all the country from cape *Branco*, near *Arguim*, to the river of *Sierra Leona*; and from that river to cape *Lope* they reckon *South Guinea*, dividing it into several sections or parts, as the *Greyn Kust*, the *Tand Kust*, the *Quaqua Kust*, the *Goude Kust*, the *Slave Kust*, the *Benin Kust*, and the *Biofara Kust*, being the same names us'd by the *English*, at the end of which last is cape *Lope*. These again are subdivided into smaller parts, which I shall mention in the description.

The *French* also greatly differ from one another in this respect; and most of them do not reckon the countries lying from the *Senega* to *Sierra Leona River*, nay, even to *Cabomonte* beyond it, southerly, as a portion of what they call *Guinea*; but distinguish each country in particular by the name of the inhabitants thereof on the sea-side, or by that of the places they trade at, as *Senega*, *Caboverde*, *Goeree*, *Rio Fresco*, *Porto d'Ali*, *Gambia Bissagos*, and *Sierra Leona*; but reckon the beginning of *Guinea propria* from *Cabomonte*, and so down to *Camarones* river afore said, and some of them as far as cape *Lope*.

Antient and modern geographers are also at variance among themselves on this head; for which reason it is difficult to determine who is in the right. It is needless to perplex the reader with their several opinions as to the situation, limits and extent of this part of *Africa*; it shall suffice to say, that among the *French* authors, *Robbe* and *Martineau du Pleffis*, the most modern geographers of that nation, have of late publish'd each a large volume of geography, esteemed by the *French* the best and most accurate of all others; wherein they pretend to have corrected *Sanfon*, *Duval*, *Baudrand* and others.

These two seem to me to have the best method of division, of which I shall speak anon; for as to authors of very antient date,

as *Marmol* and others, who have writ concerning *Guinea propria*, there is no relying on what they have said as to this point; nor ought we to be surpriz'd at the many mistakes and wrong notions we find in their accounts, if we do but consider how little knowledge the world had of that country in their time. *Marmol*, who otherwise is very commendable for his account of *Morocco*, *Tremessen*, *Tarudant*, *Fez*, and *Tunis*, as having been there a captive for the space of seven years or more, and understanding the *Arabic* and *African* language, as he declares in his preface; so that Mr. *d' Ablancourt* judg'd it worth his pains to translate him into *French* out of *Spanish*; in what concerns *Guinea*, is very defective, himself owning he he was never in *Guinea*, but only travelled the *Desarts* of *Lybia* from *Barbary*, to a place call'd *Acequia Elbamara*, on the confines of *Geneboa*, which he calls *Guinea*, with *Cberiff Mabomet*, when he subdued the western provinces of *Africa*. This author, I say, places the coast of *Maleguete* east of the *Gold Coast*, tho' it is above a hundred leagues to the westward of it. And what is yet more in *Marmol*, it appears that he has almost every where copy'd *John Leo Africanus*, a native of *Granada*, who after it was taken by king *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, in 1491, retired into *Africa*, where he compos'd his description of those countries in *Arabic*, and out of it *Marmol* did compile the best part of his own description of *Africa*, without naming him any where.

To return to the most natural division of the country of the *Blacks* in *Africa*; the modern authors above-named, make three sections thereof, viz. *Nigritia*, *Guinea*, and *Ethiopia*; and this last they subdivide into the *Upper* and the *Lower* or *Western Ethiopia* or *Abyssinia*, and say, after other geographers of more antient date than themselves, that these countries were commonly call'd *Nigritia* from their antient inhabitants, the *Nigritæ*; which name the antients took from their black colour, or from the soil, which in some parts is burnt by the excessive heats of the sun, and which they thought did so blacken them.

L. 5. c. 1. *Pliny* alledges hereupon, *Suetonius Paulinus*, whom I knew, says he, in his consulship, and who was the first of the *Romans* that march'd some miles beyond *Mount Atlas*, of whose height he gives much the same account as others have done, that in about ten days march he got thither, and further up the country to a river call'd *Niger*, thro' desarts of black dust, and places uninhabitable, by reason of the excessive heat; the rocks seeming to be almost burnt up, tho' this expedition was in the winter.

L. 5. c. 5. The same author says, the desarts of *Africa* which are beyond the lesser *Syrtis Phazania*, now call'd the kingdom of *Pha-*

zan, were subdued; where we took the two cities of *Phazani*, call'd *Alele* and *Cil-laba*: all was conquer'd by the victorious arms of the *Romans*, for which *Corn. Balbus* triumph'd. Both cities lay in near 28 degrees of north latitude, and 33 of east longitude, from the first meridian according to *Ptolemy*, betwixt the country of the *Garamantes* on the north, and the desart of *Lybia interior* on the south, almost south of *Tunis*, formerly *Carthage*, according to Mr. *de l' Isle's* new map of *Africa*.

The royal societies of *London* and *Paris* have admitted of the *Portuguese* division of *Guinea* into *Upper* and *Lower*, reckoning the former to extend from cape *Ledo* or *Tagrin*, to cape *Lope*; and the latter from cape *Lope* to about *Cabo Negro*.

To say something in particular of these respective parts of *Africa*, *Nigritia*, *Guinea*, and *Ethiopia*.

Nigritia, or *Negroland*, lies between 8 and 23 degrees of north latitude, and from 3 to 44 degrees of longitude, from the meridian of *Ferro*: thus it extends eight hundred *French* leagues in length, from east to west, and near three hundred in breadth.

It is bounded on the north and east by *Zabara*; on the south by *Guinea propria* and *Biafara*; this being part of the *Lower* or *Western Ethiopia*; and on the west by the *Atlantick* or *Western Ocean*.

That country is commonly subdivided into two parts; the one which lies north of the *Niger* and *Gambia Rivers*; the other south of them: those two parts containing eighteen kingdoms, besides some other territories about them.

The *Northern Nigritia*, according to the best accounts printed at *London* and *Paris*, contains ten kingdoms, and some other states, viz. *Gualata* and *Geneboa* on the *Ocean*, eastward; *Tombut*, *Agadex*, *Cano*, *Cassena* or *Chana*, *Zegzeg*, *Zanfara* or *Pharan*, *Bornou*, and *Gaoga* or *Kaugha*, and the country of *Zagbara*; and betwixt the *Senega* and *Gambia* rivers are the kingdoms of the same names, and those of *Gelofes*, with the *Sereres* and *Barbecins*.

All these countries in general are populous, and very woody; and the soil, tho' sandy, would produce great store of *Indian* wheat and millet, if the inhabitants took better care to cultivate it. The air is very hot, but so wholesome, that it recovers sick people. The soil produces rice, flax and cotton; and there are mines of gold and silver, as also ambergris, honey, and fruit-trees, especially palm-trees, which afford them wine. The natives, in some parts, value *Copper* above *Gold*; but want the skill of spinning their flax. The earth is more fertile than in other regions of *Africa*, not
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only because it is less sandy, but chiefly because of the overflowing of the *Niger*, for forty days together, yearly, from the middle of *June*, to the latter end of *July* following, as I shall observe in a particular chapter in the following description. This river, like the *Nile*, leaves after its overflowing a certain slime which fattens the earth, especially in pasture-ground. It traverses *Nigritia*, from east to west, for above eight hundred leagues; but towards the west it divides into five or six branches, each of which has a different name, viz. *Senega*, *Gambia*, *Rio de St. Domingo*, *Rio Grande*, *Rio Rba*, and some add *Rio de San Juan*; of this more in the description.

The *Southern Nigritia* contains eight kingdoms, besides several other territories. The kingdoms, to reckon them from east to west, are, *Medra*, *Ovangara*, and *Duma*, south of the latter, being the *Desarts of Seu*: then *Temian*, *Bito*, *Guber*, *Gago*, and the country of *Meczara*, with the great kingdom of *Mandinga* or *Songo*, and the countries of the *Malincopes*, *Sarcolles*, *Fargots*, *Galam*, and *Cantorfy* or *Cantozy*. The other nations are the *Casangas*, and the *Bisegos*, the former inhabiting between the rivers *Gambia* and *St. Domingo*, the others betwixt the latter and the *Niger*; as do also the *Soufos* and *Biafares*. Most of the said kingdoms are subdivided into many smaller, so little known to us, that it is not worth while to search after their names, which are so strange, that they are not to be understood.

These kingdoms of *North* and *South Guinea* have each of them their respective capital towns, of the same name with the country wherein they are situated: but the metropolis of *Tombut*, is the most renowned of them all; it is very large, and mighty populous. Next to this, those of *Mandinga* and *Cano* are reckon'd considerable. The city of *Mandinga* lies on the southern side of the *Niger*.

The *Natives* of *Nigritia* are less savage than the people of *Barbary* and *Biledulgerid*: They are very ignorant, gross, and lazy; they admire a man that knows something, and cherish strangers. Most of them deal in slaves, which they take of their neighbours; and some sell their wives and children to the *Europeans*, as I shall hereafter observe in the following memoirs of *Guinea*.

All the kings of *Nigritia* are absolute in their dominions, and yet most of them are tributaries to him of *Tombut*, as the most puissant; and next to him in power, are those of *Mandinga* and of *Cano*, before-mentioned. They are all either loose *Mahometans*, or idolaters, inveterate enemies to the *Jews*.

Those of the *Desarts* live without any religion; and what few *Christians* are among

them, are very imperfectly initiated in *gospel*-precepts.

Of GUINEA-PROPRIA, or SOUTH-GUINEA.

THIS country is the southern part of *Negroland*, and formerly depended on it. It is not half so broad, but far more populous, as lying more to the sea. Its boundary on the north is *Nigritia*; on the east *Biafara*, or the *Western Ethiopia*, which *Du Plessis* calls *North Congo*; but I fear he mistakes: on the south, the *Ethiopic Ocean*; and on the west, being there of a circular form, it is wash'd by both the *Ethiopic* and the *Atlantick Ocean*; this latter ending about cape *Tagrin*, at *Sierra Leona*, where it takes the name of *Ethiopic*. The *Atlantick Ocean* derives its name from *Mount Atlas* in *Biledulgerid*, which reaches almost to it, and bears that name as far as the cape *Finisterre* in *Galicia*, among some geographers; but I believe it ought not to be extended farther to the northward than cape *S. Vincent* in *Algarve*.

Guinea lies betwixt 4 and 12 degrees of north latitude; and from 9 to 38 degrees of longitude: so that it is about five hundred and fifty leagues in length, and one hundred and forty in its greatest breadth, and sixty in the least, about *Rio Fermofo*, or *Benin River*. *Robbe* says, the *French* discover'd *Guinea* before any other *European* nations, in 1346. But since he produces no manner of authority for his assertion, and none of the *French* historians mention any thing of it in their histories, the notion seems to be ill grounded; of which, more hereafter.

The situation of *Guinea*, near the *Equator*, renders the air scorching hot; which, with the frequent heavy rains they have, makes it very unwholesome, especially to foreigners. The earth is water'd, besides the rains, by several little rivers, which fertilize it; so that in some parts of it, they have properly two summers and two winters; the latter not very severe, as consisting only of continual rains, which occasion the unhealthiness above-mentioned, but fatten the ground, and make it fit to produce, as it does, great quantities of rice, *Guinea* pepper, *Indian* wheat, and some sugar-canes, (*Du Plessis* adds barley, but I never heard of any such corn there) cotton, millet, and many sorts of grain and fruits peculiar to that country. It has also gold mines, elephants, cattle, leopards, tygers, wild boars, goats, sheep, hogs, monkeys, apes very nimble and sportful; besides great numbers of birds of various sorts, and poultry very small. The sea abounds in divers kinds of fish, great and small; of all which things I shall give a particular

particular description in this volume, at their proper places.

The principal rivers are those of *Mitomba* or *Sierra Leona*, *Sherbro*, *Plizoge*, *Sestro*, *St. Andrews*, *Siveiro da Costa*, *Mancu*, *Volta*, *Lagos*, *Fermoso*, *New Calabar*, *Old Calabar*, *Rio del Rey*, and *Camarones*; this last separating *Guinea* from *Biafara*.

Guinea is again subdivided into three principal parts, *viz.* the western, middle, and eastern: the western part is the coast of *Malleguette*; the middle, *Guinea propria*, that comprehending the *Ivory*, the *Quaqua*, the *Gold*, and the *Slave Coasts*; the eastern, *Benin*, and the coast from cape *Fermoso* to *Rio Camarones*; of all which I shall speak in time and place.

All these countries are govern'd by kings, and other sovereigns; but it is a mistake in *Robbe* and other authors, to suppose an emperor of *Guinea*, as they do, who has subdued and made tributaries most of the other powers, reducing their countries and territories into one sole mighty kingdom, which they call *Guinea*. This shall be more particularly cleared hereafter; for the very name of *Guinea* is not so much as known to the natives, as I have already observ'd; and this imaginary *Guinean* monarchy, was never heard of there, nor elsewhere in *Africa*; and this description will show what great numbers of petty kings and commonwealths there are in it, all or most of them independent and arbitrary.

As to the manners of the *Guineans*, their trade, government, religious worship, &c. those will be treated of in the description and the supplement, to which I refer.

Of the LOWER or INFERIOR ETHIOPIA.

BETWIXT *Guinea* and *Congo* are several territories, which some antient authors comprehended, together with *Guinea propria*, in *Nigritia*; but the modern, with more reason, account them all as a part of *Ethiopia exterior*. Generally those countries are subdivided into three parts, *viz.* the kingdoms of *Biafara*, *Gabon*, cape *Lope Gonzalez*, as the chiefest; and extending from north to south their coasts, with those of *Ouwerre*, *Callabar*, and *Del Rey*, forming the gulph of *Guinea*, by the antients call'd *Æthiopicus sinus intimus*, and now by the *English* mariners the *Bight of Guinea*. The other petty kingdoms adjoining to the three above-named, are *Medra*, *Capon*, and *Catombo* or *Cajumbo*; and next the south side of cape *Lope*, the territories of *Comma*, *Goby*, and *Sette*, which are properly commonwealths. After them, still to the southward, lies the kingdom of *Loango*, by *Pigafeta* call'd *Bra-*

mas, beginning below cape *St. Catharine*; then those of *Cacongo*, *Bomangoy*, *Congo*, *Angola* or *Dongo*, and *Benguela*.

To the eastward of all these countries, lie the vast territories of the *Anzicains* and the *Jagos*, two populous, but very barbarous wild nations, and man-eaters; which are yet subdivided into several tribes and colonies, under different denominations. All these kingdoms and territories above-mention'd, with those of *Bungo*, *Macoco*, *Giringrombra*, and *Mujac*, nations inhabiting eastward of the former, do all together constitute what geographers call the *Lower*, or *Western*, *Exterior Ethiopia*.

This name of *Ethiopia* is *Greek*, and signifies a country of *Blacks*; but the antients more particularly adapted it to the country of the *Abyssines*, above any other; and the *Europeans* have follow'd them therein, till this time, calling all these vast countries by the name of *Ethiopia* in general: but the *Ethiopians* themselves know nothing of any such name.

Some authors derive this name from *Ethiops* the son of *Vulcan*; or from the *Greek* word *Aitbo*, *I burn*, as *Pliny* does.

Ethiopia interior comprehends *Abyssinia* or the empire of the *Abyssines*, and *Nubia*, which is to the northward of it.

Ethiopia exterior comprehends the kingdom of *Biafara*, with the others I have named above, that join to it about the gulph and cape *Lope*; as *Loango*, *Cacongo*, *Angola*, and *Benguela*, lying on the sea: as also the countries of the *Anzicains* and the *Jagos* inland; and next to the others eastward, the coasts of *Mataman* and the *Cafres*, the empires of *Monomotapa* and *Monoemugi*, and the coasts of *Zanguebar*, of *Ajan*, and of *Abex*, on the east side; these last at present under the dominion of the *Turks*.

This region of *Ethiopia*, in former times much larger, is now confin'd between 45 and 74 degrees of longitude; and betwixt the 14th degree of south and the 16th degree of north latitude. Its boundaries on the north are *Nubia* and *Egypt*; on the east the *Red-Sea*; on the south the *Monoemugi* and *Cafreria*; and on the west the countries of *Congo*, *Biafara*, and the *Jagos*, otherwise named *Giacques*; and is seven hundred leagues in length from north to south, and five hundred from east to west.

This is to be understood of the country, which has gone under the name of *Abyssinia* or *Ethiopia interior*; but not of that which is now subject to the emperor of *Abyssinia*, by some call'd the *Great Negus* and *Prestèr John*, whose dominions never extended so far, and have since the year 1537, been reduced into much narrower bounds than they were before, by the invasions of the *Galas* and other barbarous *African* nations up the inland,

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inland, and the conquests of the *Turks*, who have subdu'd all the sea-coasts; so that the emperor of *Ethiopia* has not now one sea-port town left him, or any better defence than his inaccessible mountains.

The people of *Abyssinia*, like all the *Ethiopian*s, are very tawny in some places, and in others very black, as they dwell farther from, or nearer to the *Equator*, but handsomer than the *Blacks* of *Nigritia* and *Guinea*. They are witty, affable, and charitable to strangers; but on the other hand, very slovenly, lazy, and improvident. They are also loyal to their princes, and religious to superstition; boasting that they have been instructed in the true religion of God, by two of their former queens, *Macqueda* and *Candace*. The first they pretend was that queen of *Saba* or *Sbeba*, who brought them the *Mosaical Law* from *Judea*, in which she had been instructed by king *Solomon*; and the second taught them the mysteries of the *Christian Faith*. As to the latter, 'tis not improbable that the *Eunuch* of *Candace*, baptiz'd by *Philip* the deacon, converted them; and after him, *St. Thomas* and *St. Matthew* the *Apostles*; and they have to this time kept christianity among them, with this difference, that they have embraced the errors of *Eutyches*, and of *Dioscorus*; and have still their metropolitan, call'd there *Abuna*, who is subject to the patriarch of the *Coptics*, who usually resides at *Grand Cairo*, with the quality of patriarch of *Alexandria*.

The kings of *Abyssinia* usually keep their court in the open fields; and either in peace or war their camp is, as it were, the capital of the kingdom, and takes up a vast space of ground; for the number of sutlers and other people following the army, is twice as great as that of the soldiery. The king and queen, with their whole household, always go along with the army to war; and are accompany'd by all the lords and ladies of the court: and all people, except handy-crafts and husbandmen are obliged to take up arms, and join the regular forces upon occasion, because those do not make up above 35000 foot and 5000 horse. The tents of the camp are ranged with so much order, that they form a large city and fine streets. The emperor's tents stand in the middle of the camp, with two others which serve for churches. At some distance are those of the empress, and the ladies, the great lords, the general officers of the army, and the inferior; making together above 6000 tents, besides those of the soldiery.

The emperor sometimes removes every year, and sometimes fixes his residence several years together in the same place. He commonly encamps betwixt *Ambamarian*, *Debsan*, and *Dancas*, about the lake of *Dem-*

bea, in the province of that name. These princes boast they are descended from the race of the king and prophet *David*.

The people are generally clad in cotton or silk, according to their ability; and sometimes, in skins dress'd like *chamoy*. They eat flesh half, and some quite raw. All the priests and religious men continually carry a cross in their hand as they go about the streets or elsewhere. Some of the priests are married, but never a second time.

They circumcise children, the males forty, the females sixty days after they are born; which is always perform'd on a *Saturday* or *Sunday*, being the days on which they celebrate *Mafs*, and then baptize them; after which, the priest gives the communion to these new-born babes, and immediately their mothers feed them with pap, to help them to swallow the particles of the *Host* put into their mouth.

The *Jesuits* formerly converted some emperors there to the *Roman* catholick religion, as also the then patriarch; but they were afterward expell'd: since which time, many *Capucins* have been there, and made some progress; but the far greatest number are schismatics.

As for other particulars of this empire, as the plants, animals, rivers, and mountains, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, I refer the curious reader to *the travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, written by *Balthazar Tellez*; and to be found in *Englisch* in the quarto collection of travels in two volumes: that being the account given by the several *Jesuits*, who resided there many years; and first discovered the true source of the *Nile*, being eye-witnesses of what they write: whereas *Ludolphus*, who has been much cry'd up, has nothing to be rely'd on but what he borrow'd from those travels, having never been in the country himself.

It remains that I say something as to the cause or reason of the *blackness* of the people of *Nigritia*, *Guinea*, *Ethiopia*, *Madagascar*, and many other places.

I have been as inquisitive as possibly I could, in this particular, and examined the arguments brought by several authors and geographers, but without any satisfaction. Some suppose the reason to be, because those people live betwixt the *tropicks* in the *torrid zones*, where the perpetual scorching heat of the sun blackens them, as it does the earth in some parts, which makes it look as if burnt by fire. But this vanishes presently, if we consider that *Europeans* living within the *tropicks*, tho' ever so long, will never turn black or footy; and that *Blacks* living many years in *Europe*, will always breed black or footy children. Besides the *Americans* and *East-Indians*, tho' inhabiting the same parallel zones, are not black: and particularly throughout

throughout all *America*, it is most certain, there never was any black till they were carry'd thither by *Europeans*, tho' so vast a part of that continent lies within the torrid zones, as is a great part of the kingdom of *Mexico*, most of *Peru* and *Brazil*, &c. which never produced any native *Black*.

Marmol, in my opinion, assigns the best reason. "The blackness of *Ethiopians*, and other sooty nations, does not proceed either from the excessive heat of the sun, or from the extreme dryness of their land; or other things assigned by *astrologers*; for if it were so, all *Blacks* would turn white in temperate climates after two or three generations; and the *Europeans* in like manner would turn black in the *Negro* countries; but experience testifies the contrary. This blackness in those people must therefore proceed from the blood or race; and it may perhaps be on account of the malediction of *Noah* on *Cham* his disrespectful son, as the diversity of languages was the curse of *Nimrod* and of the *Giants*, that were building the tower of *Babel*."

Gen. ix.
20, 27.

That this blackness must be in the blood or race, as *Marmol* argues, can be further proved, from this observation made, that the *Jews* of the *Portuguese* race, always marrying one with the other, the children resemble their fathers and mothers complexion; and thus this particular tawny colour perpetuates itself with little or no diminution wheresoever they inhabit, even in northern countries: whereas the *German Jews*, as for example those of *Prague*, are as white as most of their *German* countrymen; which shews what an error most people are in, who think all *Jews* are tawny.

I had design'd to write a brief history of navigation, and of the discovery of the magnet or loadstone, with some additions of my own, to what able pens have lately publish'd; to entertain my reader with something more diverting than to speak only of *Blacks*, winds, seas, plants, and animals: but being press'd to hasten this volume to the press, after above ten years expectation of it, I am oblig'd to forbear for the present time; but if I live, hope to get it ready for the press before this copy is printed; and then it may be added by way of appendix at the end of this book. For the present I shall only mention the discoveries of the coasts of *Africa* successively, from the latitude of *Madera* island to *Nigritia*, *Guinea*, *Ethiopia*, and the cape of *Good-Hope*, and so beyond it to the *East-Indies*, performed by the *Portuguese* nation in the fourteenth century.

Before I enter upon that subject, it will not be amiss to give an account of what some *French* authors, and particularly *Villaud de Bellefons* and *Robbe* assert; viz. that the

French discovered the coasts of *Nigritia* and *Guinea*, almost an hundred years before the *Portuguese*. The first of them says, it was in the year 1346, and the latter in 1364.

Villaud de Bellefons relates it as follows: That about the year 1346, some adventurers of *Dieppe*, a sea-port town of the territory of *Caux*, in *Normandy*, long before used to navigation and long voyages, as being descended from the ancient *Normans*; who from their northern cold country, had settled themselves in that province, even before the reign of *Charles the Simple*, in 922; did sail along the coasts of *Nigritia* and *Guinea*, and there settled colonies in several parts; but more especially about *Cabo Verde* in the bay of *Rio Fresco*, and along the coast of *Mallequette*, to which they gave the names of some *French* towns and ports, viz. the bay of *France* to the bay of *Rio Fresco* above-named, extending from cape *Verdo* to cape *Masto*; that of *Petit-Dieppe* to the village of *Rio Corso*; and that of *Sestro Paris* to the large town of *Grand Sestro*, on the coast of *Mallequette*, not far from cape *Palms*, at N. W. bringing over thence to *France*, great quantities of *Guinea pepper* and *ivory* or *elephants-teeth*; whence the inhabitants of *Dieppe* set up the trade of turning ivory, which art in process of time did so far improve, as did the making of all other sorts of ivory-work, useful or curious, and especially *combs*, that they became famous all over *France*, and the neighbouring nations, as the greatest artists in that kind, and have so continued to this time.

Villaud adds, that by constant practice in long voyages, the people of *Dieppe* became such great masters of navigation and astronomy, that to this day abundance of the *French* from all parts of the kingdom come thither to learn those sciences in the publick schools set up for that purpose, from time out of mind.

He farther affirms, that the *French* first founded the castle of *Mina* on the *Gold-Coast* of *Guinea*, in the year 1383, and possess'd it till the year 1484. That the civil wars ensuing in *France*, which lasted from *November* 1380 to *July* 1461, being eighty-one years, in the reign of *Charles* the sixth, surnamed *Le bien aimé*, and *Charles* the seventh, surnamed the king of *Bourges*, and afterwards the *Victorious* and the *Well-served*, as having had the good fortune in his latter years to force the *English* to quit all their interest in *France*, except *Calais*; the *French* nation was so diverted from trading to remote countries, and at the same time so much impoverish'd, that the *Normans* were oblig'd to give over trading at *Guinea*, and abandon all their settlements there; which were afterwards possess'd by the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch*, the *English*, *Danes*, and *Courlanders*;

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landers, who built castles and forts there, for the greater security of their traffick.

If this account be true, it is strange that no mention is made of it by other *French* historians, several of whom I have examin'd, and particularly *de Serres* and *Mezeray*. Such considerable undertakings, and so rich a trade, seem'd to deserve a place in history, especially at a time when long voyages were look'd upon with a sort of dread, as full of hazards, navigation being then in its infancy. The silence of the *French* historians in this point, gives us just cause to suspect the validity of this author's assertions; nor do I find in the history of *Portugal*, which is so full of the *Portuguese* discoveries of *Nigritia* and *Guinea*, the least mention of their having heard of any *Frenchmen* that had founded the castle of *Mina*, in 1383; or that *Azembuja* when he came to *Mina* in 1484, and begun there his first entrenchment, ever saw or heard of any such castle built by the *French* an hundred years before.

Hence I conclude, that it would be a piece of injustice to attribute the first discoveries of this part of *Africa* to the *French*, in prejudice of the *Portuguese*, who certainly the first of all *Europeans* made those discoveries; which will be further corroborated by the following accounts.

To proceed the more methodically in this account, I must first take notice of the principal promoter and instrument of these discoveries; I mean the infante or prince *Henry* the fifth, son to king *John* the first of *Portugal*, duke of *Viseo*, and master of the military order of *CHRIST*. This prince having study'd the mathematicks, and particularly cosmography, gave his mind entirely to discover such parts of the world as were yet unknown, and spent forty years, and great sums of money, upon that enterprize. Besides what he had read of geography, he got information from several *Moors* of *Fez* and *Morocco*, who had travelled towards the borders of *Guinea*, which much encouraged him to proceed on his project. The better to apply himself wholly to that affair, he settled his residence at the town of *Temocabol*, on cape *Sagres*, in the kingdom of *Algarve*.

Before I enter upon his performances, I must by the way take notice, that the *Canary Islands* had been before discover'd in the year 1348, by *John Bethancourt*, a *Frenchman*, employ'd by king *John* of *Castile*, who conquer'd five of them.

In 1415, prince *Henry* fitted out two ships, which pass'd not beyond cape *Bojador*, sixty leagues beyond cape *Nao*, then the utmost extent of the *Spanish* navigation.

The first that pass'd the said cape was *Giles Yanez*, which was reckoned a mighty exploit, that cape having been before look'd up-

on as not to be surmounted, because it runs forty leagues out into the sea to the westward, and the water beats violently on it; and from its jutting so far out, which in *Spanish* is call'd *Bojar*, it was call'd *Bojador*; but this was later.

John Gonzalez Zarco and *Tristan Vaz* were sent in the year 1418 to make farther discoveries along the *African* coast; but they meeting with dreadful storms, were accidentally carry'd upon the island, which they call'd *Puerto Santo*, or *Holy Haven*, being a small island not far to the northward from that of *Madera*, and return'd home with that account.

In 1419, the same two being sent back to the new island, with *Bartholomew Perestrello*, in three ships, discover'd the island of *Madera*; so call'd, because it was all over wooded. Some have pretended that this island had been before discover'd by one *Macham*, an *Englishman*, but that story has much more of novel than any resemblance of truth.

About the year 1434, *Giles Yanez* and *Alonso Gonzalez Baldai* failed thirty leagues beyond the aforesaid dreadful cape *Bojador*, and gave the name of *Angra de Ruyvos* or *Bay of Gurnards*, to an inlet they found, where was great plenty of that sort of fish. The next year they proceeded twenty-four leagues farther to the mouth of a river, where they saw a vast number of seals, and kill'd many of them, carrying home the skins; which being then rare, were of good value.

In 1440, *Antony Gonzalez* was sent back to the river where the seals had been taken, and order'd to load his vessel with their skins; where landing, he took several of the inhabitants, after being joined by *Nuno Tristan*, who came after him from *Portugal*. *Antony Gonzalez* returned home with the skins and slaves; but *Tristan* coasted on as far as *Cabo Blanco* or *White Cape*; and seeing no people on the coast, went also back. Prince *Henry* sent the slaves brought him, to pope *Martin* the fifth, as the first fruits of his discoveries; desiring his holiness to make a grant of the countries he should find, and to encourage those who should expose themselves to the dangers of those unknown seas, for the propagation of the *gospel*. The pope accordingly, by his bulls, gave him all he should discover in the ocean, as far as *India* inclusive.

Ann. 1442, *Antony Gonzalez* returned, carrying some of the natives he had brought away; for whose ransom he received ten *Blacks*, and a considerable quantity of gold-dust, being the first that had been brought from those parts; and therefore he call'd a rivulet where he lay, *Rio del Oro*, or the *River of Gold*.

The gold encouraged others to undertake that voyage; and in the year 1443, *Nuno Tristan* passing farther on, discover'd the island *Adeget*, one of those of *Arguim*. Thence he sailed over to another island, and call'd it *de las Garzas*, or of *Hérons*, because he saw great numbers of those birds there.

In 1444, a company was erected in *Portugal*, paying an acknowledgment to the prince, and fitted out six caravels, which setting men ashore on the isles of *Arguim*, brought away about two hundred of the inhabitants, whom they sold for slaves.

Gonzalo de Cintra in 1445, sailing to the island of *Arguim*, run up a creek in the night, intending to go ashore, and take slaves; but his vessel being left ashore at the low water, the inhabitants attack'd it, and kill'd him and seven of his men; whence the place was call'd *Angra de Gonzalo de Cintra*, being fourteen leagues beyond the river of *Gold*.

Nuno Fernandez in 1446, pass'd beyond the river *Senega*, and discovered the famous *Cabo Verde* or *Green Cape*.

Many other adventurers continued every year creeping along the coasts, to mention all whom, would be too tedious; but in 1460 *Antony Nole*, a *Genoese*, discover'd the islands of *Cabo Verde*. In 1471 *John de Santaren* and *Peter de Escobar* discovered the place now call'd *Mina*, and proceeded to thirty-seven leagues beyond cape *Lope Gonzalez*, in two degrees and a half of south latitude. And about the same time were found the islands of *St. Thomas*, *Anno Bom*, and *Principe*.

King *John* the second of *Portugal*, finding a considerable trade of gold at *Mina*, order'd a fort to be erected there, and in order to it, sent *James de Azombuja*, with six hundred men, and all the materials for that work, in the year 1481; and tho' the natives at first endeavour'd to oppose it, the work was finish'd, and the fort call'd *St. George de la Mina*, or of the *Mine*, that saint being then patron of *Portugal*.

James Cam in 1484 penetrated beyond any other to the river of *Congo*, by the natives call'd *Zayre*. The next year he proceeded to 22 degrees of south latitude.

It would take up too much time to run through all the particular discoveries; we shall therefore conclude with the famous *Vasco de Gama*, who sailing from *Lisbon* in the year 1497, with three ships, fitted out by king *Emanuel*, who had succeeded king *John*, was the first that pass'd beyond the cape of *Good Hope*, and thence running along the eastern coast of *Africa*, till then utterly unknown, open'd the way to *India* by sea, sailing over from *Mofambique* to the coast of *Malabar*, and the kingdom of *Calicut*, whence he return'd in safety and richly

laden to *Portugal*. Thus much may suffice concerning the *Portuguese* discoveries along the coast of *Africa* and to *India*.

In the next place I will give some directions, which I think may be of use to such as shall hereafter resort to *Guinea* and the *American* Islands, especially if they were never there before.

In the first place, it is requisite for the person that designs to travel into those parts to learn languages, as *English*, *French*, *Low-Dutch*, *Portuguese*, and *Lingua Franca*.

Secondly, he ought to have some skill in drawing, and colouring, that he may be able to take draughts of prospects, landscapes, structures, birds, beasts, fishes, flowers, fruits, trees, and even of the features and habits of people; these parts being in my opinion very necessary to make an accomplish'd traveller: for by the help of languages he will be able to converse with all sorts of *Europeans* residing in those countries, and be by them inform'd of many things worth observation, and very useful, relating to those regions and the trade thereof, which otherwise might never occur, and they would come away quite ignorant of the main points to be understood. It is also necessary for such as design to reside any time there, to apply themselves betimes to learn the language of the *Blacks*, which, if they can compass in any tolerable measure, it will much conduce to their getting information of many things of moment from the most intelligent of those people, who have either gone far up the inland, or convers'd with others that come down from thence to the coast.

By the help of drawing, the traveller will be enabled to render the account of his travels the most useful and acceptable; since it is certain, that the most accurate description cannot represent any thing to the reader so lively as a draught or cut, which, as it were, shows the thing it self that is described.

Besides these qualifications, he ought to be instructed in cosmography and astronomy, and no less in navigation.

Being thus qualified, he is to take along with him two large table-books, or at least one, as also two prospective glasses, a greater and a smaller, to take views of objects nearer, or farther off; a small sea-compass, to observe the situation of places; several sorts of scales, and compasses, to lay down the dimensions of such places as require it; a parcel of the best geographical tables, maps, and sea-charts, and the most valuable accounts of those countries that have been publish'd, in order to make remarks where they are exact, or note down their faults; which last ought to be done without any odious reflections on the authors, as has been done

done by many, thinking thereby to recommend their own works; without considering, they may perhaps themselves commit mistakes, which when others shall rectify, they will be exposed to the same severe censures.

When there, he is to endeavour to see all the castles, forts, factories, towns, villages, &c. and to endeavour to be acquainted with the chief agents and officers at those places, who have resided longest there; as also with the best of the natives, and to converse frequently with them, as occasion shall offer, directing the discourse to those points that may be instructive, and particularly as to things that are remote, and which he cannot come at the sight of. All which he is to note down in his table-book, withdrawing for that purpose, without being observ'd, or taken notice of, if possible; especially, when he is inquiring into the state, or circumstances of fortified places, which may give any umbrage, or jealousy to *Europeans*, and particularly to the *Dutch*, who are, above all others, suspicious and unwilling to let strangers into any secrets, as to their settlements, or commerce. In order to gain the good will of such persons, and to get the best intelligence of them, it is necessary at first to oblige them with some present, according to the station they are in, and nothing is more acceptable than *European* refreshments, as pickles of several sorts, wine, liquors, neat's tongues, hams, sweetmeats, brandy, &c. as also things for use, as *Holland* shirts, hats, clothes, pistols, swords, silks, or the like; more or less of such things proportionably to their quality, and to the inclination they seem to have for them.

The principal things they are to make their observations upon, are, the country, its situation, disposition, extent and division; the climate; the nature and fertility of the soil; the inhabitants in general; their employments, professions, natural genius, and temper; their habit, houses, cottages, hamlets, villages, and towns, with all things appertaining to them; their languages, manners, customs, religion, government, and distribution of justice civil or criminal; the several kingdoms, principalities, or states; their power, courts, laws, wars, armies, weapons, and taxes paid by the subjects. The forts and castles of the *Europeans*; the inland and coast trade; the manufactures and commodities peculiar to each place; how the trade is manag'd by natives and foreigners; the market-towns, and other places of trade; the merchants and brokers, both on the coast and up the inland country; the navigation of the natives, their fishery and canoes; the beasts wild and tame, reptiles, insects, birds, fishes, plants, and fruits; the distempers and disea-

ses most frequent in every place, with the proper cures and remedies; casualties, strange adventures, and surprizing accidents; rarities, both natural and artificial; minerals and mines of all sorts; salt-pits, and rock salt; gold in general, and the several sorts and value of it in several places; the seasons, air, mountains, woods, forests, groves, wooding and watering places, qualities of the water, and nature of the wood and timber; the rains, hurricans, hermatans, tornado's, spouts, winds, rivers, lakes, bays, promontories, creeks, points, coasts, roads, harbours, bridges, banks, rocks, shoals, breaking and rowling seas, foundings, fogs, thunder and lightning, meteors, comets, ignes fatui, declination of the sun, variation of the compass, length of days and nights, heat, cold, trade-winds, breezes, tides, currents, &c. always marking the places and times.

The next thing is to take draughts of prospects of coasts, lands, promontories, islands, ports, towns, castles, forts, land-skips, &c. setting down the bearings and distances exactly.

To found and keep account of the depths of coasts, rivers, harbours, seas, in all places. To take notice of the ground at the bottom of the sea in all foundings, whether it be clay, sand, ouze, rock, pebbles, or a mixture of them, and the colours.

To observe carefully the ebbing and flowing of the sea, in as many places as may be, with all accidents ordinary, or extraordinary, attending the tides; the precise time of ebbing and flowing in rivers, at capes, or points, which way the current sets, the perpendicular difference in depth between the highest flood and lowest ebb, especially during the spring and neap tides; what days of the moon, and at what time of the year, the highest and lowest tides happen, and all other particulars relating to them, especially near ports, and about islands, rocks, banks, &c.

To keep an exact account of all changes of winds and weather, at all hours by night and by day, setting down the point the wind blows from, and whether strong, weak, or stormy; the rains, hail, and the like; the time of their beginning, and continuance, especially hurricans, souths, norths, tornado's, hermatans, and spouts; but above all, most diligently to observe the trade-winds, about what degree of latitude and longitude they first begin, where and when cease or change, or grow stronger or weaker, and to what a degree, as near as may be.

To conclude, all is to be taken notice of, even to common conversation, discourse, reflections, and accidents, provided they be such as relate to the voyage, and have any thing peculiar in them.

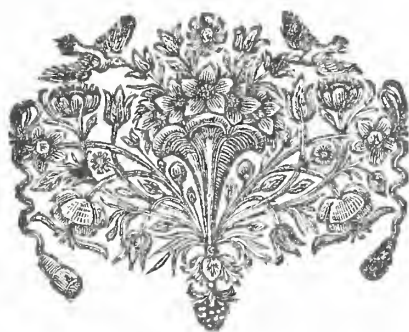
It was my custom, when I travell'd, to carry a sufficient stock of royal and common paper of the best sorts, fine white vellum, *Indian* ink, black and red-lead pencils, and all sorts of water-colours, to draw by the life, birds, beasts, fishes, fruits, flowers, landscapes, &c. to represent things exactly as they are in themselves; and I have still by me several pieces of that sort, as particularly of the dorado, bonito, shark, flying fish, and other things in their natural colours, with exact accounts of their form and bigness; which is far more satisfactory than any description can be.

Wheresoever I was, either at sea, or ashore, I us'd to pry into every object that occur'd to the eye, and made enquiry after what I could not have the opportunity of seeing, if there was any thing in it either curious, or useful; and immediately noted it down in my pocket book, or on a loose paper, with my black-lead pencil, mentioning the perspective, distance, proportion, and form, in what concern'd drawing of figures and representations. The same I practis'd as to what I heard in discourse with the most intelligent *Europeans*, who had resided long in *Guinea*, or with the discreetest of the natives, to whom I could explain my meaning in some language or other, as *English*, *Dutch*, *Latin*, *Italian*, *Lingua Franca*, and *French*.

Every evening I retir'd, either to my cabin aboard, or my chamber ashore, but seldom lay ashore in *Guinea* upon a coasting voyage, and there enter'd in my journal all that I had, during the day, set down by way of memorandum in my table-book; enlarging upon it as far as my memory would help me, after comparing it with what was said, touching the same, by authors; and then made my remarks where I found them mistaken, or when we fully agreed, or but in part.

Thus I constantly, and day by day gather'd all the memoirs, notes, remarks, and figures I could judge useful, diverting, or curious, and transcrib'd the whole again, during our passage from *Africa* to *America*, and back to *Europe*, comparing the whole with what was done by any passengers, or officers aboard, who had the like curiosity.

I shall, in the following description and supplement, take notice what *European* goods are most acceptable to the best sort of *Europeans* residing in *Guinea*, and to the natives of those parts, besides the catalogue of commodities in general; and do advise all travellers to furnish themselves with some quantity thereof, to serve their occasions there, either for presents, or to purchase refreshments and rarities of those regions.



A
 DESCRIPTION
 OF THE
 Coasts of *Nigritia*,
 VULGARLY CALLED
 NORTH-GUINEA.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

General remarks concerning the countries lying between the rivers Senega and Gambia, their limits, extent, division, and product. An account of the river Senega, and of the French settlement on the island of St. Lewis; the description of Cabo Verde, cape Emanuel, the island Goeree, and French settlement there; the town of Rufisco or Rio Fresco, Camina, Emdukura, Cabo Maſto, Porto d'Ali, Porto Novo, and Juala. A view of the inland countries, especially thoſe of the Foules, and Gelofes or Jalofes.

*Nigritia
an Island.*

THAT part of *Nigritia*, or the country of the *Blacks*, in which we generally place the beginning of *North-Guinea*, is in reality a large island, form'd by the *Atlantick* ocean on the west, and the rivers *Senega* and *Gambia* on the north, south, and east; these two flowing from the mighty river *Niger*, in the province vulgarly call'd *Cantorzi*.

Its extent.

This island, if I may so call it, extends in length from east to west above 300 *French* leagues, and in breadth, from north to south, about 60 along the coast. In the midst of it is the famous promontory, call'd *Cabo Verde*, or cape *Verde*, that is green cape, suppos'd to be the *Arfinarium* of the antients; and the country about, in former times, suppos'd to be inhabited by the people call'd *Daradi Æthiopes*.

*Limits of
states un-
known.*

This province is at present possess'd by several *Negro* or black nations, each of them subject to a particular king, or prince. I shall not attempt to assign the limits and

extent of each of these nations, as not in-
 tending to impose upon any body; for nei-
 ther the *Europeans* residing in this part of
Nigritia, nor the natives themselves, are
 able to give any exact account of them, the
Blacks being altogether ignorant of geogra-
 phy, of taking the dimensions of countries,
 and assigning them their boundaries. All
 I could gather upon the strictest enquiry,
 was, that this large tract of land is divided
 into several kingdoms, principalities, lord-
 ships, and commonwealths, yet more gene-
 rally known, and taken notice of, under the
 name of two notable nations, viz. the *Foules*
 and the *Gelofes*.

The *Gelofes*, or *Jalofes*, possess all the
 lands and territories lying east and west, be-
 tween the country of the *Foules* and the *O-*
cean, being above 100 leagues in length
 that way, and 70 in breadth from north to
 south, comprehending the petty kingdoms
 of *Kayor*, *Baool*, *Porto d'Ali*, *Juala*, and
Borsalo, with part of the country of the
 Great

BARBOT. *Great Brack*, king of *Senega*, lying in the province of *Geneboa*.

The *Gelofes* distinguish their monarch by the title of king over fourteen kingdoms, including that of the *Barbecins*; and yet most of the petty princes, whose kingdoms he claims, are as absolute in their dominion as the great *Gelofe* himself, but were tributary to him in former times.

This is the best account that can be given of the countries of the *Foules* and *Gelofes*, to which I think fit to add somewhat briefly concerning the several nations, which are best known, living intermixt with the *Gelofes*, viz. the little kingdoms of *Baool*, *Kayor*, *Porto d'Ali*, *Juala*, and *Borsalo*, these being on the sea-coast, or at a small distance from it, and consequently better known to the *Europeans* residing in those parts.

The little kingdom of *Baool* begins somewhat to the eastward of the town of *Camina*, and is held of king *Damel* of *Kayor*, which prince, among the blacks, has the peculiar denomination of *Train*, signifying the king in their language, as *Pbaraob* was the name of all the kings among the *Egyptians*. This *Train*, or king of *Baool*, has his usual residence at *Lambaye*, and sometimes at *Sanguay*, a town seated two days journey from the coast.

The kingdom of *Kayor* lies south and west from those of *Baool* and *Ale*, and the ocean to the NNW. The town of *Kayor* is about six days journey up the inland, and there is the residence of its king *Damel*.

That of *Ale*, or *Porto d'Ali*, is next the sea, stretching only twelve or thirteen leagues along the coast, but of a much greater extent up the inland. It is reckon'd a part of the country of the *Serréres*. The *French* call the prince of it king of *Portugady*, or of *Porto d'Ali* indifferently, from the town of *Porto d'Ali*. The natives give him the stile of *Jain*, which among them is a title of dignity, and not the name of a person.

The small kingdom of *Juala*, is the same that some call of *Barbecins*, parted from that of *Ale*, by the river *Grace*; of a very small compass, and yet frequently at war with that of *Ale*. Here are several colonies of *Portuguese* mulatto's. The king's residence is some days journey from the coast.

The kingdom of *Borsalo* reaches from the last above mentioned to the edge of the river *Gambia*, along the coast, and far eastward up the inland, being much larger than the two last spoken of. Some take *Borsalo*, as well as *Juala* to be a part of the people call'd *Barbecins*, mentioned by *Marmol*, and other authors. The king of *Borsalo* resides one part of the year at the village of *Bar*, which is on the north point of the mouth of the river *Gambia*; at other times, in some towns higher up, on the banks of the same

river, to take his diversions. These two countries of *Kayor* and *Borsalo* have two towns or villages on their utmost borders, the one call'd *Yarap*, belonging to the former; the other *Banguisca*, to the latter. They are parted from each other by a woody and desolate wilderness eight or ten miles over.

The sea-coasts, from *Byburt* near the mouth of the river *Senega*, to cape *Verde*, are very little resorted to, being all along foul, with many shoals, and not to be approach'd in many parts; for which reason, the country thereabouts is but thinly inhabited.

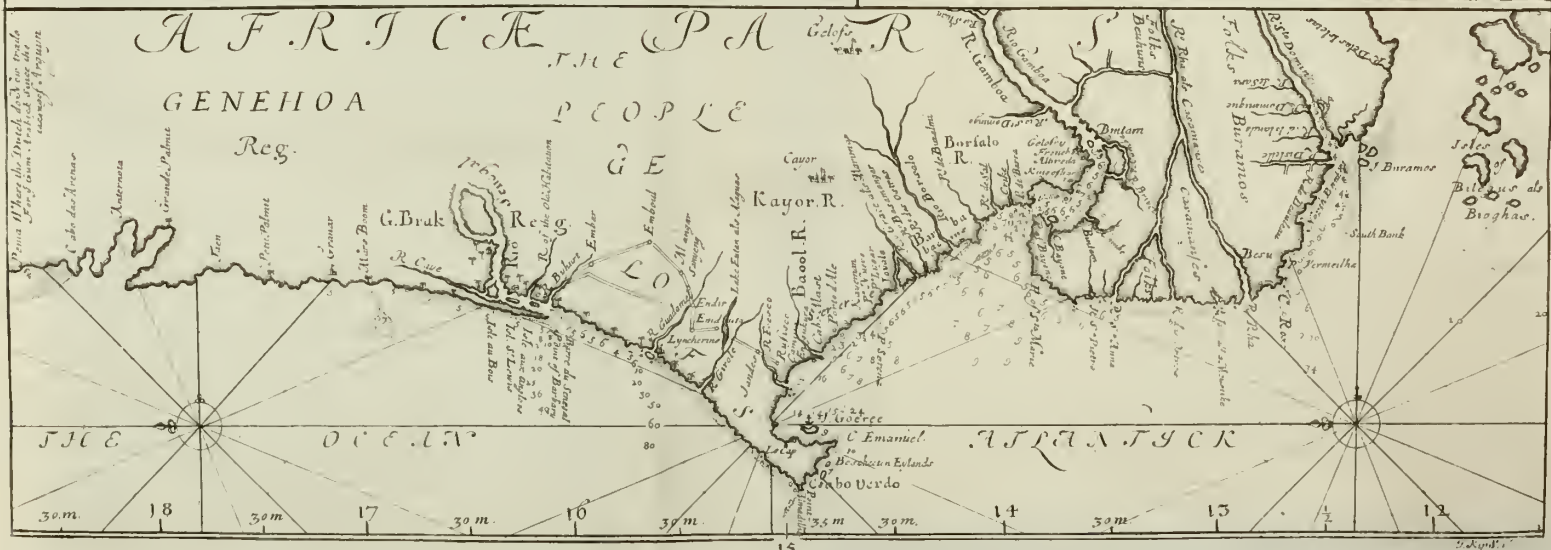
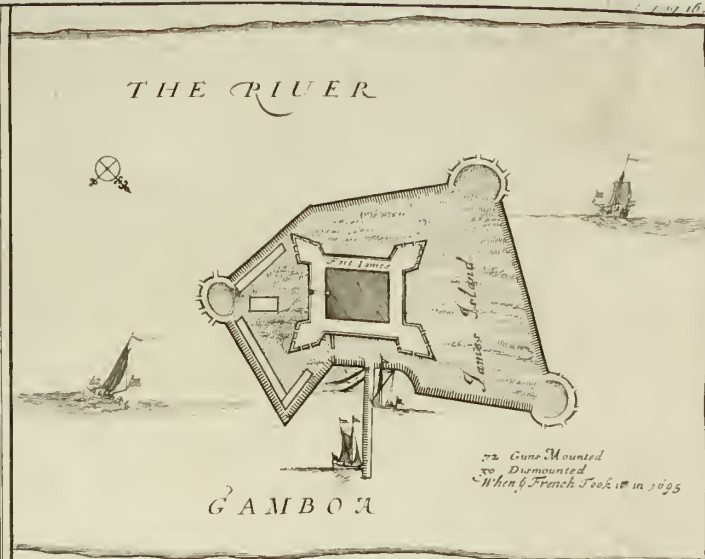
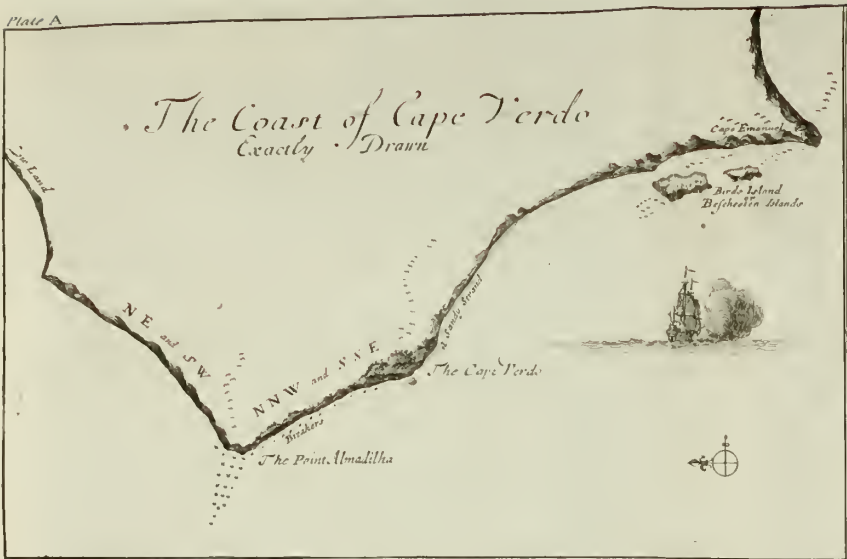
There is not one wall'd town, nor any thing of what the *Europeans* call fortresses, or castles, in all these petty kingdoms, or in those of the *Foules* or *Jalofes*; but all open, great or small villages, or at best boroughs, and abundance of hamlets and scatter'd cottages. All their structures whatsoever are of mud, or clay, as I shall observe hereafter, in its proper place, and every where thatch'd.

The *French* of *Senega* and *Goërée*, when they sail from the former of those places to the latter, generally steer SW. by W. for some hours, then SW. and then again SW. by S. the better to weather point *Almadilla*, which is about a league to the northward of cape *Verde*, running out to sea NW. under water, and consequently not to be seen.

Of the River SENEGA.

THE river *Senega*, which parts *Negro-land*, or the country of the *Blacks* from the *Moors* of *Geneboa*, in *Marmol* formerly call'd *Benbays*, runs winding for above three hundred leagues from east to west, reckoning from the water-falls at *Galam*, or *Galama*, not far from the place where it parts from the *Niger* in the province of *Cantorzi*, till it empties itself into the *Atlantick* ocean, at *Byburt*.

This river has many names given it by the several nations inhabiting along its banks. The *Gelofes* call it *Dengueb*; the people of *Tombut*, *Iza* or *Iça* indifferently, as far as the lake *Sigismess*, alias *Guarda*, whence it flows out in four degrees of east longitude from the meridian of *Lundi*. The nation of the *Turcorons*, dwelling farther up the inland, call it *Maye*; the *Saragoles*, or *Saracoles*, still higher up, on the south side, name it *Colle*; and the people beyond them again, *Zimbale*. The *Senegues*, according to *Marmol*, give it the name of *Senega*, or *Zanaga* indifferently; and thence it is likely the *French* and *Portuguese* deriv'd that of *Senegal* and *Senega*, by which it is now known to all *Europeans*.



However, some *Portuguese* authors pretend this name of *Senega* was first given to the river, from that of a mighty man in the country, with whom their nation first traded, after its first discovery by *Denis Fernandez*, in the year 1446; but this appears to be a false notion, by what has been said above, which is much more probable. *Vasconcelos*, a more modern *Portuguese* historian, speaking of this river *Senega*, says it is call'd by several names in a very short space; but that the aforesaid *Denis Fernandez* call'd it *Rio Portugues*, which is now quite disused, even among the *Portuguese*, who never name it any otherwise than *Rio Senega*.

A red river.

This *Senega*, in its course to the sea, swallows up many other considerable rivers, coming from the southern country; among which, one is more particular, whose bottom being a red sand or gravel, the colour is reflected to the surface of the water, which retains it so as to be discernable from that of the *Senega*, for some space from the place where they mix; because the *Senega* gliding over a white sandy bottom, the water of it every where looks of a brightish white.

Another.

Such another river as the last mention'd, comes down from the country to the northward, through *Geneboa*, into the *Senega*, not far above its mouth, and is call'd *Rio de San Joao* or *St. John's* river; which, as is reported by the *Benbay Arabs* and the *Gelof Blacks*, has also a reddish water, occasion'd by the colour of its bottom: but of this more in the supplement to this work.

Senega scarce navigable.

The *Senega* is much shallower than the *Gambia*, and the tide flows not up it so far by much as in the other; and therefore it is not so navigable in barks and small vessels, being also choak'd up in several places with rocks, banks of sand, and small islands; and in the upper part of the channel, quite obstructed by vast water-falls. Besides, it is so shallow at the mouth, and the sea so boisterous, that no ships, tho' of inconsiderable burden, can get in; that being only practicable to flat-bottom'd sloops and barks built for the purpose. In such small craft the *French* inhabiting the island of *St. Lewis*, drive a trade with the natives on both sides of the river, during the seasons it overflows for near three hundred leagues up to the eastward, as shall be shown hereafter in this description.

Its rapid course.

The current is so swift and strong downwards, that the fresh water runs out above two leagues into the ocean, without mixing, and appears at a distance, like a shoal or bank above the surface of the sea. This water taken up four or five *English* miles without the bar, as is commonly done by the *French* company's ships, proves very sweet, and keeps good for a long time.

This rapidity of the river, occasion'd by its narrowness, and the length of its course and shallowness, is the reason why it continually carries down a great quantity of sand and slime to the mouth, and that being forced back again by the violent NW. winds, most constantly reigning about those parts, is by degrees heap'd up together by the surges and rolling of the sea, forming a cross bank, call'd a bar, athwart the mouth of the river. Nor does it continue always in the same place, but is removed farther in or out, as the current from within, or the wind, or sea from without, are strongest and most prevalent. But still at all times this bar is such, that no ships whatsoever can pass up into the river, as has been said; and therefore the *French* inhabiting the island of *St. Lewis*, build there the above-mention'd flat-bottom'd barks of about ten or twelve tun burthen, to sail in and out over the bar; for which reason they are peculiarly call'd *Barques du Barre* or *Bar-Barks*.

BARBOT.
The bar.

But this way of sailing in such small craft is extraordinary difficult and dangerous, at some times, when the bar is swollen high by the NW. wind from the sea, and the violent fresh from the land, and much more at low tides and in foggy weather; for then the surges swell, foam, and break upon the bar with such fury and horrid roaring, as will terrify the boldest and most undaunted sailor, and very often sink or staves the barks, or at best strands and very much shatters them. Whensoever this happens, it is rare that any of the men can escape either being drowned, or devoured alive if they offer to swim for it, by the vast multitude of monstrous sharks, constantly plying about the bar, among the rolling waves. The *French* therefore at such times, frequently wait a whole fortnight, or three weeks, for the weather to change and the tides prove more favourable for passing over the bar; which delay is often very prejudicial, and retards the dispatch of their ships riding in *Senega* road. From this inconveniency is only excepted the time when the river overflows in the months of *July* and *August*, for then the bar is passable, without scarce a day's interruption, as shall be farther shown hereafter.

As the navigation up this river is very difficult and hazardous to the *French*, and generally their voyages for this reason tedious; so on the other hand it is advantageous, as securing their residence in the island of *St. Lewis*, which is therefore neither wall'd nor fortify'd, bating only some scatter'd open batteries of a few guns, on the parts of the island which are easiest of access, of which more in another place.

The mouth of the river *Senega*, according to the latest observations, is exactly in

The mouth of the Senega.

BARBOT. 16 degrees and 12 minutes of north latitude ; and yet most maps in *Europe*, of that western part of *Africa*, place it 30 degrees farther to the southward ; and *Vasconcelos*, a *Portuguese* historian, assigns to it 15 degrees and 30 minutes ; which is a great mistake in him and all others.

This mouth is almost a *French* league over, at the bar ; and it is very remarkable, that at the time when the river overflows, the fresh which runs down so impetuous, forces itself new ways to the sea, through the low, narrow, sandy peninsula of the country of *Geneboa*, lying to the northward, and by the *French* vulgarly call'd *Pointe de Barbarie*, tho' very improperly, as giving the name of *Barbary* to *Geneboa*. In the year 1661 it forced a passage through this peninsula, much higher than it us'd to do, and broke out almost over-against the island of the residence, which obliged the *French* to remove higher up the river, for a time. This extraordinary mouth afterwards stopping up of itself, the water resumed its natural course to the ocean, and so has continued ever since.

Water-falls.

The water-falls before mentioned, at the upper part of the *Senega*, not far from *Galam*, are of a great height ; the stream as it tumbles down, looking at a distance like an arch, or bow ; for which reason some of the natives call it *Burto*, and others *Huab*, both signifying the same thing in several languages ; that is, a *Bow*. No doubt but that these mighty streams of water perpetually falling from so great a height, occasion the rapidity of the river before spoken of, and render the navigation so troublesome.

Bad riding for ships.

Another inconvenience to be observ'd here, proceeding from the same rapid tide, gushing out at the common road where the ships ride at anchor, at about two *English* miles distance from the raging of the bar, is, that the waves of the ocean for the most part rolling violently from the northward, and the mighty fresh which runs from the river keeping the heads of ships to the eastward, on their moorings, they roll so prodigiously starboard and larboard, with the gunnills almost to the sea, that it is hard for a man to stand fast on the deck : and the company's ships being oblig'd to stay some months in this road, because they cannot be sooner dispatch'd, their crews undergo much toil and hardships. Besides, the ships themselves are much damaged by this perpetual agitation, their cables wearing very fast, as well as their masts and rigging ; to obviate which mischief in some measure, the *French* generally as soon as they come to an anchor, lower all their top-masts and yards, and so continue till near the time of their departure thence, either for *America*, or back to *France* directly.

I now proceed to the habitation of the *French Senega* company in the island of *St. Lewis*, before mentioned in several places.

Of the French Factory in the river *SENEGA*.

THIS island and settlement had the name of *St. Lewis* given it in honour of the king of *France*, the natives calling it *Hyacon*. It is above three *English* miles in compass, lying in the middle of the river *Senega*, and about four and a half or five leagues within the mouth of it. The peninsula of *Geneboa* lying to the westward of the island, and being low and barren, the towers of the factory are plainly to be seen at some distance at sea, as you come from the northward, appearing as in the plate here annexed.

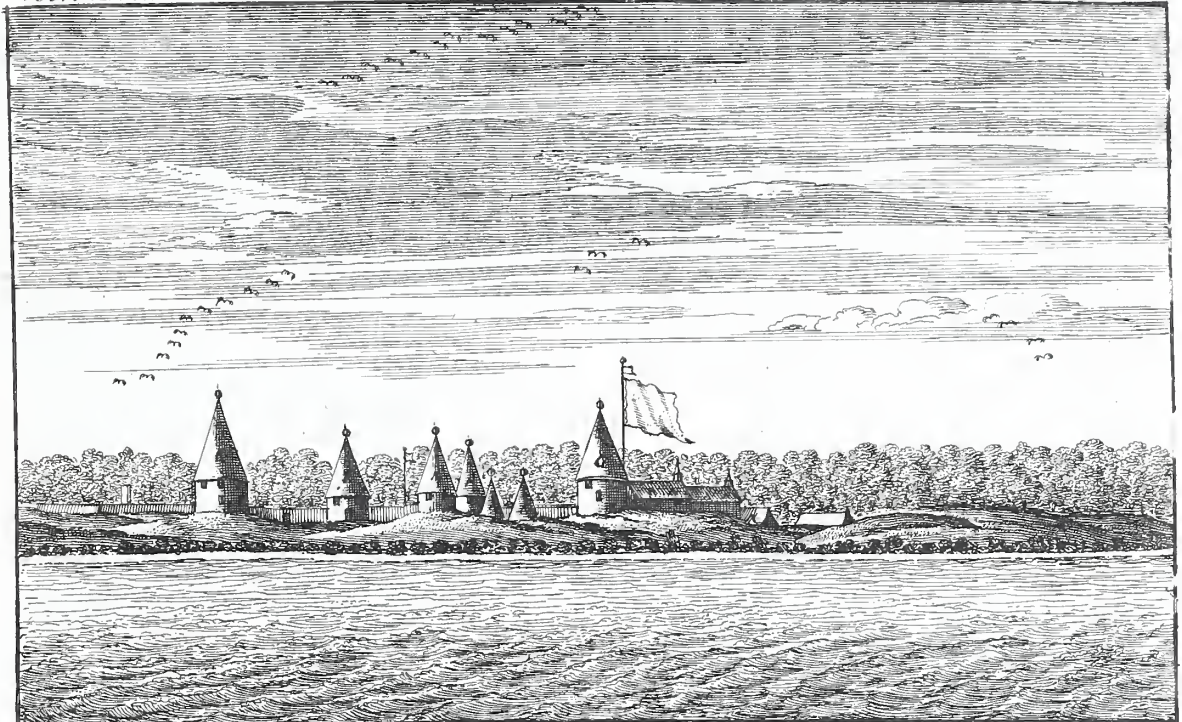
The soil of this little island, is like the opposite peninsula, almost all sandy and barren, and without any verdure, except some few low trees growing at the north end of it.

The factory, which the *French* express by the word *habitation*, or dwelling, is built on the south side of the island, where the ground is somewhat more firm and solid, as is observ'd in the plate under the prospect of the factory, describing the form of it. The buildings are so inconsiderable, that nothing worth taking notice of can be said of them, any more than as to the largeness and extent of the warehouses, lodgments, offices, and chappel. It is enclosed in some parts with only plain curtains, or mud walls ; and in others with pails of clapboards : and yet is call'd a fort by the *French*, perhaps on account of three small ranges of iron guns, being fifteen or sixteen in number, placed about it, and mounted on platforms of planks, to oppose any descent on the island. But were it not for the difficulty of getting up the river, in almost any sort of vessels, as has been before observ'd, this would avail very little to obstruct the invading of their residence, no more than it did the *English* and *Dutch*, when they had settlements here in former times. The *French* here, for the privilege of their factory and trade, pay to the king of *Senega* sixteen in the hundred for hides, as shall be more fully declared hereafter. The *Portuguese* paid but ten when they traded here, and but little for other commodities.

About a league to the southward of this island is another of much the same magnitude, where the *English* had their residence in former times ; and therefore the *French* still call it *l'Isle aux Anglois*, or the *English* island.

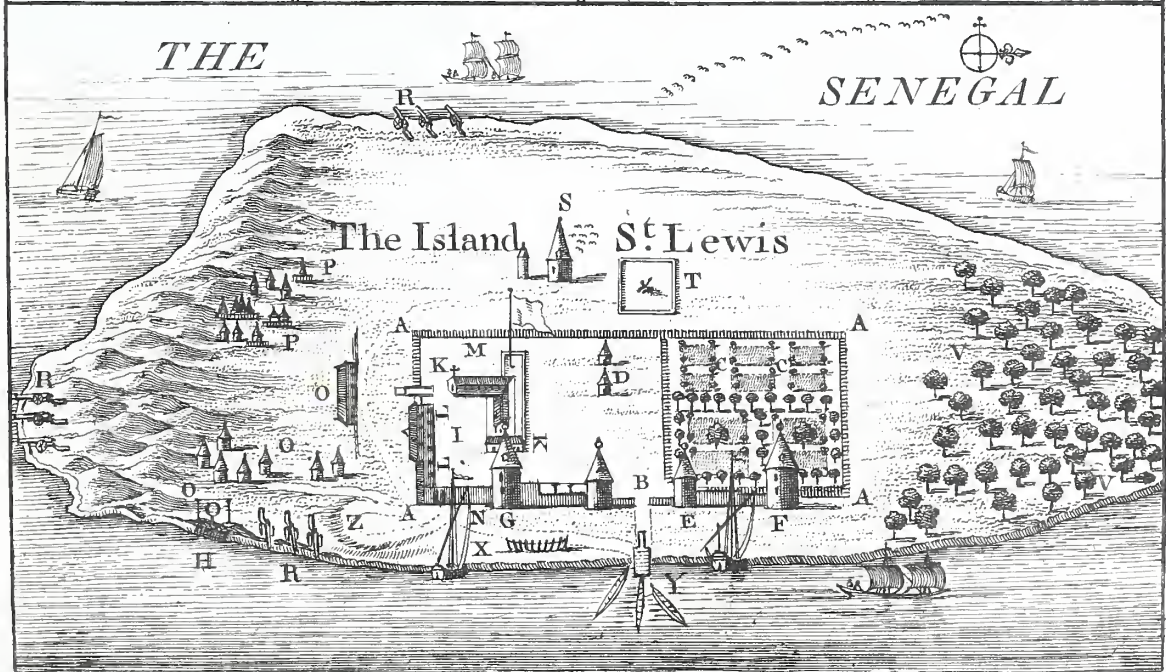
To return to the island of *St. Lewis*, it is the usual residence of the director, or general agent of the *French Senega* company, and

so



The Prospect of the Habitation of the French Senegal Company on the Island St. Lewis, as it appears off at Sea, at $\frac{1}{2}$ a League distance off the Shore of Genehoa

A. The Habitation.	Gum Ware house.	M. Out Court.	S. Pigeon house.
B. The Gate.	G. The Governors Lodg ^{ing} .	N. Store house.	T. Burial Place.
C. The Gardens.	H. Store house for Slaves.	O. The houses of Whites.	V. A little Wood.
D. The Corn-lofts.	I. The Court.	P. Laptos Negroes houses.	X. The Wharf.
E. Slaves Pit.	K. Chappel.	Q. Slaughter place.	Y. The Landing place.
F. The great Turret or	L. Out houses or Offices.	R. Batteries.	Z. Lime Kiln.



so stiled by them; but the company's servants there give him the title of governor. His province is in chief to direct and inspect the company's trade, and all other matters in this part of *Nigritia*, or the land of *Blacks*, as far as the river *Gambia*. He has several assistants and accountants, both here and in the lodges and residences the company has about this country; with proper factors at each of them, to whom he sends from the general storehouse here, all such commodities as are proper for trading with the natives, and receives their returns for the same, being *slaves, gold-dust, ivory, bees-wax, bullocks hides dry'd, gum-arabick, ostrich feathers, pagnos, provisions, &c.* This leads me, before I proceed upon any other matter, to give some account of the manner of the *French* proceeding to carry on their trade in the river *Senega*, and of some late attempts they have made to penetrate up the said river as far as possible, in order to extend their commerce along it, and make new advantageous discoveries towards the *Niger*.

Commodities of Guinæa.

Trading barks.

To this end they navigate the river in flat-bottom'd barks, ready framed in *France*, but brought over in pieces, which they join and put together in the island of *St. Lewis*; each of them being about twelve tun burthen, and mann'd with seven or eight *Whites*, and ten or twelve *Laptos* or free *Blacks*, kept by the company in constant pay. Each bark is furnish'd with proper arms, and has a supercargo, or factor, with a competent quantity of several sorts of *European* goods fit for that trade.

Dangers going up the river.

Being thus fitted, if the wind proves fair, they hoist out all their sails; but if it prove contrary, or the weather calm, the vessel is drawn with ropes by hand along the north bank of the *Senega*, which is indifferent level, and not so much encumber'd with woods or stumps of trees, nor so hilly, as the opposite south side. However, this sort of navigation is very tedious, not only in regard they must continually pull up against the rapid stream of the river, but by reason of the many other toils and hardships which attend it, occasion'd by the insupportable heats of the climate, and the opposition of abundance of floating logs and green trees, wash'd away from the banks of the river, and carry'd down with such violence, as often endangers both the vessel and the men in it; the shocks they give the barks being prodigious, and sometimes staving of them, especially when they lie at anchor. To prevent these dismal accidents, as much as may be, they seize the end of the cable about the anchor-floors, and stretch it to the beam, to which they make it fast with marlin, having given the cable another turn: for if it happens to be foul in this manner, the marlin that fastned it breaks, and by that means

the flook of the anchor draws out of the BARBOT'S ground, and leaves the bark adrift; so that the shock is not so dangerous as if it had held fast. Yet would not all this very often avail them in those dangers, were it not for the many turnings and windings of the channel, which in a great measure break the violent rapidity of the river.

Nor are the dangers they undergo any less in navigating the cross rivers, as it happen'd more particularly to them in an expedition they undertook not long since to sail from the *Senega* to the *Gambia* by the inland, upon assurance given the general agent of a free passage found out to that effect; which if it had succeeded well, would have proved very advantageous to the *French* company, they being excluded the beneficial trade of the *Gambia* by sea, by the *English*, who are there superior, and do all they are able to disturb and molest any ship of *France* that ventures to trade there.

A new expedition.

This expedition was undertaken at the time when the *Senega* river overflow'd, that is, about *July*; and consequently the water was every where the deeper. Yet it met with so many unforeseen difficulties, as rendered it ineffectual; for the bark sometimes straying out from the natural channel, either stuck upon stumps of trees, or was stranded on the banks. Besides, through continual toils and hardships the best part of the sailors sickned and dy'd, whilst others perish'd by the intolerable scorching heat, which threw them into burning fevers; and those who had been proof against that intolerable fatigue, were destroy'd either by the vile perfidiousness of the native *Blacks* of the country, or devoured alive by alligators, a sort of crocodiles which swarm in the cross rivers, as well as in the *Senega*, some of them above ten foot long, lying close among the bull-rushes, or under the water, along the banks, and ever ready to seize and prey on man, when opportunity offers.

Disappointed.

Their discoveries towards the upper part of the *Senega* have proved more successful by degrees, with much labour and expence, they having run up it as far as they could well go, to a country call'd *Enguellaud*, and even to that of the *Fargots*, being more than two hundred and fifty leagues above their residence in the island of *St. Lewis*; and have there erected a small fort of eight guns at *Galem* or *Galane*; of which a farther account shall be given hereafter, when I come to inform the reader concerning the company's trade along the river.

Discoveries up the river.

I return now to the description of the maritime parts, about the river *Senega*, before I proceed more regularly in treating of this part of *Nigritia*; and shall first make some observations concerning the promontory

BARBOT.

Of CAPE VERDE.

Its name.

THIS, as has been said before, is generally taken for the *Arfinarium* of *Ptolemy*. The natives, in their language, call it *Besecher*, and the *Portuguese Cabo Verde*, a name given it by *Denis Fernandez*, who first discover'd it in the year of *CHRIST 1446*, as I have observ'd in the introductory discourse to this work, and signifying green cape, from the perpetual verdure the country about it is adorn'd with, in a multitude of beautiful lofty trees growing there, which afford a very curious prospect at sea.

Description.

It is in the kingdom of *Kayor*, lying exactly in 14 degrees and 25 minutes of north latitude, and in 2 degrees and 15 minutes of east longitude, from the meridian of *Teneriff*, stretching farther out westward, than any other part of *Africa*, and is very distinguishable in coming from the northward. The north side of this cape is somewhat mountainous; the western point is steep towards the beach, and about half a league broad, having some rocks under water at a distance in the sea.

The south side, tho' low, is pleasant, being adorn'd with long strait rows of tall large trees along the strand, which seem to stand as regularly, as if they had been planted by art. At the bottom is a fine spacious, level, sandy shore, like a bay, fronting *WSW*. and beset with several villages and hamlets, as far as cape *Emanuel*. Between the two capes, out at sea, are two large rocks, or little islands; on one of which stands a single lofty tree, of an extraordinary bulk. In the other is a vast concavity in the form of a grotto or cave, into which the waves of the sea are continually rushing with a prodigious roaring noise, and in it is harbour'd an immense multitude of gulls, mews, and other sea-fowl, which have always laid their eggs, and hatch'd their young on both these islands time out of mind, so that their dung has almost turn'd the natural dark colour of the rocks into perfect white; for which reason the *Dutch* have in their language given them the name of *Besebeiten Eylands*, that is, *Sbitten Islands*.

PLATE 2. I took exact draughts of the coast on both sides of the cape, as is here represented in the cut.

Variation, current, &c.

The variation observ'd here, is 3 degrees and 40 minutes east. The current sets *SSW*. three leagues out at sea. Five leagues from the shore we found eighty fathom water; the lead brought up grey sand.

The *Dutch* formerly built a little fort on the very cape, and call'd it *St. Andrew's*; which was afterwards in the year 1664 taken by the *English* commodore *Holmes*, who also took from them all the residences the *Dutch*

West-India company had in this part of *Nigritia*. He changed the name of this fort to that of *York*, in honour of the duke of *York* then the principal member of the *English* *Royal African Company*, and built another at the mouth of the river *Gambia*, to secure the trade of this coast to his nation. But the *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter* soon after recover'd from the *English* the fort at cape *Verde*, with the other *Dutch* settlements about it.

CAPO MANOEL or CAPE EMANUEL,

IS five leagues distant from cape *Verde*, being a flat hill cover'd all over with ever-green trees, in such order, that they exactly represent the form of an amphitheatre on the south side.

The *Portuguese* gave it this name in honour of *Emanuel*, fourteenth king of *Portugal*, successor to king *John* the second, who died *October 25, 1495*.

The country about both the capes abounds in *Pintado* hens, partridges, hares, turtle-doves, roebucks, goats, and a multitude of horned cattle.

The Island GOEREE

LIES a league *ENE*. from cape *Emanuel*, by the natives call'd *Barzaguiche*, and *Goeree* by the *Dutch*, at their first taking possession of it, in memory of their island of the same name in the province of *Zealand*. It was given them by one *Biram*, at that time king of *Kayor*, and they built on it two little forts, the one call'd *Nassau on the plain*, the other named *Nassau on the top of the hill*, opposite to it, on the south, ^{Dutch forts.} to retire to, in case the other were taken, for the security of the company's servants and goods upon pressing dangers; that being made by the said company a principal magazine for their commerce in these parts, besides that they had at cape *Verde* above-mention'd. They held this place till the year 1663, when the *English* invaded the island, and took the two forts *Nassau* and *Orange* in the name of the *English* *Royal African Company*; but were soon after turn'd out again by the *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter*, on the 24th of *October 1664*; who sent *Abercromby*, the *English* commander, with his garrison, to the *English* residence at *Gambia* river, according to the capitulation. The *Dutch* *West-India* company repair'd all the damage done to this settlement by the *English*, and the mighty rains; and raised the walls of fort *Orange* which had been demolish'd, higher than before. From that time they remain'd quietly possess'd of the island till the year 1677, when the *French* vice-admiral, the count *d'Estrees*, with a small



A *The little River Frescò.*
 B *The French Lodge.*
 C *The Habitation of Sig. Catelina.*

The Prospect of the Negroes Town of Rufis cò.

D *The Alacides Habitation.*
 E *The Sandy Beach.*
 F *The Bay of Erance.*



The Prospect of Cabò-Verdè, being at S. S. W. off at Sea about 3½ Leagues.



The Prospect of Cabò-Verdè, from about 3 Leagues off at S. S. E.



The Prospect of the Coastings about Cabò-Verdè, from a distance at Sea.

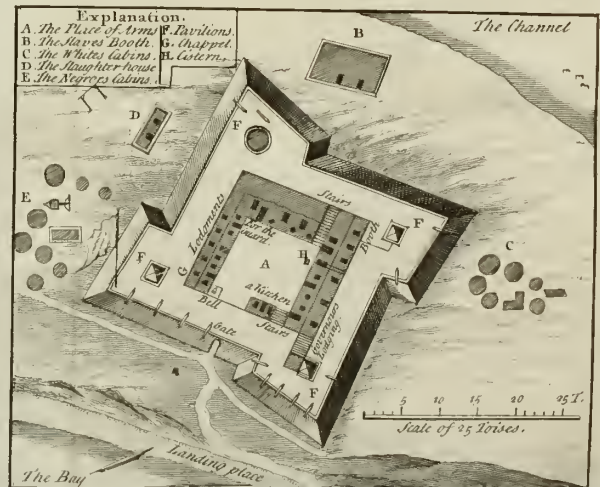
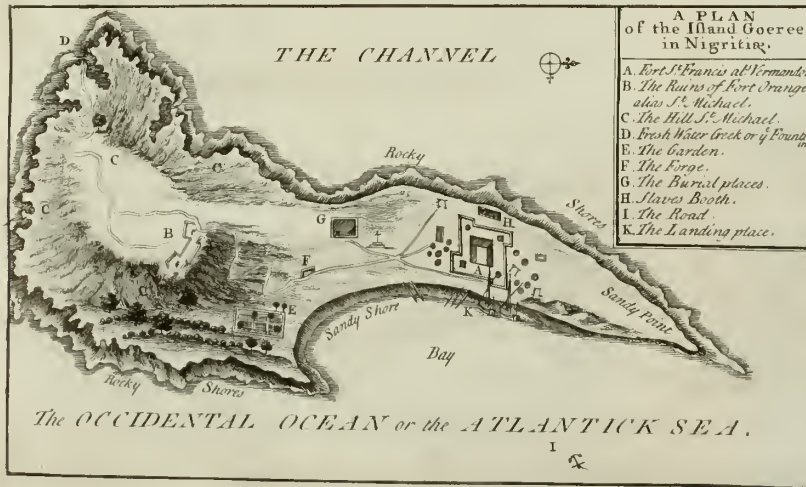


The Prospect of C. Emanuel & of the Isle Goerée; the Flag at E. S. E.





The Prospect of the Island of Goeree & of the Fort Vermandois alias S' Michael
as seen from the Road W. & E. off the Forge at half Gunshot distance.



Taken
by the
French.

small squadron of six men of war, took it from them on the 24th of *October*, landing four hundred and fifty men under the command of the marquis de *Grancey*, who first attack'd the lower fort in the plain. The garrison fearing to be beset by sea and land, retired to fort *Orange* on the hill, which the marquis attack'd with so much bravery and resolution, that the *Dutch* were forced to surrender it, and themselves prisoners of war. This done, the count d' *Estrees* having ransack'd, burnt, and levell'd both the forts, and ship'd off all that was of any value, as cannon, utensils, and several sorts of merchandise, set sail from *Goeree* for the island of *Tobago* in *America*, on the ninth of *November* following.

Given to
their Afri-
can com-
pany.

The next year, 1678, this island was yielded up by the treaty of *Nimeguen* between *France* and *Holland*, for the use of the then *French Senega* company, by patent under the great seal; excluding all and singular other persons of that nation, under forfeiture of ships and goods, from trading to any port of *Nigritia*, except the said company, which paid an acknowledgment to the crown for it.

The *Senega* company being thus put into possession of *Goeree*, and other residences for trade along this coast, as far as the river *Gambia*, immediately caused the ruin'd fort on the plain to be rebuilt on its former foundation, raising the curtains and semi-bastions sixteen foot high, and facing the walls with such black stones or pebbles as the country and island afford. Within they erected pretty convenient store-houses and dwellings, with other offices and conveniencies for a small garrison and factory, giving the names of *St. Francis* and of *Vermandois* indifferently to their new fort, formerly call'd *Nassau* by the *Dutch*. It was call'd *Vermandois*, in honour of the count de *Vermandois*, then admiral of *France*, and the name of *St. Francis* was on account of one of the chief directors of the company.

PLATE 3.

I have here given an exact draught of the island and fort as taken on the spot. At first there were twenty-four guns mounted in the fort; but afterwards in my time it had but sixteen, and those not in very good order. The *French* made a good cistern in the fort, which has been ever since constantly kept full of fresh water brought over from the continent.

The facto-
ry.

Here the company has its chief residence and general store-houses, suitable to the trade drove at several ports and places along the neighbouring coasts and rivers, as far as the *Bijegos* islands; all managed by a chief factor, whom they there call governor, with several inferior factors and assistants under his direction; yet even he is subordinate to the *French* general agent of *Senega* river. The whole number of officers and servants,

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in the company's pay, with soldiers and BARBOT. *Lapto Blacks* depending on the chief at *Goeree*, amounts to about three hundred men. The *Lapto Blacks* have several round huts assign'd them for their dwelling, without the fort, on the west side; and just by it, is a large house of black stone to lodge the slaves that are purchased on the continent. The chappel in the fort is serv'd by a *Franciscan* frier, and has nothing in it remarkable.

The south-west part of the island is hilly, Goeree de- the east side flat, sandy, and barren, the scribed. whole not much above two *English* miles in compass. The landing-place is just under the fire of the fort, at the low point, in a small bay form'd by a sandy beach, or strand, where there is good fishing with a seane. The other parts of *Goeree* are every where enclosed with a ridge of large round black stones or pebbles, and shoals. At the west point, among those shoals and rocks, naturally forming a little bay or harbour, fit for boats and pinnaces, about twenty paces out at sea, is a spring of good fresh water; and near to it, the scorching heat of the sun produces a sort of nitrous salt. The *French* call this place *la Fontaine*.

The hill is indifferent large, and level at The soil. the top, and produces nothing but weeds and bull-rushes, which harbour abundance of wild pigeons; and at a certain time of the year some quails, which then come over thither from the opposite continent. The soil of the island is a red sandy mould; for which reason, it produces very little pasture for cattle and goats kept there for the subsistence of the company's men; the best grazing is on the top of the above-mentioned hill.

The channel between this island and the opposite continent is deep enough for third-rate ships to pass through, and the anchoring-place before fort *Vermandois*, is about an *English* mile E S E. from the shore, in eight or nine fathom water. As for the former fort *Orange*, the ruins of it remain there to this day. One inconveniency here for inhabitants, is, that the whole island is destitute of wood, either for shelter or fuel, there being none but only here and there some old standing *Pallots*, with little green heads, and a few bushes, at the foot of the hill, towards the road. No wood.

The usual watering-place for ships in Watering- the road, is at a place on the adjacent con- place. tinent, by the *French* call'd *le Cap*, being a third point of land, N E by N. from cape *Emanuel* above spoken of. The water is there taken out of a pool, having a gravelly bottom, about a musquet-shot up the land from the strand. The brook running into it, is hemm'd in with bushes and briers, and the water very sweet and good.

The wooding-place is at a small distance Wooding- from the pool, and almost opposite to the place.

G

wreck

BARBOT. wreck of a ship cast away there several years since, the ribs whereof are still to be seen near the shore at low water. The country thereabout being very woody, whatsoever is fell'd may be convey'd down to the boats by *Blacks*, with little trouble, the sea being so near.

Village at the cape. About half a league to the westward of the watering-place is the village of the cape, and a little beyond it are two small hamlets, the inhabitants whereof commonly furnish travellers with several sorts of provisions and refreshments, either for money or in exchange for goods, first paying the usual duties to the king of *Kayor's* officers. I shall hereafter give a particular account of those duties.

Mandanaza fruit. The country about here is very barren, in most places, yet it produces abundance of wild crabbinish apple-trees, growing as thick as broom on a heath, and among them very small shrubs, on which grows a small fruit, much resembling an apricot, by the *Blacks* call'd *Mandanaza*, generally no bigger than a walnut, of an agreeable taste, but by the natives reckoned very unwholesome. The leaves of the tree are like ivy, but of a lighter green.

The natives here sow and plant millet, rice, tobacco, and a sort of plumb-trees, not unlike our cherry-trees, which they call *Cabovar*; as also another plant, whose fruit is large, and in shape like our gourds. This fruit, tho' it has scarce any substance, being puffy under the rind, over a ponderous hard stone, of the bigness of a common egg; yet it is much valued by the *Blacks*, as a great dainty, roasted under the embers and chew'd, when they suck out the juice, which is of an orange colour.

The town of RUFISCO

Its name. **I**S by the *Portuguese* call'd *Rio Fresco* or *Fresh River*, from the little fresh-water river running down from the inland, through the thick woods standing about it; which water thus gliding along under the shady trees, is therefore at all times cool and fresh. The *Dutch* have given it the name of *Vishchers Dorp*, from the great number of fishermen inhabiting it; the *French* corrupting the *Portuguese* *Rio Fresco*, have turn'd it into *Rufisco*.

Kampaen cliff. W S W. from the town is a cape, and over-against it, at a distance, a high rocky cliff, encompass'd with dangerous shoals and sands under water, by the *Dutch* call'd *Kampaen*, from *Claes Kampaen*, a famous rover of their nation, who first ventured to approach, and left it his name. However the channel betwixt this cliff and the continent is deep enough, and safe for any ordinary ship to sail through.

The town of *Rufisco* is all shelter'd behind by a large thick wood, beyond which there are spacious plains as far as the eye can reach. In this wood there are abundance of palm-trees, intermixt with much other variety of verdure; which, with the little sandy downs, lying between the town and the sea, and the fine beach at the skirts of it, makes a curious prospect from the sea, especially at low water, being exactly the same as represented in the cut.

PLATE 2.

Several of king *Damel's* officers generally reside here, and have a chief over them, call'd *Alcaide* by the *Portuguese* and natives; the name importing a governor to administer justice, who is assisted by a *Gerafo*, as his deputy. These two jointly manage the government, collect the king's customs, toll, anchorage and other duties; but there lies an appeal from their determinations to *Condy*, viceroy and captain-general of the king of *Kayor's* army; of which more hereafter.

Any ships may anchor in *Rufisco* road in six or seven fathom water, fine sandy ground, about two *English* miles from the shore.

The heats are here intolerable in the day-time, even in *December*, and especially at noon; for it is then generally a dead calm at sea, and no manner of air can come to it from the land, by reason it is so close shelter'd behind by the thick woods standing about it. The heat is so stifling, that neither men nor beasts can endure it, or scarce breathe, especially near the strand, at low water; for there the reflection from the sand almost scorches the face, and burns the very soles of the shoes in walking on it: and what renders this the more insupportable, is the air's being infected with a horrid stench, exhaled from a prodigious quantity of rotten small fish like pilchards, either spread abroad or buried in the sandy downs before the town, which poisons the breath. The reason of its lying there is, because none of the *Blacks* eat any fish till it is thus putrefy'd. Being amazed to think to what end they could do this, I was told that the sand gives the fish a sort of nitrous flavour, which those people highly admire; and according to the proverb, *there is no disputing of tastes*.

The bay, by the *French* call'd *la Baye de France*, or the *French* bay, abounds in several sorts of great and small fish; and this town standing quite at the bottom of it, is plentifully supply'd, and inhabited by abundance of fishermen, who daily go out several leagues in their canoes, driving a trade with what they catch in the villages up the country, as well as in their own, whereof more shall be said in its proper place. Here is also a considerable trade of dry'd hides, but most of them small, as being of young beasts.

The

Plenty of cattle.

The country abounds in cattle and fowl of several sorts, especially *Pintado* hens, and palm-wine, which the *Blacks* sell at easy rates in exchange for *Sangara*, that is *French* brandy, by them so called; a liquor they all love to excess. A good handsome bullock may be there had for two pieces of eight in goods, or money, and a large cow for one, and sometimes under. Here is such plenty of black cattle, that I have often seen large droves come down from the inland to refresh themselves in the sea, at low water, standing in it up to the belly for several hours together about noon.

The *French* have agreed with the king of *Kayor*, to pay certain duties to his officers, for the liberty of taking in wood and water. Each ship gives a settled quantity of goods. Besides, they agree with the *Blacks*, who commonly are employ'd in felling the wood and taking up the water, which they carry on their backs to the boats, for which drudgery they are easily contented with a few bottles of *Sangara*, or brandy.

CAMINA,

A common-wealth.

A very populous town, stands at some distance SE. from *Ruffico*. This is an independent commonwealth, lying between the countries of *Kayor* and *Baool*, having always withstood the attempts of both those kings, made at several times to subdue it, by the bravery of its people, and their fondness of liberty. This town is a continual mart for hides and cloths. Generally two hides go for a bar of iron; but crystal beads and *French* brandy, are generally staple commodities among these people, and especially those of the inland country, who resort to the market here.

EMDUKURA.

A village two leagues SE. from *Camina*. *Gimi-bemery* is another village, a league and a half farther from *Emdukura*. That of *Punto* stands another league and a half beyond *Gimi-bemery* to the southward, near the little river *Piscina*, so call'd by the *Portuguese*, from the great plenty of fish it breeds.

CAPE MASTO

French bay.

LIES next to the said river *Piscina*, eight leagues from *Ruffico*, and nine from *Goeree*. The coast between this *Cape Masto* and *Cape Manoel*, bending in, forms the large open bay facing to the southward, by the *French* call'd *la Baye de France*, or the *French* bay, as was said above.

The *Portuguese* formerly gave this the name of *Cabo Masto*, from an accident which befel a commander of a ship of

theirs, who sailing by it, was so suddenly surpriz'd with a flaw of wind, that it brought his masts by the board, as is reported. But *Marmol* says, it receiv'd the name of *Cabo de Mastiles*, or cape masts, from one *Lancelot*, a *Spanish* commander, in former times, on account of some extraordinary tall and strait palm-trees, he saw standing thereabouts, which from a distance out at sea look'd like masts. To prevent any such accidents from sudden flaws, as that above mention'd, those who have occasion to sail this way, about the cape, coming from the land, generally strike their sails beforehand. These gusts commonly proceed from the two adjacent mountains. The coast from this cape to *Ruffico* is clean and deep, so that ships may sail close under the shore.

PORTO D'ALI

LIES three leagues to the southward of this *Cape Masto*, at a river by the *Portuguese* call'd *Rio das Pedras*, or the stony river, the coast between them tending to the SE. The *French* have here a lodge or factory, which has the superiority over their other lodges along the coast, as far as the *Gambia* river. The king, or *Jain*, sometimes resides at this place. From this place to *Cabo Masto* there are shoals along the coast, running out above half a league into the sea, but there is five fathom water on them. To prevent any accident, we generally keep a good offing, in sailing from the said cape to *Porto d'Ali*.

The anchoring here is in seven fathom, and pretty good, having *Cabo Masto* at N b W. and the remarkable palm-trees standing on the shore at north. Near the beach is a rock, by the *French* call'd *la Baleine*, that is, the whale; which from a distance out at sea, looks like a floating cask, right against the abovemention'd palm-trees. Take heed of this rock.

Some call this *Punta d'Ali*, from the small cape to the westward, and perhaps the *Portuguese* might originally call it so; it might be also call'd *Porto d'Ali*, that is, *Port Ali*, and by the *French* corruptly *Portudale*: but this is not material.

Here the *French* factory pays duties to the king of *Ai*, to the *Alcaide*, the king's interpreter, and to his boatwain. The duty for the liberty of watering is generally four bars of iron. Besides they pay, the *Welcome*, as it is here call'd, to the *Alcaide*, to the *Forbe*, and to the interpreter; viz. to the *Alcaide* five bars, and three to the *Forbe*; besides the duty for anchorage, and that of the *Captain de Terre*, or commander ashore, and six bottles of brandy among them all, with some bread and fish. The duties paid

at

BARBOT. at parting, are eighteen bars of iron, and a red cloth cloak, among the said three officers. They also pay ten hides for every sloop's loading of any goods, and several other small fees to inferior officers of this port; and to the *Blacks* of the point and cademan, each a bottle of brandy.

In this town there are some *Portuguese*, *Mulattos*, and trading people. It is a great market for dry'd bullocks hides, which are much larger than those of *Rufisco*. Tobacco grows here wild without planting, the green leaves whereof the natives gather and chew with much satisfaction, tho' very harsh and coarse. The country round about is naturally very fertile, and were the *Blacks* more industrious, they might cultivate plenty of many sorts of plants. They have tamarinds, ananas, a fruit like dates, but smaller and very sweet, of which they make a sort of liquor, somewhat inferior to palm-wine; there are also *Siby* trees, *Naniples*, a sort of pear-plumb, *Nompatas*, *Tambalumbas*, cotton, oranges and lemons, of these two last but few; indigo, call'd there *Arvore de Tinto*, in *Portuguese*, dying trees, *Cacatoes*, &c. of all which more hereafter.

Close by this town is the pleasant delightful wood *Tapa*, the shade of whose lofty trees is very advantageous for affording the inhabitants shelter against the excessive heats of the scorching sun. There the *Portuguese* have a more peculiar abode.

There is great plenty of cattle all about this country, as well as at *Rufisco*; and particularly of kine, as appears by the hides, which are their main trade, whereof we shall have occasion to speak again.

PORTO NOVO,

THAT is, new haven, is three leagues beyond *Porto d'Ali* to the S.E. standing on a bay, but has nothing remarkable. About a league and a half beyond it again, the same way, is *Punta Serena*, right before which is a bank of sand two or three fathom under water: when you have brought *Cabo Mafo* to bear N.N.W. and *Punta Serena* E.S.E. you are upon this bank.

The coast between these two places is low, and all over woody, and the shore all along beset with small villages and hamlets of no note.

Some will have it, that departing from *Porto d'Ali* for *Juala*, there ought to be an offing kept of about three leagues and a half from the shore, to avoid some flats, which lie off the sea-coast; but it is well known there is four fathom of water upon those flats, and seven fathom in the channel, betwixt the shore and the said flats; and therefore others look upon this as a needless precaution.

Half a league to the southward of *Punta Serena*, is the point call'd *Punta Lugar*, in the way to *Juala*, or *Joalo*.

JUALA.

AN open town, seated on *Rio de la Gracia*, that is, *Grace-River*, which parts this petty kingdom of *Juala* from that of *Ali*, or *Ale*. Across the river's mouth is the bar, which remains dry at low ebb, and on it is a spring of fresh water. This bar renders the river not navigable for ships, but only such small craft as boats, or canoes; and even within the bar the river is shallow, having generally but four foot water. For this reason, great ships resorting hither, ride out in the open road, in five or six fathom water, at about half a league distance from the strand, and small vessels in two fathom and a half. The inhabitants of *Juala* generally carry passengers ashore in their pinaces or canoes.

About a league to the Northward of the town there are some flats, right against a white point of sand, by the *French* call'd *La Pointe Blanche*, or white point; but by the *Portuguese*, *Fazucho*; appearing somewhat higher than the rest of the land about it. On the south side of it, three leagues out at sea, are some shoals, call'd *Baixos de Domingos Ramos*; and about two leagues north-west from this, is a ridge of small rocks, lying under water, and by the *Portuguese* call'd *Baixo de Barbocim*.

On the south side of the town of *Juala*, runs another small river, supposed to proceed from that of *Borsalo*, which gives birth to another little river, call'd *Rio das Ostras*, or oyster river, from the great plenty of oysters found in it by the *Portuguese*. Near to the said oyster river, the *Portuguese* charts place the island *Barjoanique*, inhabited by *Blacks*, and it lies very close to the continent.

At this town of *Juala*, the *French* have a settled factory, and pay the following customs and duties to the king. Fifteen thousand of bugle, and eighteen knives, to the king, the *Alcaide*, the first and second *Gerafos*, the captain of the water and their boys. Four thousand ditto to the *Jagarafe*, and to the king's *Guyriot*, that is chanter, or rather buffoon, at coming ashore; and to other smaller officers, some acknowledgment in brandy or toys. The *Portuguese*, besides all these customs, used to give them some provisions.

There is a road made by land, betwixt this town and that of *Porto d'Ali*, running from village to village along the sea-side, as far as *Rufisco*, for the conveniency of travellers repairing to the markets.

Some

Borsalo
river.

Some leagues to the S E. of *Rio das Ostras*, the river *Borsalo* falls into the *Atlantic* ocean, in the midst of a bay, or bending in, the coast being about nine leagues from *Juala*. Some call this river *Bassangamas*, like the natives; it comes down above forty leagues E N E. up the inland, beset on each side with many villages, small hamlets, and scattering cottages. The tide runs up it ten or twelve leagues; and tho' it be somewhat flat and shallow in several parts near the mouth, yet ships of considerable burden may sail in, there being three or four fathom of water in the channel; but I never heard of any considerable trade drove there.

Brezalme
river.

Some leagues to the S E. of this river, is a smaller; by the *Blacks* call'd *Buzalmi*, and by the *French* *Brezalme*, which tho' forming a wide mouth to lose itself in the sea, is nevertheless not navigable, being choak'd up with many banks and sands; for which reason the natives pass in and out in canoes. Besides there is very little commerce, bating that the *Portuguese* there buy salt and provisions.

Povoação
de Branco.

The coasts from the river *Borsalo* to the *Gambia* are low and level, adorn'd with stately trees, but thinly peopled, as I suppose, for want of good rivers; for all the way between the river *Buzalmi* and *Punta da Barra*, at the mouth of the *Gambia*, there are only some inconsiderable ones, as *Rio da Sal*, or salt-river, and *Criké*, which lose themselves in the ocean among the *Berbecines* properly so call'd, who extend as far as the river *Borsalo*. Among them is a little colony of *Portuguese*, call'd *Povoação de Brancos*, signifying borough of whites, in *Portuguese*. This town is three leagues from the village of *Bar*, otherwise call'd *Annabair*, standing on the north point of *Gambia* river, where the king of *Bar* often resides, which I shall have occasion to mention more at large in another place.

This is all the account I could find to give of the maritime part of *Nigritia*, from *Cape Verde* to the river *Gambia*. I am now to show a sketch of the inland countries, and shall proceed as cautiously as I have done along the coast; returning, for the sake of good order to the river *Senega*.

Arab inhabitants.

The *Arabian Moors*, suppos'd by some to be of the tribe of the *Azoaghes*, inhabit that part of *Geneboa*, which borders on the north-side of the river *Senega*, as far as *Rio dos Maringuins*, that is, the river of gnats, which, as the natives inform us, comes down from the country of *Arguin*, far distant to the northward, and loses itself in the *Senega*. They suppose these *Arabs* extend eastward, up the inland, as far as the

other part of *Geneboa*, call'd *Azgar*, in BARBOT. their language, signifying marshy grounds, from the many morasses there are in it.

These *Arabs*, who are a meagre tawny people, or of a foot colour, have no certain place of abode, but wander up and down for the conveniency of finding pasture for their cattle, and in such places pitch their tents for a time; having neither lords nor princes to govern them, as their neighbours the *Blacks* have, but only such chiefs as they think fit to appoint for a time; one of which is *Ali-Fouke*, residing on the north-side of the *Senega*, of whom more will be said in its place.

Of the inland countries.

THIS kingdom has very much declin'd Kingdom of Senega. from what it was in former times, both as to extent of dominions and the number of people. The wars it has continually been engag'd in, have considerably contracted its limits; for the country of *Geneboa*, was once a dependance on it, and therefore in those days indifferently call'd *Geneboa* or *Senega*. At present, its greatest extent is about forty five, or fifty leagues, along the sea-coast, and but about fifteen in breadth up the inland, under the Government of the great *Brak*, king of the *Senega* negroes; *Brak* in the language of the country importing the sovereign, as *Cæsar* does the *Roman* emperor in *Europe*. Thus *Adonibezek* signify'd lord or king of *Bezek*, a nation subdu'd by the *Israelites*, immediately after the decease of *Joshua*, according to *Josephus*, lib. 5. c. 2. *Adoni* or *Adonai* in *Hebrew* signifying lord.

The dominions of *Cheyratick*, otherwise Kingdom of the Foules. call'd *Silatick*, king of the *Foules*, of which some mention has been made before, stretch out about three hundred leagues in compass, reckoning from the country of the *Fargots* in the east, on the river *Senega*, down about fifty leagues to the sea-coast westward; comprehending in this space, ten other territories and petty kingdoms, which are tributary to it, besides that of *Ali-Fouke*, before spoken of, over whom this king claims a superiority, and some others on the north side of the *Senega*. The town or city *Camelingua*, alias *Conde*, is reputed the metropolis of this little empire, standing above a hundred miles up the inland, eastward of the *Senega*.

The *Foules* may be properly divided Two nations of them. into two different nations, the eastern and the western, inhabiting from the eastern part of the *Gelofes* to *Camelingua*; and stretching from *Donkan* to *Bociet*, on the west to the lands of the *Gelofes*; and towards the south, to those of prince *Wolly*, and to part of the kingdom of *Borsalo*.

BARBOT.
Their king.

The natives reckon their king, the most potent prince in all those countries, as I shall show in another place. He has the character of being very courteous and civil to the *Europeans*; and has such regard for them, as not to suffer any of them to be wrong'd, or abus'd by his subjects. They affirm, he is able to bring forty or fifty thousand men into the field, upon occasion, without any difficulty, according to the method the *Blacks* use in raising their armies; their warlike expeditions being very short, for want of laying up stores, and erecting magazines to support them long.

Kingdom of
the Jalofes.

The kingdom of the *Gelofs*, or *Jalofes*, as has been already observ'd, extends near a hundred leagues eastward, and about sixty five, or seventy north and south, on both sides of the river *Borsalo*, from *Gamba* to the kingdom of *Senega*. *Marmol* calls these people *Cbelofes*.

As to the *Blacks* dwelling above the town of *Kayor*, among the western *Foules*, nothing can be said of them, but what is reported by some factors of the *French* company, viz. That beyond *Seratick*, or *Cberatick*, are the countries of the *Faregots*, or *Fargots*, and of *Engueland*, distant from their factory above three hundred leagues, up the river, with whom they have begun to settle commerce; the inhabitants no way differing from the other *Blacks* below the river *Senega*.

Of the roads by land.

Bad travelling.

THE *French* in *Senega* travel on camels, horses, or asses, in six days, from their factory on *St. Lewis's* island to *Kayor*, among the western *Foules*; but with abundance of toil and danger, most of the way being through vast thick forests, swarming with robbers and wild beasts, without any sort of lodging to repair to at night.

The road by land from *Rio Fresco*, or *Rufisco*, to *Byburt* on the *Senega*, tho' partly through woods and forests, is nothing near so bad as that which leads from the factory to the town of *Kayor*. This we here speak of is open, for departing from *Rufisco*, the roads run N.E. to the village *Beer*, about a league distant. From *Beer* to *Jandos* is two leagues farther, it belongs to a vassal of the king of *Juala*, and there are abundance of palm-trees. From *Jandos* it extends still three leagues northward, to a lake by the natives call'd *Eutan*, and by the *Portuguese* *Alagoas*; that is, lakes, being four leagues in length, and half a league in breadth, from which several little rivers run out, in the rainy season, and it abounds prodigiously in fish, tho' in summer it is almost dry. The bottom of the lake is all cover'd with a sort of small shells, by the natives call'd *Simbos*, much like those

Eutan a
great lake.

which the *Blacks* of *Angola* use instead of money.

From this lake the road runs N.E. to *Rule by Emduto*, a village, where they say, the *ancientest* family of the inhabitants has of course the government of the place, and there travellers generally lie at night. There the road turns off N.W. to a village, which is the usual residence of the priests, or *Marabouts*, of the country round about, by the *Blacks* call'd *Lychberins*.

From this village the road goes on eastward, to another village, call'd *Endir*, and from this again to that of *Sanyeng*, where formerly some *Portuguese* lived with their families, but are since remov'd to other places; yet have still there two large houses, with each of them before an extraordinary large calabash tree, in which the said *Portuguese* had ingeniously contriv'd a spacious summer-house, fram'd of the boughs, to divert themselves, during the heat of the day. Here is also a well, ten fathom deep, which supplies all the country about, with sweet fresh water, which tastes as luscious, as if it were temper'd with honey. The *Blacks* affirm, that the water of certain brooks, which are near by this place is pernicious to camels and dromedaries, and yet good and wholesome for all other creatures.

From *Sanyeng*, the road leads to *Mangar*, the residence of the king of *Kayor*, for some part of the year; and thence stretches on to *Emboul*, where the said king of *Kayor* has his chief *Seraglio*, being a spacious mansion, parted from the town by a palissado, or hedges of reeds, and the avenues to it planted on both sides with palm-trees, and a large plain before it, hemm'd in with trees, where the *Blacks* ride their horses. This *Seraglio* is the habitation of the king's principal wives, whom they call *Sogona*, and no man is allow'd to come nearer to it than a hundred paces.

From *Mangar*, the road holds on ten leagues to the village *Embar*, the residence of the next successor to the king of the country; and thence it proceeds to and ends at *Byburt*, a town on the river *Senega*, *Byburt* almost opposite to the island of *St. Lewis*. At this town of *Byburt* are the king's collectors for taxes and tolls.

It is to be observ'd, that besides the several places here mentioned in the account of the road from *Rufisco* or *Rio Fresco* to *Byburt*, there are many other small villages or hamlets, scatter'd along the sides of it.

Travellers are also to be inform'd, that the heat here is almost intolerable all the year about, only somewhat abating during the months of *November* and *December*; and that there is no stopping from morning till night,

night, unless it be some little time about noon under some trees, to eat of such provisions as they must of necessity carry along with them on little asses, which are dull heavy creatures, horses being scarce at *Rufisco*. However, the *French* agents ride a horseback, and their servants on those sorry asses without saddles, which is extraordinary uneasy. At night they lie at some village, where there is no accommodation, either for man or beast; most of the native *Blacks* living for the most part on roots, for want of corn, which is the common food in other places, these here being extraordinary lazy and miserable poor.

Wretched
houses.

Their little houses or huts are generally made of straw, yet some more commodious than others, built round, without any other door but a little hole like the mouth of an oven, through which they must creep on all four, to get in or out; and having no light but at that hole, and a constant smoaky fire continually being kept within, it is impossible for any but a *Black* to live within them, by reason of the excessive heat from the roof, and no less from the floor, being a dry burning sand. Their beds are made of several small sticks, plac'd at two finger's breadth distance from each other, and fastned together with ropes, the whole supported by short wooden forks set up at each corner. 'Tis not difficult to guess what easy sleeping there is like to be on such beds, tho' the better sort of them spread a mat over these bedsteads to lie on. The men of *Byburt* are so

Lazy men
and leud
women.

lazy, that they will do nothing; the women manage all, even their small trade, by which means they have the opportunity of being very leud and debauch'd with the *European* sailors.

Portu-
guese fort.

At this place of *Byburt* are still to be seen the ruins of a fort, which the *Portuguese* had almost finish'd in the year 1483, under the command of *Peter Vas d'Acunba Bisagudo*, sent hither expressly by king *John II.* of *Portugal*, with a fleet of twenty caravels, carrying men and materials to effect it with all speed. That king was induced to this undertaking by the pressing instances of one *Bemoy*, at that time king of the country,

who being successor to *Barbiram*, king of *BARBOT.* the *Gelafes*, and expell'd by an insurrection of his subjects, ran afoot from hence along the sea-coast, as far as *Arguin*, where he embark'd for *Portugal*, with some of his followers, to beg the assistance of that king, who receiv'd him affectionately, causing him and all his retinue to be converted and baptized with much pomp, and gave him the name of *John*, being himself godfather, and the queen godmother. This *Bemoy* return'd to his country with the aforesaid commodore *Acunba*, and being landed, proceeded to build the fort we have mentioned; but the place proving very unhealthy to *d'Acunba* and his men, who died apace, and the situation being bad, because of the strong current of the river, *d'Acunba* was so incens'd, fearing his king would appoint him governour of the new fort, which would make his life miserable, that in a rage he murder'd the unfortunate black king *Bemoy*, aboard his ship, and return'd with the rest of his men to *Lisbon*, leaving the fort half built. King *John* was highly offended at him, both for his disappointing the enterprise, and for the barbarous act of murdering his convert *Bemoy*; concerning which, see *Vasconcellos* in the life of that king.

The road we have spoken of, from *Rufisco* to the river *Senega*, was made for the conveniency of trading from *Goeree* to the island of *St. Lewis*, which by sea, is very tedious and uncertain, the *French* having found by frequent experience, that their ships or sloops often made it a voyage of a whole month, tho' the distance be but forty leagues by sea, along the coast, the winds and currents much obstructing it during the most part of the year.

There is also a road made from *Rufisco* to *Lambaye*, the capital of the kingdom of *Baool*, being twenty leagues distant from *Camina* to the eastward; and thence to *Sanguay*, three leagues farther N W. from *Lambaye*, where the king of that country resides. *Jamefil* is five leagues east of *Lambaye*, and *Borsalo* town twenty eight or thirty leagues farther still, on a branch of the river *Borsalo*.

CHAP. II.

A more particular account of the countries known by the names of Foulés and Jalofes, and the petty kingdoms lying towards the sea-coast; their nature, product, rivers, beasts, birds, fishes, trees, fruits, flowers, and insects; as also the climate, weather, and Tornado's or Travado's.

Disposition
of the coun-
try.

THIS country in some parts is hilly and mountainous, in others flat and level, with large plains and commons, intermix'd with salt-pits, large lakes, forests and rivers, and abundance of meadow-grounds almost every where.

The lakes and sea afford great plenty of several sorts of fish, especially about *Cabo Verde* and *Rufisco*.

The forests harbour prodigious numbers of elephants, especially wood-elephants, which

BARBOT. which here, as well as near *Gamboa*, feed together in herds, as the wild swine do in some *European* countries. There are also lions, leopards, tygers, rhinoceroses, camels, wild asses, wolfs, wild goats, stags, ounces, panthers, antelopes, fallow deer, wild rats, wild mules, bears, rabbits, and hares; but of these two last, the most about *Yaray* and *Banguisa*, two villages on the borders between *Kayor* and *Borsalo*. For cattle, there is an incredible multitude, much less in size than what *England* generally affords, which run about wild; but about the *Senega*, this sort of cattle is larger than in the other parts. Wild boars are also very numerous, their flesh much whiter, and not so well tasted as ours in *Europe*. The ounces are reckoned much fiercer, and more ravenous than the tygers, but at the same time more beautiful.

Here are also very many apes, monkeys, and baboons, but not so handsome or game-some as those of the coast of *Guinea*. There are also large porcupines, in *Barbary* call'd *Zaita*, and two sorts or species of very small tame goats, which the natives value very much for their flesh, and are to them instead of sheep. One sort of these animals has a beautiful shining black skin, highly esteem'd among the *Blacks*; the other sort has long hair about the neck. The flesh of the females is just tolerable, but that of the males is dry, naught, and scarce eatable, by reason of the strong suffocating scent, or rather stench always attending it.

I must again say somewhat more particular as to the oxen and cows already mention'd. The number of them must be almost infinite, if we consider the very many cargoes of dry hides in the hair, shipp'd off every year at *Senega*, *Goeree*, *Porto d'Ali*, and other parts, and the small price they are purchas'd at; a good ox or bullock yielding under two pieces of eight in *European* goods, and a large cow much less.

Herds of
cattel.

The king of *Baool* constantly keeps above 5000 of this sort of cattel; and every one of the better sort among the natives has a large herd, or drove, suitable to his rank and ability. This prodigious quantity of cattel runs in and about the woods, feeding in herds of 3 or 400 together, led by one single *Black*, who looks after, and drives them all back every evening into places palissaded, like a park fence. The cows are most mischievous, and will run at any person that comes near with any thing that is red, either in clothes, or the hands: their milk is very good and sweet.

Red deer,
rabbits,
and hares.

The stags and hinds have little short horns, bending towards the neck, like a ram's; the flesh of the first of them is extraordinary sweet and good; that of the hares and rabbits is much the same as in *England*.

There is also great plenty of fallow deer, and abundance of dogs, cats, and civet cats; besides several sorts of other animals unknown to us. One sort whereof, is remarkable, for that it has the body of a dog, and the hoofs of a deer, but larger, the snout A strange creature. much like that of a mole, and feeds on ants, or pismires; and, if we may believe the *Blacks*, digs as fast with that snout under ground, as a man can conveniently walk. I had one of them given me dead, which I have drawn exactly as here represented in the cut.

This country is also infested with several Serpents. sorts of venomous serpents, the worst of which is of a light-grey colour, which however does not offer to offend man, unless provok'd. These often lurk at night in the cottages of the *Blacks*, to watch for rats and mice, which they are very fond of. For these reasons, the natives have a great veneration for them, as believing that the souls of their kindred departed are transmigrated into them; and therefore they conclude, that whosoever offers to destroy them, deserves death. As soon as one of this sort of snakes has bit a *Black*, he presently repairs to the *Marabout*, or priest of Superstition. the place, to be cured, by his charms, and superstitions. If the *Marabout* happens to be from home, the person is nevertheless cured, by touching a piece of wood, that is always standing upright by the priest's house, for that purpose.

The *Blacks* farther pretend to say, they Flying have here seen a sort of wing'd, or flying Serpents. serpent, which uses to feed on cow's milk, sucking it at the dug, without hurting the beast. This sort of serpent they affirm, will stifle a man in a few minutes. Another sort they say is so monstrous big, as to swallow a buck, or a stag whole.

There is a prodigious number of extra-Lizards. ordinary large lizards, which are good to eat; and no fewer of the little sort, which make their nests in the huts and cottages, and are very troublesome to the *Blacks*, by running continually to and fro over their faces and bodies, as they lie asleep, in the night, and fouling on them.

Here is also abundance of several sorts of Birds. birds and fowl. One of the finest sort are the parrots, but more especially the par-Parrots. roquets, being no bigger than an *European* lark, some all over green, others with a grey head, the belly yellow, the wings green, the back, part yellow and part green, and a very long tail; but these seldom or never talk, though ever so well taught, having only a pretty sweet cry or tone. Another sort are of an ash-colour about the neck, and yellow or green about the body; and these do much mischief in the corn fields.

The

A Cabo Verdo Camel



An unknown Animal



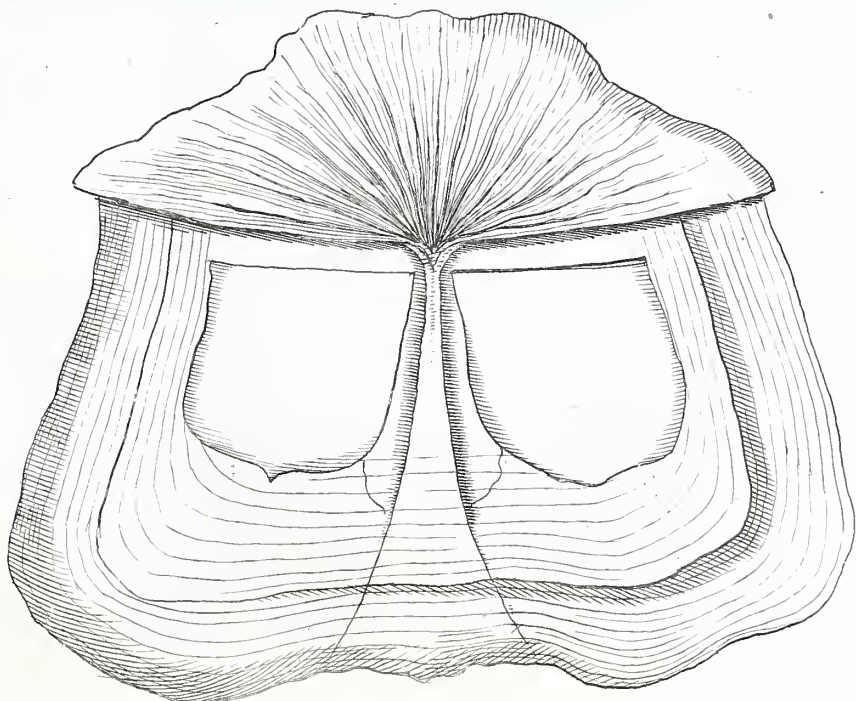
An Aygret



A Pintada Hen



One of the Scales of a Fish taken at Cabo Verdo drawn of Natural Bignes



Cocks and hens.

The poultry, both cocks and hens, are extraordinary small, and perch on the trees, like other birds; their flesh very sweet.

Pintadas.

The *Pintada* hens, which are also very small, have a delicious taste, especially the young ones. Their feathers are of a dark ash colour, all over full of small white specks, so regular and uniform, that they exceed many small birds in beauty. The cocks have a fine rising, or tuft on the crown, like a comb, of the colour of a dry walnut-shell, and very hard. They have a small red gill, on each side of the head, like ears, strutting out downwards; but the hens have none. They are so strong, that it is very hard to hold them, and very bold withal. They seldom have long tails, except those that fly much, when the tail is of use to them, serving as a rudder to help them in turning. Their beaks are thick and strong, their claws long and sharp: They feed on worms, and rake up the earth to come at them, or else on grasshoppers, which are very numerous. Their flesh is tender and sweet, in most of them white, yet some have it black, and are taken by dogs running them down, being kept sometimes 2 or 300 in a flock. They also thrive well aboard of ships, and live long; and if taken young, become as tame as our hens. As to shape, they much resemble a partridge, but are much larger.

These *Pintadas* perch on trees, as do also their partridges, which are generally of a larger size than ours in *England*, and differ from them in the colour of their feathers, some being white, and others black.

Wild Geese.

Here is also a sort of wild geese, somewhat differing in feathers from the *European*, and arm'd at each wing with a hard, sharp, horny substance, about two inches and a half long.

Teal.

Teal are pretty common and very delicious, especially the grey ones of the river *Senega*.

Doves, &c.

Nor is there less plenty of turtle-doves, which are choice meat, as are the wild pigeons, or ring-doves, which the woods swarm with; as they do with nightingals, much like ours in *Europe*, but do not sing so sweetly. In some places there are larks.

Eagles,

hawks, &c.

Eagles are very numerous; as are the storks; short-wing'd hawks; herons, white and black; vultures, whose skins are much valu'd by the *Blacks*; also falcons, woodcocks, wild ducks, and almost all sorts of birds known to us in *Europe*, whether wild or tame, besides others quite unknown to us; some of which are extraordinary beautiful to the eye, having curious red heads, necks and tails, and their tails mix'd with lively blue, yellow, and black. Others are

as green as an emerald all over, or of a *BARBOT*. fine yellow or blue, some of which I brought over into *Europe*.

The *Blacks* say they have, in some parts, ostriches of a prodigious magnitude, and some smaller, which they reckon rare meat, every part of their flesh having a different taste from the other. Their feathers are generally of a dark-grey. This creature is so generally known, that I think it superfluous to say much more of it; but only to undeceive the credulous, as touching an erroneous opinion which has long prevail'd among *Europeans*, and is, that the ostriches feed on and digest iron; the contrary being very well known, and may be sufficiently clear'd by this instance. The ambassadors of *Morocco*, *Fez* and *Sale* to the States-general of the united provinces, in the year 1659, among other rarities of those countries, brought over to *Holland*, as a present, an ostrich, which died at *Amsterdam* by greedily swallowing of iron-nails, which children threw to it, believing that creature had digested it like bread; for the ostrich being open'd when dead, above eighty nails were found entire in its stomach. Others have observ'd, that the ostriches do void the iron, or brass they have so greedily swallow'd, without the least diminution, and even that is scarce done without imminent danger of the creature's life, or at least making it very sick. Thus it appears, that this animal's devouring of iron or copper, does not proceed from a natural appetite for those metals, nor from the strength of its stomach to digest them; but from a voracious temper and stupidity, which makes it swallow things so prejudicial to its body.

Now and then there appear in these parts some dwarf-herons, which the *French* call *Aygrets*, being much like the other herons in shape, excepting the bill and legs, which are quite black, and all the feathers of a curious white.

I had one of these given me by a *Black*, who shot it in the woods; and from the wings and back of it I caus'd to be pick'd a sort of very long, small, round and hairy feathers, 12 or 15 inches long, which the *French* call *Aygrets*, as well as the bird, and are highly valu'd among the *Turks*, and other eastern nations. These I have by me to this day, as a very great rarity.

There is another bird, which has a crooked beak, with a black skin on the neck and head, but no feathers there, tho' it has on the body. Near the town of *Sandos* and the lake *Eutan*, they have a sort of iron-grey fowl, of the bigness of a swan, whose beak is round, and hooked, like that of a parrot, with white feathers under it. The bird call'd *Alcaviak*, is of the size of a peacock,

BABROT. cock, having a tuft of curious fine small feathers on the head, much like a coronet, spotted with white on each side of the head, and its feathers all over like velvet.

Bees. It is almost impossible to be exact in describing all the several sorts of insects in this country, and therefore shall pass over them the more slightly. The bees swarm in the woods, especially towards the river *Gambia*, where the *Blacks* make considerable advantage of their wax.

Ants, gnats, &c. The woods are also full of very large ants or pismires, and sundry sorts of gnats and flies, which are troublesome to travellers; as is a sort of insect, like a little crab, having a sting in the tail, like the scorpion, which obliges the *Blacks* to travel, for the most part, by night, through the forests with lights made of a bituminous fierce burning sort of wood they have among them.

Fish. As for fish, there is as great plenty, as much variety, and several sorts as large, as can be imagin'd, all along that coast; and particularly in the bay, by the *French* call'd, *la Baye de France*, or *French Bay*. I often sent out the pinnace there, with six hands, who in less than two hours, with our seane, caught so great a quantity of all sorts of fish, large, and very good, as would give 200 men a meal. Several sorts were the same we have in *England* and *France*, and others quite unknown to us.

Generally the fish is very large. I have seen scales 15 inches about, very fine and curious in their form.

Pilchards. Pilchards, though small, are very good, appearing in mighty shoals at certain times, on the surface of the water, about *Rufisco*, where the *Blacks* pretend to dry them, on the sandy downs, before their town, next the ocean, as I shall again observe.

Soles. The soles here are longer, and not so round as those in *France*. Mulletts are much of the same shape as with us; as are the turbotts, pikes, thornbacks, and monks of three or four sorts, one of which is all over full of round blue spots. The bream, crevices, and lobsters, differ much from ours in *Europe*. There are no oysters at all, but abundance of *jambles*, as large as the palm of a man's hand.

Strange fishes. The sorts of fish unknown in *Europe*, are the *pargues*, the *gold fish*, the *tunny*, the *racoas* in shape like a salmon, the *neger*, and the *sarde*, which the *Blacks* eat above any other fish.

There are also multitudes of vast great sharks, porpoises, or sea-hogs, souffleurs, by the *Dutch* call'd *nord-kapers*, and by the *English* *grampusses*, being a sort of whales, succets, and *spruntons*, or sword-fishes, having a long sharp-pointed bone sticking straight out

from their upper jaw; with which it is said they can strike through the planks of a ship, and make it leaky. The *espadon*, as the *French* call it, is also found in these seas, having a bone four foot long proceeding from its upper jaw, with other smaller bones crossing it at equal distance, with which it catches other fishes.

The pools, brooks, lakes, and other *Fresh-water fish* watery places in this country are also well stor'd with carps, crevices, and the fish they there call *Herke-bau*, much like a salmon.

The crocodiles, or alligators, are also *Alligators* pretty common, some of them accounted venomous, and others not; besides another sort, much like a serpent, and feeding on pismires.

The natural laziness of the natives in general, may perhaps be one reason of the great plenty of fish hereabouts, and its growing so large; because the *Blacks* do not use to go a fishing, unless they can find no game a hunting, or shooting.

The SOIL

IS a reddish burnt mould, mix'd with sand, yet very fertile in the low lands of *Senega* and *Gambia*, by reason those rivers overflow at certain seasons of the year; and proportionably in all other places, because of the moisture and coolness of the night, during the summer season: so that most *European* seeds thrive quickly, but none of our fruit-trees. However, the *Blacks* make little advantage of this natural goodness of their soil, being, as I have often observ'd, a very slothful people. *Maiz* or *Indian* wheat, and millet, the two sorts of grain they make most *Maiz and Millet* use of, would yield a mighty increase, and prevent the destructive famine they are often expos'd to, as shall be taken notice of elsewhere; our *European* corn will not answer well, the heat being too violent, and the ground too moist.

Rice would grow with ease in the low *Rice* lands, if the people were more industrious; but they have little or none, unless it is at *Cabo Verde*, alledging they do not love that sort of grain.

Ignames and potatoes are common enough, *Roots* besides several other sorts of roots, which the natives value very much, tho' some of them are very insipid. They usually dry and keep them till they have occasion. There is also a particular sort, call'd *Gernot*, which tastes like a hazle-nut.

The little white pease of *Kayor*, and the *Pease and beans* white and red beans, are tolerable enough to eat.

The *Maniguette* or *Guinea* pepper might *Pepper* be well improved here; but the natives do not regard it, so that there are only some bushes

bushes of it to be seen here and there about *Cabo Verde*.

Water-melons. Water-melons abound every where, but nothing so sweet and pleasant as in *Portugal*, their juice being very insipid. At *Goeree* they cultivate a small sort of melons not much bigger than an ordinary egg, which when quite ripe turns perfectly red.

Papayas. The *Papayas*, which taste like coleflowers, grow on a small tree, with large leaves, about the bigness of a small melon, but not many of them on one tree. These are a good refreshment to sailors, as are the pom-pions of the country, but these very small and crabbed.

Pompions. The pine-apple or *Anana* is plentiful about *Senega*, but scarce at *Cabo Verde*. Here is abundance of *Dandelion* growing wild towards the sea-coast, but extremely bitter; as also every where great plenty of large field-purslain, and wild sharp sorrel, call'd *Guinea* sorrel, accounted very wholesome, being preserved in a pickle of salt and vinegar. It grows like a small bush, with a little prickly stalk, the leaves short and broad.

Herbs. I once found at *Goeree*, a sort of plant, which has the scent both of thyme and marjoram.

I shall have occasion in the course of this description to speak of the palm-wine, by the *Blacks* call'd *Miguolu*, whereof there is great plenty, as also of the palm-oil, much used by the natives to several purposes; and will therefore forbear in this place giving any farther account of the several sorts of palm-trees of which they are made. Only it may be here observed, that there are abundance of palm-trees in this country, especially about *Rufisco*, which are a great ornament, and do much set off their landskips; but there are no coco-trees at all.

TREES and FRUITS.

Trees. AS for wild trees, I took notice of none like what we have in *Europe*, or that the natives made any other advantage of them but for fuel. I have seen some there of an immense magnitude, the trunks being so big about, that several men together could not fathom them. If I may believe some of the *French* factory, they have seen such as twenty men could not fathom. Most certain it is, that I saw myself the trunk of a tree, lying on the ground at the cape, near *Goeree*, which was sixty foot about, and in it a hollow or cavity, big enough to contain twenty men standing close together; and I farther observed, that there were several sorts of odd figures of men and beasts, which appear'd such at a distance, form'd by nature itself on the bark.

These large trees have a soft tender bark; the leaves are much like those of the walnut-tree, four or five growing close together in

a cluster. They run up in a few years to an amazing bulk and loftiness in low fat grounds. BARBOT.

There is another sort of tree in the forests, on which a kind of small birds, no bigger than sparrows, make fast their hanging nests to the ends of the boughs; so that on one of these trees there are often above an hundred of the said hanging nests, very curiously and artificially twisted and wrought by those little creatures to preserve their young ones from the serpents, as the *Blacks* pretend; but I rather believe from the apes and monkeys, which are in great multitudes on the trees, leaping and skipping from one branch to another, and feeding on a certain fruit very common in the woods, resembling a gourd, but somewhat longer. The *Blacks* therefore call this the ape-tree; of which I shall say more in my remarks upon the river *Sestro*. The Ape-tree.

Among the eatable fruits hereabouts, I took notice of one, in shape like a small plumb, which the natives make much use of, extracting from it a sharpish liquor; serving them instead of palm-wine, where this is scarce to be had. Liquor.

The country has but few orange-trees; but there is more plenty of small crab lemons, especially in the lands of the *Foules*, about *Camelingue*. Oranges and lemons.

In the agent's garden at *Goeree*, I saw some plants of the *Palma-Christi*, of which a medicinal oil is made. He told me, it was of that sort of *Kikajon* or gourd-tree, which cover'd *Jonas's* hut when he sat down before the great city of *Nineveh*. Palma Christi.

The *Portuguese* in this country make much use of the fruit *Kola*, resembling a large chestnut, in the rainy and winter seasons; of which more hereafter. Kolafruit.

Here is great plenty of a small fruit like dates, whereof they make a sort of wine, call'd *Sbonkon*, which is not so pleasant as the true palm-wine. Of the same is made a sort of oil, serving for several uses; as is also done of the wine-palm-trees, producing a small sort of nuts, which afford the *Punic* oil, having a scent almost like violets, and tasting like olives, of a yellow saffron colour. This sort of palm-tree they call *Sijby*, and put a great value upon the wine made of it. I never saw any right coco-trees in these parts, and believe none grow here, as at the islands in the bight of *Guinea*.

The *Kakaton* is reckoned very cooling, has a thin skin or peel of a dark green, but is crabbed and fourish; as is another sort of fruit here call'd *Naniples*, in shape like an acron, full of juice, the peel yellow and smooth. The *Blacks* use it in fevers, mixing the juice with water, which is very refreshing. Kakaton fruit. Naniples.

The *Nompatas* are about the bigness of a chestnut, green without, very luscious, growing Nompatas.

BARBOT. growing on a sort of tall tree, and heats the blood.

Banale. The *Banale* is a red fruit, shaped like a peach, as sweet as honey. There is also a sort of white mulberry-trees and tamarinds.

Tambakumba. The *Tambakumba* is about as big as a pigeon's egg, of a very disagreeable taste, and extraordinary hot.

Diabolos. The fruit *Diabolos* is a sort of hazle-nut, which tastes like almonds. Another species of trees bear a fruit like small pears.

Cotton. Cotton-trees are pretty common. The *Blacks* spin and weave the cotton, making narrow cloths of it, some for their own use, and a vast quantity to sell to the *Europeans*, who drive a considerable trade of them all along the coast of *Guinea*, especially the *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Dutch*; but the *French* very seldom, as having no settlements any where on the coast of *South-Guinea*, but only at *Fida*.

Banana. The *Banana* trees are very plentiful, the fruit whereof is by the *Spaniards* call'd *Adam's-Apple*; for what reason I know not, but shall say more of it hereafter.

Indigo. The *Tinto* is a bush about three foot high, from whose leaves they extract a sort of indigo, to dye their cloths or clouts of a dark blue, as shall be more particularly observed in another place.

Grass and hay. The meadows and pasture-grounds produce great plenty of grass to feed their cattle and horses, which are very numerous; but the hay made of it proves very tough and dry, by reason of the violent heat.

Flowers. The fields and woods are adorned with several sorts of wild flowers, of an indifferent beauty, and quite different from any we have either in *France* or *England*. I took notice of one particular sort among the many other, for its beautiful crimson colour, and its resembling the flower, by the *French* call'd *Belle de nuit*, or the night-flower; but the *Blacks* take no manner of delight in flowers.

Physical herbs. The physical herbs used by the *Blacks* in their diseases, are of sundry sorts, but altogether unknown to *Europeans*, and quite differing from ours in shape. They wonder at us for eating of herbs and salads, and say we do like the cattle and horses.

ROCK-SALT.

THE bottom of the river *Senega*, between *Byburi* and the island of *St. Lewis*, is all covered, where there is two foot water, with a crust or bank of rock-salt, which the *Blacks* dig out in pieces or lumps, with large iron-hooks. This salt, as soon as dry'd in the air, turns white, and is indifferently well favour'd. The men who work at it say, that as fast as they dig it out, the hole fills up again; as when a hole is cut in ice, the water soon freezes and shuts it up again.

Trade of salt. This salt is conveyed all over the country, upon camels, for the account of the king

of *Kayor*; and a camel's load of it is here valued at a *Cabo Verde* cloth or clout, or else a basket of millet.

The great lumps of rock-salt are broke into small pieces, and packed up in leathern bags of an equal competent weight, so as two of them make a camel's load. The *Dutch* formerly used to carry some of this rock-salt into *Holland*. Tho' the king here makes all the advantage of the trade for salt, he is at no charge for digging of it; but the buyer is to defray it.

This country produces no gold, nor any other metal, or mineral, that I could hear of.

Of the AIR or CLIMATE.

IT is in the main very unhealthy, especially near the rivers and marshy grounds, and in woody places; but most of all to white men, particularly in *July*, *August*, and *September*, which is the rainy season; for from *September* to *June*, the heats are almost intolerable, and produce many fatal distempers in the *Europeans*, who reside here on the account of trade. However, I am of opinion, that their intemperance is more prejudicial to them, than the air itself; for it is most certain, that very many of them are guilty of much excess in palm-wine and women: yet it is no less true, that the very air of the country occasions malignant fevers, which frequently carry off a lusty man in twenty-four hours; but if he can withstand the first fury of it, there is great likelihood of his recovering.

The natives themselves are not sometimes exempted from such distempers; but are often known to languish under them, if not immediately snatch'd away by those violent fevers. They are very subject to consumptions, convulsions, and palsies, of which at last they die.

Another disease, as bad as the fever, if not worse, is that occasion'd by the worms this malignant air breeds in the flesh of men, as well *Blacks* as *Europeans*; some of which worms are four or five foot long: but the *Blacks* are most afflicted with them, which may be attributed to their usual bad diet, and debauchery of all sorts. Intending to say more of this disease of worms, when I come to treat of the gold-coast of *Guinea*, I shall be the shorter in this place, and only add, that men are here plagued with a sort of hand-worms, which in the *Caribbee* islands in *America*, are call'd *Chiques*, and work themselves into the soles of the feet and the heels, becoming the more troublesome and insupportable, in that they are not to be rooted out, if they have once time given them to lay their eggs there. But of these also more shall be said in the supplement, when I come to the description of *Martinico*.

The TORNADOES

ARE sometimes so violent in the winter, that in a short time they overturn, not only single cottages, but whole hamlets. Where the ground is such, these whirlwinds will raise the sands, and throw them all over the country, choaking up the villages and dwellings with them, which is a mighty annoyance to the natives.

Summer season.

In the summer season, which begins in October, and ends in May, the weather is pretty good and dry, the air calm, serene, and clear, and the nights cool and sweet, at which time it seldom rains for a fortnight together; but scarce one day passes without thunder.

ELYSIAN-FIELDS.

THE prospect of the country is always pleasant, being perpetually green and shaded; for as one leaf falls, another shoots out: and this perhaps might be the reason why the antients placed their *Elysian-Fields* here; and the more, for that the sea, along this coast, is calm and smooth, during the summer season, and therefore they call'd it *Peaceable*; besides that the shore is a very fine white sand, on which the ocean beats with a gentle motion and little noise.

The winter.

Yet we cannot but say that those poets erred grossly in judgment, when they placed their *Elysian-Fields* in this country: for tho' it be pleasant enough to behold this country in the summer season; the winter, and prodigious rains, falling like an inundation, render it an habitation of horror and uneasiness; for then most people are close confined to their poor little cottages, in a very tiresome and melancholy condition. Besides, that either by reason of the unseasonableness of the weather, or the natural slothfulness of the people, they are often afflicted with grievous famines, which sweep away great numbers of them. The famine which happen'd there in the year 1681, which was a little before my arrival at *Goeree*, destroyed many thousands of inhabitants of the continent, and many sold themselves for slaves, only to get a subsistence; as formerly the seven years famine in *Egypt*, obliged the *Egyptians* and *Canaanites*, after parting with all their money, cattle, and lands, to sell themselves for slaves to *Pharaoh* and *Joseph*. And in the days of

Famine.

Description of the Blacks.

The BLACKS, IN general, are well proportion'd handsome men, of stature tall, stait, and lusty, active and nimble, and of a perfect

Nebemiah, the Jews were forced by a dearth to sell their sons and daughters for corn to subsist themselves, whereof they complain'd loudly to that great man, *Nebem.* chap. v. Yet was I told, that this famine in 1681, was nothing to compare to what they had before in 1641 and 1642. However, my coming so opportunely as I did at that time to *Goeree*, sav'd the lives of many, both *Whites* and *Blacks* then in our forts, most of whom look'd like perfect skeletons, especially the poor slaves in the great booth or house without: for the ships sent by the agent to the islands of *Cabo Verde*, for provisions, did not return till a long time after my departure; the passage thither, tho' not very distant, being commonly extraordinary tedious, on account of the great compass they must fetch to the southward, to meet the trade-winds to carry them thither.

Locusts.

These famines are also occasioned some years, by the dreadful swarms of grasshoppers or locusts, which come from the eastward, and spread all over the country in such prodigious multitudes, that they darken the very air, passing over head like mighty clouds. They leave nothing that is green wheresoever they come, either on the ground or trees, and fly so swift from place to place, that whole provinces are devoured in a very short time. Thus it may be rightly affirm'd, that the dreadful storms of hail, wind, and such like judgments from heaven, are nothing to compare to this, which when it happens, there is no question to be made but that multitudes of the natives must starve, having no neighbouring countries to supply them with corn, because those round about are no better husbands than themselves, and are no less liable to the same calamities.

At other times, if the locusts have not done before, immense swarms of small birds, and of ants and pismires, will do such mischief to their fields, that no less a dearth must ensue.

I know not whether there be any veins of gold in this country; but it is certain that metal is scarce to be seen in it, and what little there is at any time, is brought from the inland country, towards the *Niger*. The stones here are generally of a dark brown colour, or quite black, and very hard and ponderous.

CHAP. III.

Of the Blacks, their constitution, language, apparel, houses or cottages, their employments or professions; their wars, weapons, and manner of fighting; their tillage and lands.

The BLACKS,

black, far exceeding those of the *Gold Coast*, or of *Ardra*. Their noses flattish, their lips big, their teeth well-set, and as white as ivory; their hair either curled, or long and lank;

BARBOT. lank; their skin of a smooth shining black, except those that live on the north side of the *Senega* river, who are a sort of tawny blacks.

Their disposition. They are genteel and courteous in their way, of a vigorous strong constitution, but leud and lazy to excess, which may perhaps proceed from the fertility of their climate, affording them all that is necessary for their support without much labour: and for this reason, they are not reckoned so proper for working in the *American* plantations, as are those of the *Gold Coast*, of *Ardra* and *Angola*; but the cleanliest and fittest for household-servants, being very handy and intelligent at any thing of that kind they are put to, and will wash themselves all over three times a day.

Their vices. They are generally extremely sensual, knavish, revengeful, impudent, lyars, impertinent, gluttonous, extravagant in their expressions, and giving ill language; luxurious beyond expression, and so intemperate, that they drink brandy as if it were water; deceitful in their dealings with the *Europeans*, and no less with their own neighbours, even to selling of one another for slaves, if they have an opportunity; and, as has been hinted before, so very lazy, that rather than work for their living, they will rob and commit murders on the highways, and in the woods and desarts, and more particularly those of *Yaray*: so that, besides the want of convenient roads, it is very dangerous travelling in that country.

Sorcery. Tho' not asham'd of this base way of living, which keeps them wretchedly poor most part of their life, yet are they proud and ambitious of praise. There is generally among them a great propensity to sorcery, or divination by lots, especially among their priests, who exercise that deceitful art upon snakes or serpents, pretending to have a power to make those horrid creatures fly before them, or obey their commands, as they please. *Walla-Silla*, a former king of *Juala*, was reckoned the greatest forcerer and poisoner in the country; insomuch, that upon some extraordinary occasions, they tell us, he could, by the power of his magick, bring all his forces together in a moment, though ever so far dispers'd and scatter'd.

Cunning thieves. The *Yaray Blacks* above-mention'd, are so dexterous and expert at stealing, that they will rob an *European* before his face, without being perceiv'd by him, drawing what they fix their mind upon away with one foot, and taking it up behind. In short, the ancient *Lacedemonians* might have learnt of them the art of pilfering and stealing, considering how expert these people are at it. Nor are they less perfidious to the *Blacks* of the inland countries, who come down to

trade at the factories; for under colour of helping them to carry their goods, or of serving as interpreters, they will steal one half of what they have.

Those of *Juala* and *Porto d'Ali* are as great knaves as any, in this particular.

The *Camina Blacks* are reputed the best Good soldiers. soldiers in the country, being of a steady resolute temper, by which they have maintain'd their liberty between the two neighbouring kings, who have often attempted to reduce them by force of arms, but without success.

The WOMEN

AR E very well shaped, tall, lusty, strait, active, and of a very bright black colour, extreme wanton, and of pleasing countenances; their temper hot and lascivious, making no scruple to prostitute themselves to the *Europeans* for a very slender profit, so great is their inclination to white men; which often occasions mighty quarrels with their husbands.

The LANGUAGE

IS generally that of *Zungay*, used also in Motions in *Gualata*, much like that of the *Azuages*, speaking. *Moors*, which they utter in a very precipitate manner; shaking the head, and stretching out the neck, or shortning of it, as they deliver their words, most of which do terminate in *a*.

Marmol. lib. I. cap. 33. speaking of the language of the *Africans*, takes notice of three sorts, call'd *Chilba*, *Tamazegt*, and *Zenetie*, and used in his time; which however denote almost the same thing, though the true *Bereberes*, or *Chilobes*, that is, the antient *Africans*, dispers'd throughout all *Africa*, differ from others in the pronunciation, and signification of many words. Those who are near neighbours to the *Arabs*, inhabiting a great part of *Africa* ever since the year of our Lord 653, and who have The several lan- most conversation with them, intermix abundance of words of the language *Abimalic*, guages.

the most noble dialect used among the *Arabs*, with their natural *African* tongue; as the *Arabs*, on the other hand, make use of abundance of *African* words. The *Gomeres* and *Hoares*, who live among the mountains of the little *Atlas*, and all the inhabitants of the towns on the coast of *Barbary*, lying between the great *Atlas* and the sea, speak a sort of corrupt *Arabick*; but in *Marocco*, and all the provinces of that empire, as likewise among the *Numidians* and *Getulians*, lying to the east-ward, they use the pure *African* language, call'd *Chilba*, and *Tamazegt*; which names are very antient. The other more eastern *Africans*, call'd *Bereberes*, bordering on the kingdom of *Tunis*, and from *Tripoli de Barbaria* to the desarts of *Barca*,

Barca, generally speak a corrupt, or broken *Arabick*; as do those who inhabit the countries from the great *Atlas* to the ocean, whether they have settled dwellings or not, and most of the *Azuages*, though their principal language be the *Zenetien*. Thus we see there are few in *Africa* who speak the natural pure *Arabick*; yet in their authentick writings they all make use of the language *Abimalic*, and for the most part they write and read it all over *Barbary*, *Numidia* and *Lybia*.

Those two languages are mixt among the *Blacks*; for the provinces which lie near the *Senegues*, and other *Mabometan Arabs*, have abundance of *Arabick* and *African* words. In *Goloffe*, the country I am now describing; *Geneboa*, or *Geneoua*, of which I shall give a short account in the supplement; *Tombut*, *Meli*, *Gago* and *Ganase*, they use the *Zungay* language; in *Gubercano*, *Quesena*, *Perzegreg* and *Guangra*, they speak the *Guber* dialect; in *Borna* and *Goaga* a third idiom is used much like the former; and in *Nubia*, a fourth, which participates of the *Arabick*, *Chaldaick* and *Egyptian*. All these provinces border on the *Niger*. In others more to the southward, they again speak several sorts of languages and dialects, the chief whereof are the *Zinguenian* and the *Abyssine*. In other parts again, they rather seem to whistle than to talk; but all languages, which are so strange to us *Europeans*, sound more like whistling than talking.

When the *Mabometan Arabs* conquer'd *Egypt*, the *Egyptians* took to their language, and after that again to the *Turkish*, which they use as the courtly dialect. Only those who still continue christians have preserv'd the natural *Egyptian* tongue, the only one before its conquest used in that nation; though in some parts of it a little mixt with *Arabick*, and *Abyssinian*, and every where with much of the *Hebrew*.

This digression I hope may be acceptable to the reader, as giving a reasonable idea of the many different languages and dialects, in use among several nations of *Blacks* I am to treat of.

The APPAREL

The better sort.
Shirt.
Breeches.
OF the prime men, is a sort of shirt, or frock of striped cotton of several colours; as yellow, blue, white, black, &c. Some of these are plaited about the neck, others plain, having only a hole, or slit for the head to pass through, and reach from the neck to the knees with large open sleeves. Under this shirt they wear a thick cloth, made up after the fashion of long wide breeches, by them call'd *Jouba*, as is worn by the *Arabs*, much resembling a woman's petticoat, plaited and tied round at the bottom; and is very inconvenient, as

much obstructing the motion of the legs, *BARBOT.*
because of the wideness and the thickness of the cloth it is made of. This sort of breeches is most used in the winter, for in the summer they wear only a single shirt of old linen, with a little cap made of leather, or ozier, streight at the head, but wide above like a large frier's hood.

The common sort of both sexes generally wear nothing but a short cotton clout, *The common sort.* or some linen rags, to cover their nakedness. Others have only a leather girdle, to which is made fast a small narrow clout round the body, with an end hanging out behind. Others again join several cloths or clouts, two or three fathom in length, which they wrap about their shoulders, and under the arms, and leave the two ends hanging before and behind down to their heels, like a long cloak, which they look upon as an honourable dress. To conclude, others go stark naked, especially the younger sort.

Women and girls wear only a single *Women.* piece of cloth or clout about their waist, and another over their heads, in the nature of a veil. Their hair is either platted or twisted, and adorn'd with some few trinkets of gold, coral, or glass. Some there are, who wear a sort of coif, standing up five or six inches above their head, which they think a fine fashion.

The gentry wear sandals, consisting of *Sandals.* only a piece of leather, cut out to the shape of the sole of the foot, and fastned with leather straps. About their necks, arms, waist and legs abundance of *Grigri*, or other baubles, neatly twisted or plaited with some pieces of coral, glass beads, and *Cauris*. The *Grigri* are little square leather, or cloth bags, *Grigri.* in which are enclos'd some folded pieces of written paper, in a sort of *Arabick* characters, made by their *Lyncherines*, or *Marabouts*, being in the nature of spells; whereof I shall give a more ample account hereafter, because of the great esteem those people generally have for them.

MARRIAGES.

THO' the *Alcoran* of *Mahomet*, which *Polygamy.* some of the *Blacks* pretend to follow, allows every man but four wives, at most; yet very many here will marry as many as they can maintain, because they can turn them away again upon any slight complaint, whensoever they disagree.

Some there are who fancy marrying none but virgins; others, on the contrary, will take none to wife but such as have given proof of their not being barren. He who marries a virgin, causes a white sheet to be *Of virgins.* laid on the bed of mats, on which they are to consummate the marriage; and if it appears stain'd after the consummation, he concludes

BARBOT. concludes her to have come to him a virgin, and carries the sheet in publick thro' the village, attended by some *Guiriots*, who sing aloud the praises of the woman, and the happiness of the man. If no blood appears on the cloth, the father of the woman, who had warranted her a maid, must take her home to him again, and restore the bridegroom what oxen, slaves, or other goods he had given him for his daughter. Almost the same is generally practis'd throughout the empire of *Morocco*, and the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Suz*; with this difference at *Morocco*, that in case the bride is not found a virgin, the bridegroom strips her of the nuptial ornaments, turns her out of his bed-chamber, without seeing her face, and sends her home to her father; tho' the law of *Mabonet* allows to strangle her, if he will take the rigor of it. This practice seems to have been among the *Jews*, by the 22d chap. of *Deuteronomy*, ver. 15.

Form of wedding.

There are very few formalities used at the wedding, which is good and valid, by the consent of the two contractors before some witnesses, together with a little feasting, after their way, and presenting the parents of the bride, with some oxen, or a horse, a calf, or a sheep. However, some parents will portion their daughter with something or other, as a slave, two or three, or with oxen, according to their ability; all which the bridegroom is to restore, in case he thinks fit afterwards to put away his wife.

Jealousy.

The men are for the most part extraordinary jealous of their wives. If they surprize them in adultery, the husband will kill the adulterer if he can, and be divorc'd from his wife. Yet are they not so incens'd if the wife is debauch'd by an *European*; but, on the contrary, are generally very inclinable to persuade either their wives or daughters, to prostitute themselves to *Europeans*, provided there may be something got by it.

Leudness.

The *Black* women being naturally extraordinary lascivious, and their husbands so sordidly covetous as to encourage them in such prostitution; and on the other hand, most of the *Europeans*, who live in those parts, being a loose sort of people; it is easy to guess what a scene of leudness and debauchery is continually acting there, for the greater number of our *Europeans* maintain three or four women, as if they were marry'd to them: and this it is that occasions so many distempers as they often languish under, till death puts an end to all.

Wives and concubines.

The kings, and other men of note, have usually more wives than the common sort, some keeping 30 at the same time, besides perhaps as many concubines, which are

kept in a lower degree than the wives; for the husband must lie at night with one of these, or more if he pleases, and reserves the concubines to divert him in the day.

These women do not live all together with the husband, whether king, or other great man, but are dispers'd up and down the country, in villages where they keep their cattle; that so he may have the company of some of them, wherefoever his business or pleasure calls him.

One among the king's wives is generally chief above the rest, whom he puts the greatest value upon; but if his mind alters, and he grows weary of her, she is sent away to some other place, with such slaves as particularly belong to her, and is allow'd certain lands, which are till'd for her maintenance; and then he chuses another chief wife out of his *seraglio*.

BIRTH of CHILDREN.

THE *Black* women being, as has been said, of a robust constitution, bring forth their children with very little pain, especially the common sort of them; who, as soon as deliver'd, carry the infant themselves to the next river, or other water, and wash it. This done, they wrap it up in a piece of blanket, or cloth, and tie it to their back with a cloth made fast under the armpits, leaving the child's legs hanging out under their arms; and thus go up and down from one place to another, or do the business of the house. At night, they lay the infant by them on a mat, or cloth, for they know nothing of cradles, or clouts. I have admir'd the quietness of the poor babes, so carry'd about at their mothers backs, or tossed as they are at any hard labour in the house; and how freely they suck the breasts, which are always full of milk, over their mother's shoulders, and sleep soundly in that odd posture.

Nursing.

In the morning, the mother washes the infant with fresh water, and rubs it with palm-oil, and constantly suckles it till able to go, and then turns it loose to play and move about as it thinks fit, very little regarding what becomes of it, though always very careful and tender when suckling. It is pleasant enough sometimes to see a parcel of such little boys and girls, stark naked, playing together, and creeping on all four about the village, or in the market-places, with each of them a small net, made of the bark of a tree, about their neck, full of *Grigri*, that is, charms, which they fancy preserve them from mischances, as shall be farther shown hereafter.

The wives of the better sort of men being put to no such hard labour as the meaner, it has been observed, that their children have not generally such flat noses as the others; whence

Flat noses, why.

whence it may be inferr'd that the noses of these poor infants are flatten'd by being so long carried about on their mother's backs, because they must be continually beating on them, when the motion of their arms or bodies is any thing violent; especially when they are beating or pounding their millet every morning, which is the constant task of the women of inferior rank.

Time of keeping from their wives.

It is the custom of the Blacks not to lie with a woman, from the time she appears to be quick with child, till she is deliver'd and the child wean'd, believing it would be the death of the infant; and this I suppose to be the more regularly practis'd, because of the number of wives and concubines they have of their own; besides their daily running astray among those of their neighbours, notwithstanding the great danger they run in so doing: such is their natural inclination to venerly!

Naming of children.

The only ceremony they observe in giving names to their children, is to invite five or six persons, to be as it were witnesses of the said name impos'd. The names for boys are commonly *Omer*, *Guiab*, *Maliel*, *Dimby*, &c. and for girls, *Alimata*, *Fatimata*, *Comba*, *Comegain*, *Warsel*, *Hengay*, &c. most of which are *Mahometan* names, used by the followers of the *Alcoran*.

Their HOUSES

Manner of building.

ARE commonly built roundlike pavilions, made of large twisted dry reeds, close bound together, enclos'd with walls five or six foot high, of a red glutinous clay. Each house consists of five or six such rooms or combets, as they call them, standing together within the same inclosure. The tops are thatch'd with twisted straw of *Indian* wheat or millet, done very artificially, and so as to be proof against any weather. Each of these combets or rooms is design'd for a peculiar use, as a storehouse, a kitchen, a bed-chamber, &c. all joining to one another, with proper passages for communication.

Foules the best builders.

The *Foules* are the most curious builders of these combets or hutts among all the Blacks, making them the most solid and neat, of a white glutinous clay, mix'd with ox's hair. Their roofs are also of a better sort, and more durable.

Hutts of straw.

In some places along the road, which leads from *Rio Fresco* or *Rufisco* to *Byburt*, the combets are for the most part made of straw, with a little door like the mouth of an oven, through which they must creep in or out on all four, as has been mentioned before. It is plain that these people took this way of building from the *Arabs* their neighbours, as you will readily conclude, from what I shall say hereafter of that na-

tion's *Adouars* or barracks, as they have imitated them in many other particulars, viz. in their eating, habit, ceremonies, &c. which the reader may compare as they occur in their proper places.

There are no fortify'd or wall'd towns, in the country of the *Falofes*, but only abundance of large wretched villages and hamlets, consisting of two or three hundred round combets or cottages, built almost in a heap or cluster, leaving only little narrow passages or ways betwixt them, with some plantane-trees to each mansion; so that it is very troublesome walking through those narrow crooked alleys in the rainy season, the water running down from the tops of the houses on the people, as they pass along.

Rio Fresco or *Rufisco* is such a town, open on all sides, looking at a distance like a camp, as appears in the cut.

In the country of the *Foules*, where there are abundance of lions and tygers, the villages are within an enclosure made of *Bur-Reeds*, to secure them from those ravenous creatures, who would otherwise be very troublesome to them.

The town of *Camelinga* or *Conde*, the residence of the kings of that name, is much bigger than *Rufisco*, nor does it differ in form, being all of a heap.

That of *Kayor* contains about three hundred houses, besides the king's mansion or palace, which differs not from all the rest, in any other particular, but that it is much larger, and has a constant guard kept about it; as also that there are some combets or hovels built with clap-boards, or small trunks of trees join'd close together, about eighteen or twenty foot high, and the tops covered with reeds twisted; but the doors are very low and narrow. Just before the first enclosure of this palace is a spacious field, to manage the king's horses, tho' they are not many in number. Without, by the side of the palace, are the combets of the persons of note; and from it runs a large avenue, planted with calabash or gourd-trees. On the sides of this avenue are the houses of the king's officers, rang'd in such order, that those of the prime officers are nearest to the palace. Within it there are several other enclosures to pass through, before we come to the king's own combets or apartment; but very few dare go so far in, without special leave.

The king's wives have each of them their several combets within the palace, with five or six slaves a-piece to wait on them.

The Blacks in general have little or no furniture or household stuff in their houses; and in reality, nothing is to be seen there but pots, nets, shovels, axes, kettles, bowls, weapons, and mats, none of them using beds, tables, or chairs; and therefore the

BARBOT. mats are for them to lie or sit on. The better fort have their mats on an *Estrado*, which is only an end of the room raised a little, perhaps three or four inches above the rest of the floor. There they spread fine mats, and some a sheet to lie on at night, without any other pillow or boulder for their heads, but their own arm, or a small piece of wood or stone; nor any blankets to cover them. Thus we read that *Jacob* took his rest at night, when he was travelling to *Padan Aran*, *Genesis* c. 28. v. 11.

Their PROFESSIONS and EMPLOYMENTS.

THO' I have already in general represented them as very lazy and slothful, yet there are some more industrious than others. Of these, one part addict themselves to military employments, and follow the wars, which is the most honourable profession; others to husbandry, the next in esteem; others are blacksmiths; others potters; others builders, weavers, &c. near the sea many are fishermen; some take to spinning, and others to dressing of leather. Many are bred to look after cattle and horses; some to follow the business of brokers about the country, for the benefit of trade; others are shoemakers, saddlers, or *Grigri*-makers, that is, conjurers to impose upon the superstitious multitude. To all these professions the fathers bring up their sons; and the mothers teach their daughters from their tender years, to spin cotton, and to weave cloths of it, or else mats of straw or rushes. When these girls are grown up, they must help their mothers in their household affairs, *viz.* to clean the corn or millet, to pound rice, to bake bread, to fetch water from the brooks, springs or rivers, to dress their meat, and particularly to keep a fire all the night in the combets, where the family lies all together in a round, with their feet stretch'd out to the fire, which they reckon extraordinary wholesome, pretending, that the heat of the fire draws out all the moisture they gather during the whole day, because for the most part they go bare-foot. None but themselves are able to endure the close confinement to such a narrow place, with such an intolerable heat and smoke as comes from the fire, which keeps them in a continual sweat; but use is a second nature.

Their WEAPONS and ARMIES, HORSES and FURNITURE.

THEY have the art of making several sorts of weapons, each nation having some peculiar to itself.

The *Faloses* use bows and poison'd arrows, made of a reed, the wounds whereof are mortal, if not seer'd immediately with a red-

hot iron; but if they penetrate deep into the body, it is scarce possible to draw them out, because of the intolerable pain it causes, the heads of the arrows being bearded, which tear the flesh in a miserable manner.

The bows are made of a cane or reed, *Bows.* resembling the bamboes of the *East-Indies*, and the string of the bow is also another sort of reed, very curiously cut and fitted to that use. These people are so dextrous at their bows and arrows, that they will hit a mark, no larger than a crown-piece, at fifty yards distance. The quiver is made to hold fifty of these poison'd arrows.

Besides the bow and arrows, they use a *Swords.* sort of crooked sword, much like a *Turkish* scymiter, the scabbard whereof is all covered with a thin-copper plate. Another weapon is a very sharp-pointed spear, between the *Spears.* size of a pike and a pertuisan, which they handle very dextrously. In war they carry a large round buckler or target, made of *Targets.* the skin of a beast they call a *Dansa*, like a little cow, being extraordinary hard. Others are made of ox-hides. Besides all this, they carry an *Affagaia* or javelin, and two small darts, which they call *Syncheria*; each of *Darts.* which is fastened to a long string or cord by the middle of the staff, which serves to recover and bring them back, when they have darted at any person or thing, at which they are extraordinary active and dextrous.

The *Affagaia* or javelin, is a sort of long *Affagaia's.* and heavy dart, the head whereof is arm'd with four large points, and several hooks, so that the wounds it makes must be desperate. They can dart them and hit at a great distance, and very seldom go abroad without one in their hand.

Besides all these, some of them wear a *Great Moorish* knife, about half a yard long, and *knife.* two inches broad in the blade; all which weapons are so ordered about them in war, that their arms and hands are at liberty to handle them effectually and fight resolutely.

Their armies are compos'd of horse and *Horse and* foot. The troopers generally have all the *foot.* afore said weapons; the foot, a bow and quiver, a javelin, and an *European* cutiace. They commonly buy horses of the *Moors* of *Geneboa* their neighbours, which tho' small, are extraordinary mettlesome, like those of *Horses.* *Barbary*. Some of them cost ten or twelve slaves a-piece, or about an hundred pounds sterling. One *Catherine* of *Russico*, of whom I shall speak hereafter, had a horse when I was there, which she valu'd at fourteen slaves, and afterwards presented him to the king of *Kayor*.

They ride their horses wonderful swift. I *Riding.* once saw the old *Conde*, viceroy of *Kayor*, then seventy years of age, riding a little *Barbary* horse on the strand, near the cape, as fast as possibly his legs could carry him, darting

darting his *Affagaia* a good way before him, and catching it again with the same hand; or if it happened to fall to the ground, he would take it up dextrously, without losing his stirrups, or abating of his speed. I have been told of some troopers, who can ride full speed, standing upright on the saddle, and turn about, or sit down and stand up again, or leap down from the saddle, only keeping one hand upon it, and mount again in the same manner. Others on a full speed will take up from the ground, a small stone thrown at them in their career, with many other surprizing feats of activity.

If we may believe the *Blacks*, they enchant, or bewitch their horses, just at the time of engaging, to render them the bolder and swifter.

Bridles and spurs. Their bridles are commonly sent from *Europe*; but some of them are of their own making, much like the *English* bits. The spurs are wrought out of the same piece of iron as the stirrop, for they ride barefooted themselves, and never shoe their horses.

Saddles. They are good artists at making of saddles, and curious in embroidering them with worked of several colours, after their fashion; adorning them at the same time with abundance of *Grigri* or charms, and *Cauris* or shells; they are in the nature of our pad-saddles.

Camels. The great *Brak* maintains about three thousand horse; because he can purchase horses of the *Moors*, at a much cheaper rate than the *Jalofes*, who are at a great distance from them, and therefore have few or none to serve in the war; but their foot are very good, and some ride on camels, whereof there is plenty in their country.

Provisions. Some of their soldiers have fire-arms, which they handle pretty well, as do also the *Moors* of *Gensboa*; and will shoot well at a mark, from a great distance. When the soldiers go to war, every one carries a little bag, about twelve inches long, full of provisions, as *Cuscous*, which is made of flower, and the like; for they have no magazines provided abroad to subsist their armies.

Drum. It is a great honour and advantage to carry the king's drum, which they call *Lomlambe*.

Short stirrups. The troopers ride very short in their stirrups, with their knees raised up, after the *Turkish* manner.

No discipline. The armies of these people are rather numerous than good. They observe no order, or martial discipline, whether they march in an enemy's country, or give battel, which is always done in some open plain. The *Guiriots* make a mighty noise with their drums, and other instruments, as soon as they are within an arrow's flight of the enemy, which is done to embolden them. The foot let fly their arrows, the horse cast their

darts, and then handle the *Affagaia's* or *BARBOT.* spears, and thus fighting without any order; and the combatants being almost all over naked, there ensues a mighty slaughter on both sides: for they are generally of an undaunted courage, and abhor cowardise, which is infamous among them. But that which chiefly animates them, is the dread they have *Prisoners of war made slaves.* of being made slaves, that being the fate of all prisoners of war; from which the best men are not exempted, when it falls to their lot to be taken. Another encouragement they have, is, the confidence they place in their *Grigri* or charms, which, as I shall observe hereafter, they firmly believe will preserve them from all manner of evils, and gain them all sorts of advantages; especially in their engagements with the other *Black* nations: for as to the actions they are concern'd in against *Europeans*, who use musquets, and not arrows, they are fully convinced that no *Grigri* can divert the effect of our fire-arms, which they call *Pouff*.

The kings of *Juala* and of *Baool* have been *Juala and Baool at war.* long at war among themselves, about the limits of their dominions, which has destroyed great numbers of their subjects, without coming to any amicable accommodation, the king of *Baool* being still unreasonable in his demands.

It is reported of the king of *Baool*, that when he holds a council to deliberate about making war upon some other prince, it is done in some close wood, the nearest to his residence. There he causes a hole, about three foot deep to be dug, about which his privy-counsellors sit, with their heads bowing towards the bottom of it; and when the council is dismiss'd, the whole is fill'd up again, to denote, that they are to keep the resolutions taken there very secret, as if they were buried; which if they do not, they are look'd upon as guilty of high-treason. The counsellors in this point are so just and discreet, that their resolutions are never known but by the execution.

HUSBANDRY.

THE kings being absolute lords of all *All land the king's.* the lands, as in the *Turkish* dominions, every private person is obliged to make application to them, or their *Alcaldes*, in places remote from him, to mark out the portion of land he is to till and sow for the support of his family. When this is granted, according to the number of persons in the family, the head of it takes along with him four or five others, and sets fire to the weeds and bushes that are upon the said land or field, which they call *Cougan* or *Cougar*. After the fire has clear'd it, they till, or dig *Manner of tilling.* the ground, with an iron tool, made in the shape of a shoemaker's-knife, fix'd at the end of a small staff, about twelve foot long; Others

BARBOT. Others makes use of a sort of round iron spade or shovel, having a wooden handle. With these tools they dig up the earth, not above four inches in depth, and turn up the mould, with the ashes of the reeds they have burnt, and so let it lie for some days. During the time the work lasts, they are never without a pipe in their mouth, and continually talking to one another; so that they do not advance much in a day, being very averse to hard labour.

Sowing. The proper time for sowing, is about the end of *June*, when the rains decline. To sow millet, they make little holes, kneeling with one knee on the ground, into which they put three or four grains together, as

we do with pease in *England*. Others draw little strait furrows, into which they throw the millet, and cover it with a little mould; but the first way is the most common, because the corn being so bury'd deep, is the better preserved from the hungry small birds, whereof there are here incredible numbers, and often pick up the corn, just as it begins to shoot out above the ground, which is more easily done out of the furrows.

The seed-time is also a time of feasting one another, much after the manner of the *Blacks* on the gold-coast, to which I refer the reader. Such is the fertility of the soil, that their harvest for millet is in *September*.

C H A P. IV.

An account of the grain, call'd millet; how they gather and keep it. Of the mechanicks, as weavers, potters, fishermen, blacksmiths, and saddlers. Of trade in general; of the French trade; of the customs due to the king, and his officers; of the goods purchased by the French, and the European commodities they exchange for them; of the proper markets held for trade. Of the particular trade of the French company along the banks of the river Senega, and whence the Blacks fetch the commodities they sell to the Whites.

MILLET.

Shape of the grain. THE soil being so extraordinary fertile, as has been said, the millet very soon sprouts out, in a strait reed, with many leaves; bringing forth, in less than two months, ears of twelve inches in length, looking at a distance much like the heads of bull-rushes. The grain is rather longish than round, much like the coriander-seed.

How preserved. Whilst the ears are growing up to maturity, they cause the *Cougan* or field to be guarded by their boys and girls, or slaves, to drive away the mighty swarms of small birds, which, as has been observed, do pester the country, and without that care would devour all the grain; as also to prevent its being stolen.

Harvest. When the harvest-time is come, they cut the corn with an iron tool, like a little bill, or hook, call'd *Sarpe*, which is sold them by the *French*. Then they let it lie a month on the ground to dry, and then bind it up in sheaves, and so house it under hutts made for that purpose, or else lay it up in stacks, which they cover with straw or reed, to keep it dry; enclosing the stacks with thorns or boughs of palm-trees, to prevent its being peck'd by their hens and poultry, which are very numerous.

Tithe the king's. When they are to use it, the threshing is in the same manner as is practised in *England* for wheat; after paying the tithe to the king, or his collectors, for the ground-rent. Those who have more millet than will serve their family, may sell it to whom they please; but this seldom happens, for no care being sufficient to prevent the birds making waste

in their fields, or the thieves from stealing, and they being themselves naturally careless and lazy at harvest-time, it very often happens that what harvest they have got in, falls short to maintain them the year about: so that they are forced to feed on some sorts of insipid black roots, which they dry for the better keeping of them. One of these sorts is call'd *Gernot*.

Their sloth and negligence in looking well after their corn, sometimes occasions a famine among them, as has been observ'd before. Yet besides the millet, they sow *Maiz* or *Indian* wheat; as also rice in some places: but the quantity is very inconsiderable, notwithstanding it was plentiful among them in former times.

Before I enter upon their mechanicks, I must take notice, that the *Blacks* about the river *Gambia* and *Senega*, and *Cabo Verde*, are nice shooters and hunters; tho' most of them use only bows and arrows, with which they dexterously kill stags, hares, *Pintada* hens, partridges, and any other sort of game. Those who live far up the inland, are not so expert at this exercise, nor do they so much delight in it.

The WEAVERS

ARE the most numerous among the mechanicks, and would make very good cloth had they large looms; but they wholly apply themselves to weaving of a narrow, thick, striped cotton-cloth, seven or eight fingers broad, and about two ells and a half long, in small portable looms, made for that purpose. They afterwards stitch together

together six, seven, or eight of those narrow slips to make a cloth or *Panbo*, as they have learned to call it from the *Portuguese*.

Women spin and dye.

The women and their daughters dress the cotton, then spin and dye it in indigo, for their striped cloths. This colour is extracted from the juicy leaves of a bush they call *Tinto*, somewhat resembling wall-rue. They gather these leaves early in the morning, before the dew of the night falls off, and then bruise or pound them in large deep wooden mortars. When sufficiently beaten, they make rolls or balls of the mafs so bruised together, as big as their fists, and expose them to the sun for some days to dry. Then they pound it again, and put it into a pot, which has a hole in the bottom, and is fill'd up with a quantity of ashes made of the wood of the same tree, and this set within another pot. Then for some time they pour clear spring water over the ashes, which by degrees penetrates quite through into the under pot; and this being repeated, as often as is thought requisite, they set the under pot for ten days in the sun, which thickens the liquor in it, like cream, the top whereof they take off gently, and with it dye as with indigo. The gross matter that remains in the pot, they throw away.

Blue dye.

Another sort.

Some say, they make another blue of *forrel-roots*, boiled with the white sap of the *Tinto tree*.

Vulgar error.

It is to be observ'd, that, tho' all the cloths barter'd in this part of *Nigritia* or the country of the *Blacks*, are by most *Europeans* call'd *Cabo Verde* cloths, that is an improper denomination, they being wove in several places, all about the country, from *Cabo Verde* to *Gambia* river, and sold at different and distant markets.

The POTTERS

Utenfils made of clay.

PREPARE their clay much after the same manner as ours do; but their clay is much better, as are their moulds, or else they bake, or burn it longer in their kilns or ovens: for their pots will boil fish or flesh much quicker than any of ours upon an equal fire, and are not so apt to break or crack. They make no other utenfils of their clay but pots, pipkins, jars, of several sizes, and tobacco-pipe heads or bowls.

The pots serve them instead of kettles to boil fish or flesh, and to keep their palm-wine and oil; and the jars to keep their drinking water: for they make no dishes or platters of earthen-ware; but only large wooden bowls to wash their hands in, or cleanse themselves. The tobacco-pipe heads they make of that clay, are pretty big; into which they stick a longer, or a shorter wooden pipe, as every one fancies, and so smoke their tobacco.

VOL. V.

The FISHERMEN

BARBOT.

ARE indifferent numerous at *Rufisco* or *Rio Fresco*, and other places along the coast, and the *Senega* river. Those who ply fishing in the sea, go out sometimes three hands in an *Almadie* or canoe, carrying two small masts, with each of them two little sails, and sometimes three, in imitation of great ships, with main-sails, top-sails, and top-gallant-sails. In these canoes they will launch three, four, and five leagues to sea, if the weather be not very boisterous.

Their boats.

They generally set out in the morning with the land-breeze, and having done their fishery, return at noon with the sea-breeze: or if the wind fails them, and it proves very calm, they row for it, with a sort of short, pointed, flat shovels, one on each side; and that so swiftly, that the best pinnace, tho' ever so well mann'd, will find it a hard task to overtake them.

How they row.

These *Almadies* or canoes are generally about thirty foot long, and eighteen or twenty inches broad, all of one entire piece, being the hollow'd trunk of a large soft tree, and will carry ten or twelve men, but are very subject to overfet when the water is rough, or they crowd too much sail; which is no great trouble to them, for the *Blacks* are such expert and able swimmers, that they soon set them upright again, tho' out at sea; then lade out the water, and slipping in nimbly, perform their little voyage.

Almadies or canoes.

I shall have occasion in the sequel of this description of *Guinea*, and the *Lower Etbio-opia*, to give a farther account of these canoes used by the *Blacks* whether great or small, and the manner of making them all of one piece of timber; and therefore at present will only add some few remarks, concerning this sort of vessels, and shew that they have been an invention of a very antient date, and common to almost all nations of the known world, who being under a necessity of crossing over rivers or lakes, before the building either of ships or boats was found out, first bound together reeds or canes, by which they made a shift to waft themselves over. Others made rafts or floats of wood, and others devised the boat, made of one entire tree, and call'd a canoe; which was used by the *Gauls* upon the river *Rhosne*, when they assisted *Hannibal* in passing over his army upon his expedition into *Italy*, as *Livy* observes. *Polydor Virgil* assigns the invention of canoes to the *Germans*, inhabiting about the *Danube*; and this sort of hollow trees *St. Isidore* calls *Carabes*.

Antiquity of canoes.

The *Britons* had boats made of willow-twigs, and covered on the outside with bullocks hides, as had also the *Venetians*. The *Germans* had the same, and in *St. Isidore's* days

Boats of twigs and hides.

BARBOT. days committed many robberies in them.

Most certain it is, that the *Indians* of *America* had no communication with any of these nations, and yet from *Forbisher's* streights to the streights of *Magellan*, says Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his discourse of the invention of shipping, p. 6. those boats, that is, the canoes, are found, and in some parts of such a length, that he has seen some carrying 20 oars on a side; which I have seen also myself in *Guiana*, about *Cayenne*, and are by the *Indians* there call'd *Piraguas*: and no fewer are daily seen along the gold and the slave coasts of *Guinea*, as will appear in the progress of this work. All nations, how remote soever, being rational creatures, and having the same strength of imagination, have invented the same things for necessary use, according to the means and materials nature furnishes them with; and it is likely that all the nations of *Africa* had the same notions as those in other parts of the universe to prompt them to find out the making of the canoes they use; of which more hereafter.

They fish for the most part with hooks and lines, or else with a sort of harping-irons, and some with nets of their own contriving; which, as well as the lines, are made of the hairy bark of a tree, spun into thread. Some also fish in the night, holding in one hand a long burning piece of a combustible sort of wood, which gives a good light, and in the other a harping-iron, with which they strike the fish, as they naturally come swimming about the light, upon the surface of the water. Others there are, who shoot at the fish, with arrows, and seldom or never miss.

The sea hereabout abounding very much in several sorts of fish, both large and small, and particularly an immense quantity of little ones like pilchards, it is rare that they ever fail of taking as much as they care for. If they happen to spy any very great fish, which does not use to bite at the bait, they are so dexterous at the harping-iron, as very seldom to fail of striking it, and then tow it ashore with a line made fast to the stern of the canoe.

It is very unaccountable that these people, having such plenty of several sorts of large fish, will not dress it whilst fresh and sweet; but let it lie buried in the sand, along the shore; especially the pilchards, as I suppose, to give it a better relish, or else that it may keep the longer. In short, whether this be any particular fancy of theirs, or that the continual violent heat immediately corrupts it, this is certain, that they eat none but what stinks, and account it the greater dainty. To instance somewhat more particularly as to pilchards, they only let them lie some days buried in the wet briny sand along the shore, and perhaps it may be on account of

its saltness; but afterwards dig up and expose them to the sun for some time, to dry; and thus lay them up in their huts, which are all the day like stoves: and thus they daily eat and sell them to the inland *Blacks*, who come down to buy them, to supply the country-markets. I have seen whole cabbins, or cottages, full of these dry pilchards at *Ruffisco*; and the sandy downs before it next the sea so stored, that there was an intolerable stench about the place.

They rip open the large fish, much as we do our cod, and so cover it with the salt sand, to prevent its corrupting; for the heat is there so violent and scorching, that it is impossible to keep any fish whatsoever sweet, above five or six hours.

The BLACKSMITHS

HAVE no particular house or shop to set up their forge, but work any where under some large green tree, two or three of them together, with each of them a pipe of tobacco in his mouth, and commonly either stand on the side of the forge, or sit prating by it, so that very little work is done in a day. The forge is but indifferent for contrivance; the bellows ingenious enough, either between two boards, or some only of skins, which they press with their hands, like a blown bladder. The anvil is small, and so oddly set on the ground, that at every five or six strokes of the hammer, it sinks, and they must raise it again, which takes up the best part of their time. They use but one sort of hammer, and have the art of making charcoal, of which they burn very little at a time in the forge.

They have no grindstones, properly so call'd, to turn with a wheel or otherwise, but whet or sharpen their tools on such large stones as they find about, or with little ones, much as is used by the mowers in *England* to their scythes. The iron bars they have from the factories, and can make knives, shackles for slaves, gold and silver bracelets, and others of brass and iron; knife-hafts, hilts for their cutlaces, cases for their *Grigri's* or charms, and sheaths and scabbards. Their horses being never shod, there are no farriers.

The SADLERS

WORK indifferent neatly, and make saddles of all sizes, scabbards, bridles, sandals, shields, *Grigri's*, quivers, and other small things for their use.

Those who look after the cattle, drive 'em in the morning to the pasture grounds, where they wander till towards night, when they drive 'em back to their enclosures of reeds or thorns, to secure them from the ravenous wild beasts; as is the ancient practice of both eastern and western *Arabs*.

Of

Of TRADE in general.

Season for trading. THIS is the employment of some of those who dwell near the sea, and trade with the factories, and generally they are the chiefest among the Blacks. The proper season is from *October* till *May*; for the rest of the year they must lie still at home, because of the continual rains and fowl weather, it being then impracticable to travel either by land or sea, without very great hardship and danger.

Inland trade. Besides the trade with the *Europeans* along the coast, they have some traffick up the inland, and proper settled markets, but very inconsiderable, except only that of *Camina*; for the most they carry to them is a little cotton, callico, cloth of their own weaving, corn, beans, gourds, palm-wine, little spades or shovels, and some pieces of iron half a foot long, cut off the bars. However, at some times there are things of greater value, as gold rings and ear-rings, which they call *Dougaret*, but the whole not worth thirty pounds sterling.

Barter, what goods. They barter or exchange one commodity for another, as not having the use of coin or money. Thus for iron bars, bugles, little glass baubles, and other things bought at the *French* factories, they purchase elephants teeth, dry or green bullocks hides, calves, goats, and deer-skins, bees-wax, civet, ambergris, salt, gold-duft, ostrich and herons feathers, tobacco, gum arabick, cloths, millet, cattle, provisions, &c.

Markets. The market of *Camina*, as has been said, is pretty considerable at some times for dry and green hides, the country cloths, and all sorts of such provisions as those parts afford; but the best green hides and slaves are to be had at *Rufisco* and *Porto d'Ali*, and in greater plenty. At *Jamesil* and *Geroep* markets there are country cloths, tobacco, slaves, horses, camels, and other sorts of cattle. The market of *Jamesil* is kept every other fourth day, which they call *Gambayar*, and there is the *Mia-garanda* or collector of the king of *Baool*, who receives his customs and other duties.

Cattle and hides. The people about *Cabo Verde* trade most in cattle they fetch from a great way up the inland, buying them there in the markets, and then fattening in their own pasture grounds; but most of the bullocks hides come from the inland, where they kill oxen only for the hides, which they dry, and carry them to the *French* factories, at *Senega*, *Goeree* and *Camina*; and to the *English* at *Gambia*.

Of the FRENCH TRADE in particular.

The Senega company. THE *French* company has at present the sole trade from *Senega* river to *Juala*, and even as far as the river *Gambia*, both by sea and land, under the denomination of the

Senega company, and enjoys it to the exclusion, not only of any other *European* nation, but of all the other subjects of *France*, as their charter does express; and by the treaty the said company has made with the kings of the country, for which privilege it is liable to certain customs, duties, and fees to those black princes and their officers, as shall be farther shown hereafter.

This *Senega* company has there two principal places of some strength to secure its commerce and servants, being the residences of their chief agents, the one in the island of *St. Lewis*, near the mouth of the said river; the other at *Goeree* before mention'd. These are the general storehouses or magazines for the goods they carry to trade with the *Blacks*, and those they purchase of them in exchange; but that of *Senega* is the chiefest.

They have also several small factories along the coast, as at *Rufisco*, *Camina*, *Juala*, *Gamboa*, &c. which the *French* call *Comptoirs* or *Loges*; all of them supply'd from the aforesaid two of *Senega* and *Goeree*. Their trade along the river *Senega* is manag'd by sloopes they send up that river at certain proper seasons of the year, as I shall shew at large in another place.

The CUSTOMS,

WHICH the *Senega* company pays to the black kings, and fees to their officers, are of two sorts, inward and outward. The inward duties at *Senega* river amount to 10 per cent. of goods in season or out of season, as they call them. Those for exportation are reckoned thus, one bar of iron for a slave, a hundred hides in the thousand, besides some petty fees to the *Alcaldes*, *Gerasos*, captains of wood and water, which amount to 3 per cent. and are troublesome enough to discharge, being paid at several times and places, and in sundry sorts of goods, which would be too tedious particularly to mention here; but as an instance, at *Boubancourt*, besides the great duty to the king, they pay to *Camelingué* the viceroy of the *Foules*, the custom which is call'd *The gift of the Gerasos*; another *Le bon jour de Sillatic*, or good morrow to *Sillatic*; another *Le bon jour de Camelingué*; another again, *La coutume de Parmier*, or the king's wife's custom; as also *Le bon jour de Parmier*; and lastly *L'adieu de Sillatic*.

It is to be observ'd that when the *French* pay these customs, they receive from the viceroy, the king's wife, the *Jagarafe*, and *Camelingué's* wife, from each one bullock.

In 1677, the company was oblig'd, besides the great customs to king *Damel*, to pay several smaller to the *Alcaide*, to *Biram-Sangué*, to *Goyongo*, to the receiver, to the master of the wood, to *Jam-Barre*, to the master

BARBOT. master of the oyster-shells, to his steward, and the *Bon jour* to *Damel*.

The great Bark.

To the great *Brak*, besides his customs, that of *Cosma*, call'd *Dous*, to the beef-driver, to *Mantel*, to the *Alcaide*, to *Mustafa*, to *Guyaudin*, to *Mambroze*, and another his fellow-servant. There is another due paid to *Brak*, call'd the custom for the river of the *Portuguese*, during the season; and another for the same river, called the custom out of season. The former paid to one *du Brieu* and his *Jagarase*; the other equal to it, to *Bretique*, the *Marabout* of *Sadem* on that river; to *Dites-moy* master of the village, to see the hides convey'd safe from those two places; as also another to *Bourguiolof* on the same account. This *Bourguiolof* is the chief of a certain territory; then to *Brifeche* and his *Jaragase*; but he is to give a bullock in return. There is besides, the custom due to *Sambamala* chief of the village *le Terroir Rouge*, and to his wife. This custom is only two cloths of *Saba* and *Batan*, and she returns a bullock. Another duty is to be discharg'd to one *Guerigalage*, chief in the river *Amorsil*.

At Rufisco.

The customs at *Rufisco* are due to the *Alcaide*, his servant, the *Bosmain* and his man; to *Biram* the *Alcaide's* son; to the great interpreter and his man; the *Gerafo* or collector and his man; to captain *Corde*, to *Tagour* in the room of *David Doché*, and to *Dom Alix*. Another fee is due to the *Alcaide* when he comes aboard a ship, and to the great interpreter. This costs fifty bottles of mix'd brandy, besides some meat, and to each mess of the *Frippons*, or common scoundrel blacks, one bottle of brandy, a dish of cod-fish, and a ration of biscuit. For the guard of the little island and anchorage, four bars of iron and two bottles of brandy. The customs at *Porto d'Ali* and *Juala* have been already mentioned in their respective places.

Rates of goods at Senega.

For the conveniency of trade between the *French* at the *Senega* and the natives, all *European* goods are reduc'd to a certain standard, viz. hides, bars, and slaves; for the better understanding whereof, I here give some instances. One bar of iron is reckoned worth eight hides; one cutlace the same; one cluster of bugle, weighing four pounds and a quarter, three hides; one bunch of false pearls, twenty hides; one bunch of *Gallet*, four hides; one hog'shead of brandy, from a hundred and fifty to an hundred and sixty hides. Bugles are the very small glass beads, mostly made at *Venice*, and sold in strings and clusters.

At Goeree.

At *Goeree* the same goods bear not quite so good a rate; as for example, a hog'shead of brandy brings but an hundred and forty hides; one pound of gunpowder, two hides; one piece of eight, five hides; one ounce of co-

ral, seven or eight hides; one ounce of crystal, one hide; an ounce of yellow amber, two hides.

A slave costs from twelve to fourteen bars *slaves* of iron, and sometimes sixteen; at *Porto d'Ali*, eighteen or twenty; and much more at *Gamboa*; according to the number of *European* ships, *French*, *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Dutch*, which happen to be there at the same time. The bar of iron is rated at six hides.

Before I proceed upon the matter in hand, I cannot but take notice of the custom which has prevail'd in this country, and all others in *Guinea*, *Ethiopia*, and the *East-Indies*; and is, that no person can be well admitted to the audience of any prince, or even to their inferior officers, without making way by a present. A certain author tells us, these are the means taught by nature to gain favour and affection. The same that is now in use all over *Africa*, was formerly, and is still practis'd among the eastern nations, and as much among the *Jews* as any other.

GOODS for TRADE.

BESIDES those mentioned above, which are *European* the most staple commodities, the *French* *commodities* import common red, blue, and scarlet cloth, silver and brass rings, or bracelets, chains, little bells, false crystal, ordinary and coarse hats; *Dutch* pointed knives, pewter dishes, silk sashes, with false gold and silver fringes; blue serges; *French* paper, steels to strike fire; *English* sayes; *Roan* linnen, salamporis, platillies, blue callicoës, taffaties, chints, *Cawris* or shells, by the *French* called *Bouges*, coarse north red cords called *Bure*, lines, shoes, fustian, red worsted caps, worsted fringe of all colours, worsted of all colours in skeins, basons of several sizes, brass kettles, yellow amber, maccatons, that is, beads of two sorts, pieces of eight of the old stamp, some silver pieces of 28 sols value, either plain or gilt; *Dutch* cutlaces, strait and bow'd, clouts, galet, martofdes, two other sorts of beads, of which the *Blacks* make necklaces for women, white sugar, musket balls, iron nails, shot, white and red frize, looking-glasses in gilt and plain frames, cloves, cinnamon, scissors, needles, coarse thread of sundry colours, but chiefly red, yellow, and white, copper bars of a pound weight, ferrit; mens shirts, coarse and fine, some of them with bone-lace about the neck, breast and sleeves; *Haerlem* cloths; *Coafveld* linnen; *Dutch* mugs, white and blue; *Leyden* rugs, or blankets; *Spanish* leather shoes, brass trumpets, round padlocks, glass bottles, with a tin rim at the mouth, empty trunks, or chests, and a sort of bugle called *Pezant*; but above all, as was said above, great quantities of brandy, and iron in bars. Particularly at *Goeree*, the company imports ten thousand or more every

every year, of those which are made in the province of *Brittany*, all short and thin, which is called in *London* narrow flat iron, or half flat iron of *Sweden*; but each bar shortned, or cut off at one end to about 16 or 18 inches, so that about eighty of these bars weigh a ton, or twenty hundred weight *English*. It is to be observ'd, that such voyage-iron, as called in *London*, is the only sort and size used throughout all *Nigritia*, *Guinea*, and *West-Ethiopia*, in the way of trade. Lastly, a good quantity of *Coignac* brandy, both in hogsheds and rundlets, single and double, the double being eight, the single four gallons.

African commodities.

The principal goods the *French* have in return for these commodities from the *Moors* and *Blacks*, are slaves, gold-duft, elephants teeth, bees-wax, dry and green hides, gum-arabick, ostrich feathers, and several other odd things, as ambergris, cods of musk, tygers and goats skins, provisions, bullocks, sheep, and teeth of sea-horses. I will now mention some of the particular places where the *French* trade, or whence the *Blacks* bring goods to their factories.

PLACES OF TRADE, and TRADING ARABS.

Heyde town.

AT *Heyde*, a town of about 300 combets, or houses, seated on the north-side of the river *Senega*, there is a trade for elephants teeth, and some gold-duft; and if we may believe the *French*, they have extended their trade beyond the dominions of *Sillatick* or *Cheyratick*, being eight degrees distance east and west from the *French* residence, in the island of *St. Lewis*, to the country which they call the *Fargots* and *Enguelland*, lying above 250 leagues from the aforesaid factory in *St. Lewis's* island. Those people no way differ from the *Foules*; and there the *French* have built a small fort, mounted with eight guns, at a place called *Galem*, or *Galama*, 120 leagues higher up the country than the *Terrier-rouge*, of which I shall speak in its place. There they buy slaves in considerable numbers, elephants teeth, and bees-wax, which they convey down to their factory every year.

Fargots nation.

Other nations.

By the *Fargots* live other nations, on the south-side of the *Senega*, viz. the *Cassans*, the *Malincopes*, and the *Saracoles* almost mix'd together: these last *Saracoles*, whom *Marmol* names *Saragoles*, call the river *Senega*, *Colle*.

Water-fall.

The *French* farther inform us, that were it not for the great water-fall of the river, a little above *Galem*, or *Galama*, they might go much higher up the said river, to *Cabra*, and *Tombut*, and even into the great lake *Sigismes*, or *Guarda*; of which lake more shall be said in the supplement.

Trading towns.

From *Jaringem*, *Sabador*, and *Bocies*, large towns among the western *Foules*, and

from the *Terrier-rouge*, by the *English* called *BARBOT-Red-borough*, from *Geribolen*, and the *Desart*, other large towns among the western *Foules*; and in the lands of *Ali*, on the north-side of the *Senega*, or white river; at some times of the year, they fetch great quantities of gum-arabick, and some ambergris, which the *Arab*, or *Azgor Moors* bring thither to market, from 5 or 600 leagues distance: that is, from the inner *Lybia*, upon camels, oxen, and horses, or on the backs of slaves; and particularly to *Terrier-rouge*, or *Red-borough*, and the *Desart*, about the latter end of *May*. The *Desart* is on the north-side of this river, vulgarly called the *Desart* of *Barbary*; and by the *Moorish* inhabitants *Azgor*, on account of its marshy grounds, a considerable way up the inland. Some call this town of the desert *Ingurbel*.

The goods proper to purchase gum-arabick, of which the *French* bring away thence five thousand quintals, or hundred weight yearly, are brass kettles, and basons, yellow amber in the lump, blue and white margriettas, scarlet and blue cloths, blue linen, red and black large bugles, red and green *galet*, or beads, and a little iron.

The *French* at other places purchase about two thousand quintals, or hundred weight more of gum-arabick, which is much more than they used to export thence, when the *Dutch* were settled at *Arguin*, near *Cabo Blanco*, or white cape; which fort the *French* took from them in the year 1676, and by the treaty of *Nimeguen* it was resign'd up to them, with a total exclusion to the *Dutch* to trade there any more, as was hinted above: and therefore the *Arabs* or *Moors* now bring their gum to the *French* upon the river *Senega*, though the *Dutch* have still some small trade going on at *Panga*, a place between *Cabo Blanco* and *Senega* river, whither they send every year one ship to trade.

A great quantity of this gum is picked up every year by the *Moors*, in the great woods, 70 or 80 leagues up the inland, E. b. S. from *Arguin*, as a modern author observes. From those woods it is convey'd to the *French*, at certain times of the year, to *Terrier-rouge*, or *Red-borough*, and other places about it, on that river; besides what is also brought to them from 3, 4 and 500 leagues farther in the desert of *Lybia*; of which, more in another place.

This trade of gum, as I am inform'd, is cautiously managed between the *French* and the *Moors*, because of the craftiness of the latter, who are bare-fac'd cheats, and very insolent, after this manner: Once a year, about the latter end of *May*, or the beginning of *June*, some of the inland *French* factors repair thither, in well-arm'd sloops, with a proper cargo, and drive their trade

BARBOT. aboard their vessels from place to place, to secure themselves against the treachery of the *Moors* and *Arabs*. At one of the nearest places, about 30 leagues distant from the factory, one *Cbi-chi-my* assists as moderator, or umpire, between the *French*, the *Moors*, and the *Blacks*; for the *Foules* also bring some small quantity of gum-arabick to the market, which they gather in their country. This *Cbi-chi-my* goes over commonly to the country of the *Moors* every year, six weeks, or two months before the overflowing of the river *Niger*, to give them notice of the proper time, when they are to repair to the market, with their gum, &c. This was formerly managed by one *Aly*, a notable sharp man, in whose town the market for gum was kept; but he having revolted against his sovereign, to side with those *Azoagbe Moors*, has occasioned the removal of the place.

The *French* always driving the trade of gum-arabick on the banks of the river, have, by that means, in a great measure, prevented the frauds and insults of the *Moors*; the gum being generally shipp'd off by degrees, as it is receiv'd from them. This commerce is in the months of *May* and *June*, as was said above.

Original of
the Gene-
choa
Moors.

If the *French* are right in their account of the people of *Geneboa*, bordering on the north-side of the river *Senega*, for by that name they distinguish the *Moors* of those parts; then must it be concluded, that they descend from the *Azuages Arabs*; who, according to *Marmol*, following the *African* authors, boast they came originally from *Phenicia*, being driven thence by *Josbua*, the son of *Nun*, and successor to *Moses* in leading the people of *Israel*. That flying thence, they settled in *Lybia*, and built *Carthage*, 1268 years before the birth of **CHRIST**. *Ibni Alraqui*, an *Arabian* author observes, that many years after there was found at *Carthage* a large stone in a spring, with these words carv'd on it, in the *Punick* language: *We have made our escape to this place, from the presence of that vagabond robber Joshua, the son of Nun*. These *Azuages*, at their first settling in *Africa*, call'd themselves *Maures* or *Morophores*, and thence by *Europeans* they are named *Moors*.

How they
travel to
market,
and feed.

The *Moors* come from their own country about six weeks before the *Niger* overflows, as has been observ'd, and repair to these markets in small gangs, to sell their gum-arabick, which, for the most part, they carry on camels, and oxen, riding themselves. The common sort are stark naked, the better have cloaks of furs, and some only a piece of skin to cover their privities; living all the way on camel's milk, in which they dissolve a little gum,

and reckon it good food. When they are come to the places appointed to keep the market, the *French* use to buy their oxen, and have them killed by some of their own *Moors*, appointed to that office, and distribute the flesh among them for their subsistence; for the *Moors* would not eat, nor scarce touch any meat kill'd or dress'd by the *Whites*, unless it were in extremity, and that they had no other way to help themselves.

When the market is over, the *Moors* re-<sup>Their re-
turn.</sup> turn into their own country, carrying back on their camels, or dromedaries, the goods they have received in exchange for their gum, or what part of the said gum they did not think fit to dispose of; whether it was that they did not like the goods offer'd them in exchange, or that they did not agree about the price. Thus they make nothing to travel four or five hundred leagues out of *Lybia*, with an hundred weight of gum, or some such parcel, and to return home again with it; so unreasonable and spiteful they are in their way of dealing. It is almost incredible what a trouble the *French* are at to deal with these *Arabs*, and what wrongs and affronts they are to put up; those wretches being so revengeful as to murder a man for the least thing, if ever they can find an opportunity, though it be 20 years after the injury they fancy they have received, or else will demand 50 slaves to redeem the person they have in their power, and design to destroy. They are generally tawny, meagre, and of a scurvy mien, but of a subtle crafty disposition. See the SUPPLEMENT concerning these people.

The gum-arabick distils from a tall shady Gum-
tree; much like the *Mappou* of *America*,<sup>arabick,
how it
grows.</sup> and growing in the desarts of the inner *Lybia*. At the proper season of the year, the *Moors* take off the bark of this tree, with small iron tools, or forks, which is done with ease, and soon after the soft and waterish substance, that was under the bark, hardens into gum, in little bits and lumps, much in the same nature as we see the common gum grow on our *European* cherry and plum-trees. The *Arabs* keep this gum fresh from one year to another, by burying of it under ground.

These *Arabs* are very expert at their fire-<sup>Arabs
of dread fire
arms.</sup> arms, and no less fearful of the effect of them. I have been inform'd, that some hundreds of the *Moors*, or *Arabs* about mount *Atlas*, coming down to make war on king *Sillatic*, and attempting to seize a sloop belonging to the factory, which was come to trade, were so frighted at the discharge of three firelocks made upon them by the *French*, that they all immediately ran away.

Moors why so call'd. It may not be amiss here to observe, that the *Latins*, call'd the people of *Barbary Mauros*, in all likelihood, from their tawny complexion, from whom the other *Euro-peans* have taken and continued the use of this name, they being all a dark-colour'd people. The *Arabs* I now speak of, and all the rest I shall speak of hereafter, being no less tawny than the people of *Barbary*, but rather exceeding them; therefore the *French* in those parts call them, *Arab Moors*: which is confounding the ancient *African Bereberes*, who live among the *Arabs* of *Lybia* and *Geneboa*, with those same *Arabs*.

I shall in another place speak of the commerce and correspondence between the people of *Morocco* and those of *Tombut* and *Geneboa*.

MARKETS and COMMODITIES EXCHANG'D.

Gold-dust. AS for gold-dust, the *French* purchase very little of it, since the fifteenth century, when the *Portuguese* being driven out of this country, settled on the gold coast, as shall also be observ'd in its place. However, sometimes a little gold is brought to market at *Heyde*, at *la Riviere a Morfil*, at *la Riviere des Maringuins*, at *Mambrin*, at *Lameter*, and towards *Gamboa River*.

Heyde town. The town of *Heyde*, or *Leyde*, consists of about two hundred houses, standing on the north-side of the *Senega*, above 200 leagues up it, from the sea, not far distant from that of *Camelinga*; and there is a market for ivory and gold, which last those *Blacks* call *Dougure*.

Geribolen market. At the town of *Geribolen*, is a good market for millet, and elephants teeth, which are purchas'd for brandy and bugles.

Other markets. At the towns of *Biram-Lieze*, *Sapaterre*, *Larron*, and *Bilor*, are proper markets for dry bullocks hides; some elephants teeth; tygers, goats and deer-skins; ostrich feathers; *Dutch* cloths; galet; large yellow amber-stones; margriettes; white and yellow bugles, &c. but chiefly at *Bilor*.

More of them. On the rivers *a Morfil* and *des Maringuins*, at *Mambrin*, on the north-side of the *Senega*, and at *Lameter*, or *Brak*, on the south-side of the same, the *French* purchase a considerable number of slaves, elephants teeth, and dry hides, as also ambergris and some gold-dust. At *Serinpatte* musk-cods; tygers and goats-skins; ostrich feathers and gum-arabick; in exchange for kettles; yellow amber; striped cloths; iron bars; bugles; *Maccatons* or beads of two sorts; whole or half pieces of eight of the old stamp; *Margriettes*; another sort of beads made at *Roan*, fine crystal beads; strait, or bow'd cutlaces; *Galet* beads, and pieces of silver of 28 sols, either plain or gilt. The country of little *Brak* affords them slaves and wood for fuel.

At the villages of *Bozaert*, or *Bozar*, and *BARBOT. Caye*, near the factory, they have slaves elephants; and sea-horses teeth; gold-dust; dry hides; and the country cloths; in exchange for brandy, iron bars, cutlaces; bugle; and *Satalas*, or brass basons of several sizes.

SLAVES.

THOSE sold by the *Blacks* are for the *How they most part prisoners of war*, taken either in fight, or pursuit, or in the incursions they make into their enemies territories; others stolen away by their own countrymen; and some there are, who will sell their own children, kindred, or neighbours. This has been often seen, and to compass it, they desire the Person they intend to sell, to help them in carrying something to the factory by way of trade, and when there, the person so deluded, not understanding the language, is sold and deliver'd up as a slave, notwithstanding all his resistance, and exclaiming against the treachery. I was told of one, who design'd to sell his own son, after that manner; but he understanding *French*, disssembled for a while, and then contriv'd it so cunningly as to persuade the *French*, that the old man was his slave, and not his father, by which means he deliver'd him up into into captivity; and thus made good the *Italian Proverb*, *A furbo furbo e mezzo*; amounting to as much as, Set a thief to catch a thief, or Diamond cuts Diamond. However, it happened soon after, that the fellow was met by some of the principal *Blacks* of the country, as he was returning home from the factory, with the goods he had receiv'd for the sale of his father, all which they took away, and order'd him to be sold for a slave.

The kings are so absolute, that upon any *Kings sell flight pretence of offences committed by offenders.* their subjects, they order them to be sold for slaves, without regard to rank, or profession. Thus a *Marabout*, or Priest, as I believe, was sold to me at *Goeree*, by the *Alcaide* of *Rio Fresco*, by special order of king *Damel*, for some misdemeanors. I took notice, that this Priest was above two months aboard the ship, before he would speak one word; but I shall say more of him in another place.

Abundance of little *Blacks* of both sexes are also stolen away by their neighbours, *Children kidnapp'd.* when found abroad on the roads, or in the woods; or else in the *Cougans*, or corn-fields, at the time of the year, when their parents keep them there all day, to scare away the devouring small birds, that come to feed on the millet, in swarms, as has been said above.

In times of dearth and famine, abundance of these people will sell themselves, *People sell them-selves.* for

BARBOT for a maintenance, and to prevent starving. When I first arriv'd at *Goeree*, in *December 1681*, I could have bought a great number, at very easy rates, if I could have found provisions to subsist them; so great was the dearth then, in that part of *Nigritia*.

Inland slaves.

To conclude, some slaves are also brought to these *Blacks*, from very remote inland countries, by way of trade, and sold for things of very inconsiderable value; but these slaves are generally poor and weak, by reason of the barbarous usage they have had in travelling so far, being continually beaten, and almost famish'd; so inhuman are the *Blacks* to one another.

ELEPHANTS TEETH

Elephants hard to be kill'd.

ARE gather'd and pick'd up in the woods; or else when the *Blacks* can kill an elephant, which is hard to be done, either with fire-arms or arrows, as shall be particularly observ'd, when I come to treat of the *Qua-qua* coast; where there are more of these bulky creatures, than in any other part of *Guinea*. I shall only add here, that I was told by one of the factory at *St. Lewis's* island, that he and his company were once at the hunting of an elephant, and bestow'd above two hundred bullets on him, and yet he got away; but the next day was found dead some hundred paces from the place where they shot him.

How kill'd by the Blacks.

The *Blacks* of *Senega* go out sixty in a company, each arm'd with six small arrows and a great one. Having found his haunt, they stay till he repairs thither, which they know by the loud rufpling noise he makes, breaking through the boughs that hang in his way, and beating down whole trees, if they stand in his way. Then they follow him, shooting continually, till they have stuck so many arrows in his body, as must be his death; which they observe by the loss of blood, and the weakness of his efforts against what stands before him.

The teeth pick'd up in the woods and deserts are for the most part scurfy and hollow, occasion'd by their lying many years in the rain and wind, and consequently are less valuable.

HIDES.

Best hides in Guinea.

THE best and largest dry bullocks hides, are those from about the *Senega* river, because the cattle is there much larger and fatter, than about *Rufisco* and *Porto d'Ali*, where the country affords not such good pasture-grounds. They soak, or dip these hides, as soon as slay'd from the beast, and presently expose them to the air to dry; which, in my opinion is the reason, why wanting the true first seasoning, they are apt to corrupt and breed worms, if not

look'd after, and often beaten with a stick, or wand, and then laid up in very dry store-houses.

These hides are nothing to compare to those of *Havana*, *Hispaniola*, and *Buenos Ayres*, in *America*, both for thickness and largeness. The *African* hides serve mostly in *France* and *Holland*, for covering of trunks, and portmantuas; being, as has been said, much thinner and smaller than the *American*. For an instance, the weight of a hide at *Buenos Ayres*, is commonly seventy six pounds, and worth there upon the place one piece of eight. The same hide is worth at *London* six pence, at *Roan* half a livre, and at *Amsterdam* ten stivers the pound weight. These hides are the commodity of the country about *Buenos Ayres*, lying in 35 degrees of south latitude, fifty leagues up from the mouth of the river of *Plata*, by the natives call'd *Paraguay*. The said hides, being so cheap there, by reason of the incredible multitude of cattle the country abounds in, and so much valu'd in *Europe*, are the usual returns from thence; with a sort of red wool, call'd *Lana de Vicuna*, growing on the *Peru* sheep, and which is worth at *Buenos Ayres* 18 royals plate per pound, and at *London* 20 s. per pound; being brought down 350 leagues by land from *Peru*, on mules. In the year 1658, there were at *Buenos Ayres*, at one time, twenty two *Dutch*, and among them two *English* ships, as we are told in the account of *Monsieur Acarete du Biscay*, homewards bound with bull-hides, plate, and the aforesaid *Vicuna* wooll, which they had received in exchange for their commodities. Each *Dutch* ship had thirteen or fourteen thousand bull-hides, amounting to 33500 l. sterling, bought by them there at seven or eight royals each, and sold in *Europe* for at least 25 s. a piece.

This happen'd at a time when the *Spaniards* being embroiled in many troubles, the *Dutch* laid hold of the opportunity to send those ships to *Rio de la Plata*, laden with goods and *Blacks*, which they had taken in at *Congo* and *Angola*. The inhabitants of *Buenos Ayres* wanting the supplies they used to receive by the *Spanish* galleons, which were hindered by the *English* from making their constant voyages; and there being a great scarcity of *Blacks*, and other necessities; prevailed so far upon the governor, that for a present they obliged the *Hollanders* to give him, and paying the duties to the king of *Spain*, they were permitted to land, and trade there: for no nation is allowed it, but native *Spaniards*, with licences from the king of *Spain*, which cost five ducats plate, for every tun, and seven ducats and a half plate, whensoever they are granted to strangers. A ship of five hundred tun, as the lord *Sandwich*, in his discourse of *Spain*, informs

informs us, pays 3750 ducats for liberty to trade in the *West-Indies*. The same lord says, a *Black* is worth six or seven hundred pieces of eight, at *Buenos Ayres*; and adds, that the *Spaniards* there give very good rates, and take great quantities of *English* manufactures, as cloth, bays, says, stockings, &c. To which Monsieur *Acarate* subjoins silks, ribbons, thread, needles, swords, horse-shoes, and other iron-work; tools of all sorts, drugs, spices, silk-stockings, serges, and generally every thing for cloathing; all these being proper commodities for those parts. I hope I may be pardoned this digression, so remote from my subject in hand, having thought it might be advantageous to some, who perhaps never heard of so beneficial a trade, which was the occasion of my inserting it in this place; and now I shall return to *Nigritia*.

Bees-wax.

Bees-wax is gather'd from trees in the woods, as is done in the *New-Forest* in *Hampshire*; but is not so good or clean.

Ostrich feathers.

As for ostrich feathers, they are commonly no where to be had, but about the

factory at *St. Lewis's* island, that being *BARBOT*'s nearest to the *Moors*, who have the greatest plenty of those animals in their country.

I could never understand, whence the *Amber-Moors* and *Blacks* have their ambergris, tho' *gris*. every body knows it is the product of the sea.

The *French* reckon this trade in general yields seven or eight hundred *per cent.* advance, upon invoice of their goods; and yet their *Senega* company, instead of thriving, has often brought a noble to nine-pence. Nay, it has broke twice in less than thirty years; which must be occasioned by the vast expence they are at in *Europe*, *Africa*, and *America*; besides ill management of their business: but this is no more than the common fate of the *Dutch* and *English African* companies, as well as of that, to make rather loss than profit; because their charges are greater than the trade can bear, in maintaining so many ports, castles, forts, and factories in *Africa*, which devour all the profit, as I shall farther make out in the description of the gold-coast.

CHAP. V.

The employments of the women; the common food and drink of the Blacks; the palm-wine how made; funeral ceremonies; dread of heavy rain and thunder; sleeping, dancing, and wrestling, feasting and Ramadan. The author's visit to Conde, viceroy of the country; the Guiriots or buffoons, and their office; the government and despotick authority of the black kings; audiences, embassies, revenues, forces, and admiralty rights; the justice civil and criminal, wars, religion, priests or Marabouts, and their Grigri or charms.

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENTS.

Sorts of labour.

BESIDES the care of nursing their children, they have all the charge of housewifery at home, viz. to make large ozier or straw hampers, or baskets, twelve or fifteen foot about, to keep their corn in; to beat or pound the millet, with great wooden pestles, in deep hollow trunks of trees like mortars; which is a tedious hard labour, and yet done almost every morning; and to make or dress either *Sanglet* or *Couscou*, which is the common diet of the family, among the western *Blacks*.

FOOD.

Couscou.

THE *Couscou*, as the *Arabs* call it, and the people of *Morocco*, *Couscoufou*, but the *Blacks*, *Laguere*, is their best and most usual food; being made of millet beaten almost to fine flower, then sifted or fann'd with a sort of fan made of palm-tree leaves, as well as they can do it. This flower they put into a narrow bowl, and sprinkle it a little with water; then knead and turn it, and sprinkle more water again and again, till it is all paste, which they break into se-

veral round balls, and let them stand in the air a while to dry. They then put them into an earthen-pot, having a hole at the bottom, taking care to cover it very close at the top, and fix this pot upon another, in which there is flesh or fish season'd with palm-oil and such spice as they have; and thus set both pots, one upon another, over the fire: so that when the meat or fish boils, the steam ascends through the hole in the bottom of the upper pot, to the *Couscou* or paste that is within it; at once baking and giving it a flavour, which requires a long time to be well done. When enough, they put all together, *Couscou*, and meat or fish, in a wooden platter or bowl. This is the common food of the best people, tho' in reality but indifferent diet, the *Couscou* being itself a coarse and indigested matter: for besides its being very salt, and no way pleasant, it cracks between the teeth, as if there were sand in it. There are also *Couscou* cakes made, which they bake on large flat stones over the fire.

These people, as well as those of the empire of *Morocco*, and, as I take it, all other *Mahometans*, the kings themselves not excepted,

BARBOT. excepted, are forbid the use of plate at their tables; and therefore the *Sherife*, or emperor of *Morocco*, tho' a potent prince, is served in no better than brass or earthenware.

Sanglet. Their *Sanglet* is made of the bran of millet, boiled in water, without any other addition, being the common food of the poorer sort, and particularly of slaves. Sometimes it is boiled with stinking flesh or dry fish, or else with milk or butter, for the better sort.

Towards the sea-coast they eat milk, butter, and curds, which the *Whites* have taught them to make, but neither so good or sweet as in *England*.

Manner of eating. They generally eat twice a day; at noon and towards night, sitting round on their heels upon the bare ground, either within the cabbins, or at the door without; but some of the best sit upon mats, men and women together, towards the coast, yet in some inland countries each sex eats apart. They eat but little at a time, and that after a slovenly manner, as will appear by the following story.

Entertainment. *Donna Catalina*, a black lady of a good presence, and a very jovial temper, widow to a *Portuguese* of note, and a *Roman Catholic*, invited me to a dinner at *Rio Fresco*, where she then lived in great esteem among the *Blacks*; but always dress'd after the *Portuguese* fashion. Being come to her habitation, where was also the *Alcaide* of the town, and some of king *Damel's* officers; she conducted us all into a very warm cabin or hut, in the midst of which there hung at the roof a large stinking piece of raw beef: and having made us all sit down there in a ring, upon a fine mat, with our legs across, after the *Moorish* fashion, a slave brought in a wooden platter full of dirty water to wash our hands, without any towel to wipe them. Every man made use of his clout to dry them, and I of my handkerchief. Then the dinner was set down on the mat, being a large wooden platter, brim-full of *Couscous*, and another with stinking boiled beef, to which I was bid welcome. The lady then went about tearing the meat into abundance of bits, with both her hands, and threw it into the *Couscous* dish, stirring it about with one hand. Then every one of the guests in his turn, took a bit of the meat and some *Couscous*, and rolling it together into a ball in his right hand, toss'd it as far into his mouth as he could; then lick'd his fingers, and shook his hand over the dish, to save what had happened to stick to it. This slovenly behaviour did so balk my stomach, that I did but just taste of the meat, tho' the lady often press'd me to eat heartily. Dinner being over, the same dirty water, which had served to wash before, was brought in again for the same use, and some wash'd

their mouths with it. We had no other liquor given us, at this entertainment, but water, which was neither sweet, nor cool, but lukewarm, by reason of the excessive heat of the weather.

This disagreeable filthy way of eating is universal among all the nations inhabiting the western and southern parts of *Africa*, from cape *Spartel* to the cape of *Good-Hope*. *Diego* Emperors de Torres, who served the king of Spain in of Morocco, how they eat. *Barbary*, about the year 1547, in his history of the *Sherifes*, kings of *Morocco*, who stiled themselves kings of *Africa*, tho' no better than usurpers; gives an account, that being once present at the old *Sherife's* dinner, and observing that he wiped the hand he took up his meat with, on the head of a black boy, of about ten years of age, which mov'd him to smile; the *Sherife*, who took notice of it, ask'd him, what it was the christian kings used to wipe their hands with at meals, and what such things might be worth. *Torres* answer'd, they used fine napkins, which might be worth a crown a-piece, or more, and had a clean one at every meal. The *Sherife* wiping his hand again on the black boy's head, reply'd, don't you think this napkin much better, which is worth seventy or eighty crowns? The emperor of *Morocco* is served in the same manner as I have described above, with *Couscous* in an earthen or copper platter, and uses nothing but his hand to tear and take up the morsels of meat not much more nicely than hungry dogs feed on carrion. He often makes choice of the stables of his *Alcazara* or palace, to take his meals in, and then on a piece of leather always very greasy. The best and meaner sort in that nation all eat after the same manner, and never discourse much at their meals.

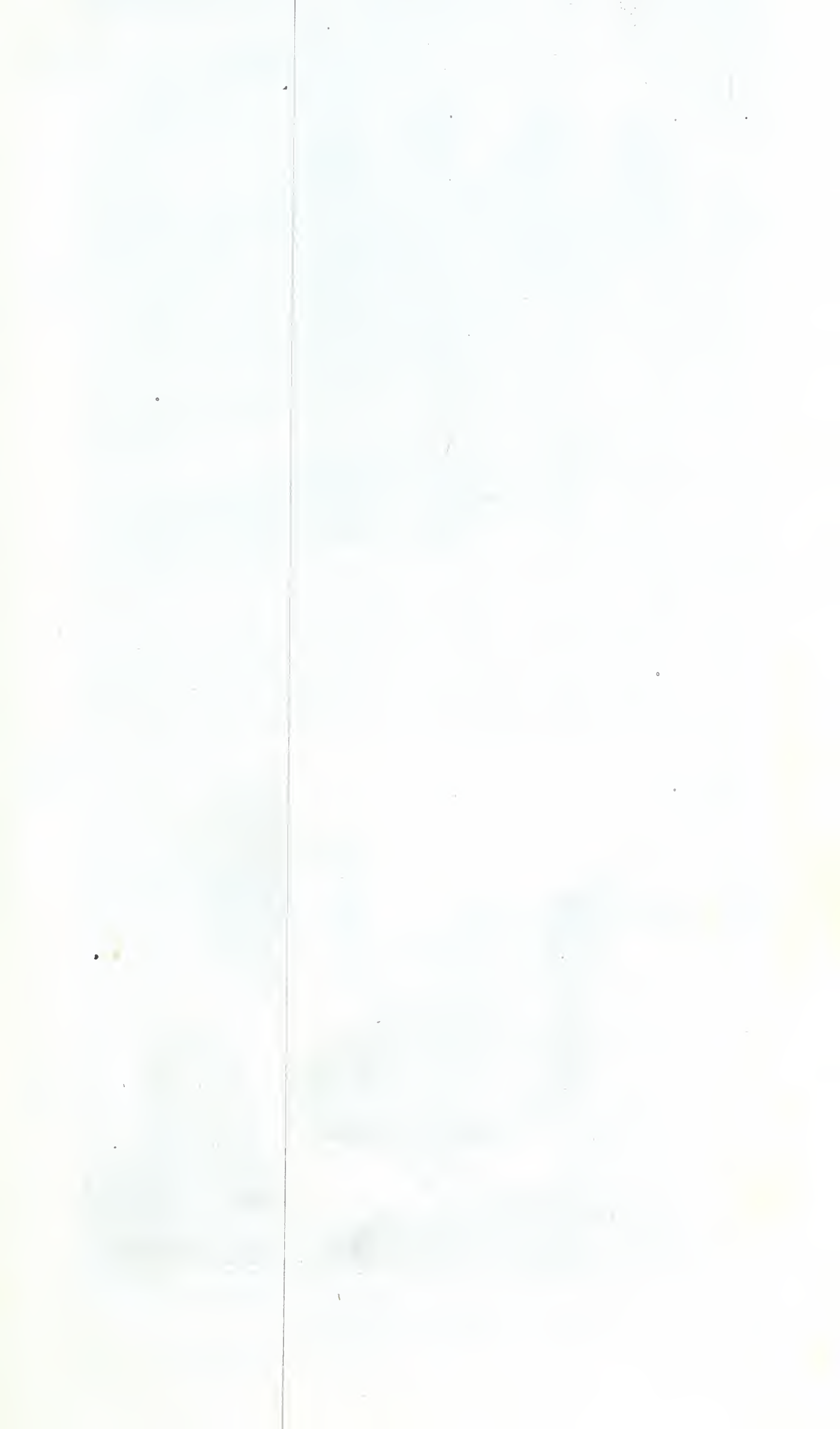
The black king, call'd the great *Brak*, King Brak. being entertain'd at dinner aboard a ship, return'd the bones of the fowl, after gnawing them, into the dish.

These people use only the right hand in eating, and reserve the left altogether for labour, looking upon it as very indecent to eat with it; nor do they use knives to cut their meat, or plates, or cloths to lay it on.

King *Damel* allows no body to eat with him, except the chief *Marabout*, or some of King Dzel mel. his principal officers. His main reason for not admitting of any *Thoubabes*, or white-man, to his meals, is, his being sensible of his foul and displeasing way of feeding.

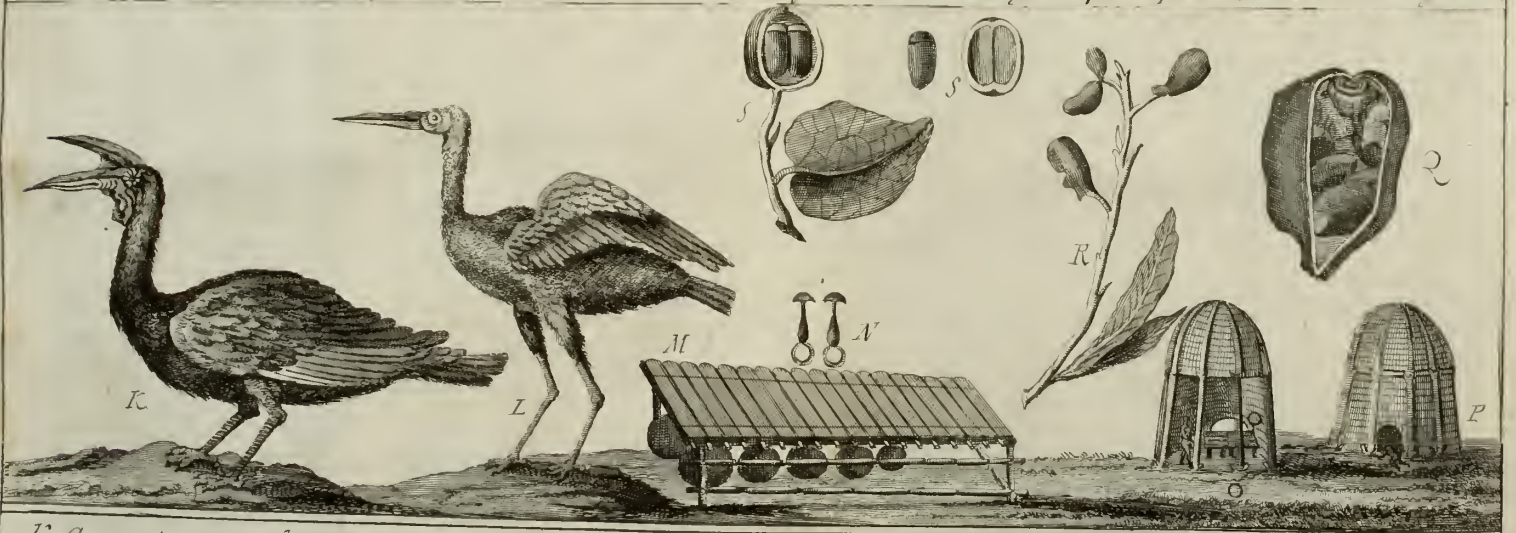
The *Blacks* will eat most sorts of beasts or fowl, except those who have been infected with *Mabometanism*, who eat no swines flesh.

Their common drink is water, palm-Drink. wine, cows milk, or a made liquor, which is the juice of yellow four plumbs, mixed with water, pretty wholesome, and most used among the *Foules*.





A The habit of a Cabo Verde Negroes B C the habit of Cabo Verde Negroes D. a Gambia Negroe playing on y^e Balafon at Rome E. the habit of a Circumcised Negroe of Gambia with an ape howling up a Child into a Tree the Portuguese have seen it so done many a time. Even girls of 7 or 8 years being thus hoisted up by these mischievous Creatures and can not be wrested from them without a great deal of difficulty F the habit of their Lords and considerable Persons in Gambia G Negroes mounting the Palm Tree, to make incisions to get the Palm Wine. and an other Negroe going to y^e same purpose with his pots & a braids hoop H. Traders or Moors riding on their Camels, horses, and even with their gum drabick or other goods of their product, to sell at Senega River.



K. A rare unknown Bird of Gambia, L. A Stork of Gambia
M. The Balafon, an instrument of the Negroes in Gambia N. the Sticks

O The Negroes Beds in their houses, P. The Negroes houses
Q. The Fruit Tobakomba R. the Fruit Cahorai
S. The Plouques or medicinal Nuts, call'd Indian Pine apple Kernels

Water. Fresh water is not to be had every where. At *Rio Fresco*, the little river affords it good enough; but in many places up the country, they have it out of ponds and morasses, so that it is thick and muddy. For this reason, the king of *Kayor* has caused two deep wells to be dug there, and made good the insides of them with timber laid close and cross-wise, to hinder the mouldering in of the earth.

Brandy coveted. The *Blacks* are generally very greedy of brandy, by them call'd *Sangara*, which they will drink as if it were water, when given them. A *Black* being aboard a ship at *Goeree*, and spying an ink-bottle in my cabin, drank a large dose, before he perceived it was not brandy.

PALM-WINE and PALM-TREES.

THO' there be abundance of palm-trees in this country, yet the palm-wine is not so common a liquor here as on the *Gold Coast*, and at *Ardra*, being only used here by the better sort and strangers.

Designing in another place a particular description of the several sorts of palm-trees, I shall content myself at present with observing, that here are three kinds of them. The one is like the date-tree, another like the *Latiner*-tree, but none of the sort which bears the coco-nuts: neither shall I now say much of the nature of the palm-wine, or how it is made, but only that they pay certain duties to the *Alcaldes*, or governors of towns, for these palm-trees; as also, that they climb up to the head of the tree by means of an iron or brass-hoop, which they contract or let out, as they have occasion. A man gets into the hoop, and sets his feet against the tree, the hoop bearing him up behind, as secure as if he stood on the ground, and so moves upwards by degrees to the top of the tree, where he makes two or three incisions, just below the tuft, or head, making fast pots, or gourds to them, to receive the liquor which distils from it: each tree yields about three pints of wine, of a pearl colour. That which distils an hour before sun-rising is best; and with this sort they entertain the *Europeans*, and other foreigners, the best of the *Blacks* being never without it.

Climbing of palm-trees.
Palm-wine. This sort is of a pleasant sweet taste, being used two or three hours after it has fermented a while in the pots; but soon loses its sweetness, and grows sourer every day: the older it is, the more it affects the head. The right palm-wine searches the reins, provokes urine, and it may be reasonably concluded, that the constant use the natives make of it, is the reason why few or none of them are troubled with the gravel, or the stone in the bladder; and tho' it will presently fly into the head, when

used immoderately, yet those fumes are *BARBOT.* soon dispell'd, with seems very strange, considering how much it works as soon as in the pot. This fermentation is often so violent as to break the pots, unless care be taken to give the liquor vent. More of this shall be said in my second part.

SUPERSTITION and WITCHCRAFT.

THE *Blacks* generally set a-part some small quantity of such victuals as they eat, for their *Fetiches*, or, as some will have it, for the devil, whom they call *Gune*, to oblige him to be kind to them; for if we may believe their own assertions, he often beats them. I remember a *Black*, from whose neck I once pulled away a *Grigri*, or spell, made a hideous noise about it, telling me, that *Gune* had beat him most unmercifully the next night; and that unless I would, in compassion, give him a bottle of brandy to treat *Gune*, and be reconciled to him, for having suffered me to take away his *Grigri*, he was confident he should be infallibly kill'd by him. The fellow was so positive in this conceit, and roared in such a horrible manner for it, that I was forced to humour him for quietness sake.

This ceremony of spilling a little liquor, and casting some part of rice, or any other eatable on the ground, is of great antiquity in *China*, and kept up to this day. *Confucius*, their most honour'd philosopher and divine, practis'd it, the intention of it being a sort of oblation to the dead; who in former ages had taught that nation to till the earth, dress meat, &c. as *Navarrete* informs us, in his account of *China*. It is likely, that the *Blacks* in *Nigritia* and *Guinea* might at first have the same reason for this ceremony, though at present few or none understand why they do it; and only alledge it is a custom transmitted to them from their ancestors, grounding themselves in many of these practices wholly upon tradition, without enquiring into the motives.

They have also a great opinion of witchcraft, and pretend by it to be able to do any mischief they think fit to their enemies, even to taking of their lives; as also to discover all secrets, and find out hidden things, as to compel a thief to appear and to restore what he has stolen, be he ever so remote; with many more such absurdities.

FUNERALS.

THEY weep and lament over the dead as soon as expired, in such manner, that it is hideous and frightful to pass by the huts where any *Black* lies dead, by reason of the horrid shrieks and howling of the neighbours and relations, who resort to the house of the departed to bewail him.

This

BARBOT. This may perhaps be deriv'd from the custom of the *Jews*, as we find it in *St. Mark* 5. 36. *And he (JESUS) cometh to the house of the ruler of the synagogue, and seeth the tumult, and them that wept and wailed greatly; upon the death of his daughter. It is well known, that the Jews in those days had certain common mourners, who were hired for weeping and wailing over dead persons.*

Ridiculous questions not to be dead. Upon these occasions, they ask abundance of impertinent ridiculous questions, much in the same nature as the poor ignorant sort of *Irish* are reported to practise to this day; as for example, *Why he would leave them after that manner? whether he wanted millet, or oxen, or clothes, or wealth? whether he stood in need of any more than he had? or, whether he had not wives enough, or they were not handsome enough? what harm any body had done him?* and the like. All these queries are repeated by every one in the company successively, the *Guiriots* in the mean time acting their parts, continually singing the praises of the party deceased, and extolling his virtues, actions, and qualities. The dead person making no answer, those who have put their questions withdraw, to make room for others to succeed them, in repeating the same.

It was customary among the *Arabs* of *Lybia*, and the adjacent parts, as we shall farther show in the Supplement, upon these occasions, for the wife, or next of kin, to go out of the tent, or barrack, howling after a strange manner *Hoo-la-loo*, as the *Irish* do over the graves of their friends departed. By the 11th of *St. John*, ver. 31. it appears, that the *Jews* often repaired to the graves to bewail their dead, as is there shown in the instance of *Mary*, the sister of *Lazarus*.

Death of boys. If it be a boy that is dead, the maids and women sing; and the other boys run at one another with all the force they are able, holding naked cutlances in their hands, which they clatter together; and making many extravagant motions and gestures, too impertinent to be described.

Funeral ceremonies. The funerals are performed with much state and ceremony. In some places they bury the corpse in the house it belonged to, taking off the round roof of it, and redoubling their cries: then four mourners stand in a square, each holding a cloth extended, as it were to cover the corpse, that it may not be seen by the company. Next the *Marabout* whispers some words in the ear of the deceased, covering him with a white sheet, or piece of callico. This being done, they set on the roof of the hut again, over which they hang some cloths of one, or of several colours; and close by the house they set up a pole, on which they hang the arms, bow, quiver, javelin, &c. of the person deceased; and having a

fancy, that the dead eat in the grave, they set by them a pot of *Couscous*, and another of water, for several months.

It is a common custom among the *Barbarians* of *Morocco*, *Fez*, &c. to set meat on the graves, and to bury silver, jewels, and other things with the corpse, that the dead may want none of the conveniencies in the other world, which they had in this.

At other places, the funerals are after this manner. Some drummers march before the company, after them follow the nearest relations of the deceased; then his wives, if it be a man, or the husband, if a woman; and then the corpse, followed by all the people of the village, of both sexes. Being come, in this order, to the place of burial, which is very often on some rising ground, or hill, they lay the corpse in the grave, stark naked, and fill it up with earth. About the grave they erect several little round huts, much like our ice-houses in hot countries; and over those huts, they set up the round roof of the deceased person's house, displaying on the top of it a flag, or white sheet, cut in pieces, that being thus rent, it may not be stolen away, as being rendered quite useless.

It is frequent among these people, for the nearest relations, as brothers, sisters, &c. to take away for their own use, all the goods, or wealth the party deceased has left; thus robbing his own children, and exposing them to the greatest misery.

RAIN and THUNDER.

THE *Blacks*, in general, have a great dread of the rainy season, because they are then, for the most part, much afflicted with diseases of several sorts, which makes them very cautious of travelling; nay, most of them will scarce come out of their houses, but keep close confined in them during all that season, with a constant fire, about which they lie all night, in a ring, with their feet towards it; so to draw out and dry up the moisture, they fancy those lower parts have drawn in, during the day; and look upon it as the occasion of the several distempers their bodies are subject to.

Nor are they less apprehensive of thunder, which is very frequent in the country at that season, being dreadful loud, and attended with terrible flashes of lightning. When it happens to thunder on a sudden, as they are abroad in the fields, or on the road, they lie down flat, with their faces to the ground, till it is over, or at least till the violence of the claps abates.

SLEEPING, DANCING, and WRESTLING.

THOUGH they constantly take a nap, of an hour or two, after dinner, yet they go to bed early, in dark nights; but when

the

the moon shines, they sit up to dance and smook, with their wives and neighbours. Their dances are commonly in a round, singing the next thing that occurs, whether sense or nonsense. Some of them stand in the middle of the ring, holding one hand on their head, and the other behind their waist, advancing and strutting out their belly forwards, and beating very hard with their feet on the ground. Others clap their hands to the noise of a kettle, or a calabash, fitted for a musical instrument. When young men, or boys, dance with maidens, or women, both sides always make abundance of lascivious gestures; and every now and then each takes a draught of palm-wine to encourage the sport.

Lewd dancing.

Ridiculous wrestling.

The men often exercise themselves at wrestling, putting themselves into many ridiculous postures, as they approach one another, either holding out a finger, the fist, or the foot towards the antagonist; one or more *Guiriots* standing by, and beating a drum, or playing on some sort of their noisy musick, to encourage the combatants. Being stark naked at this sport, he who is thrown, seldom comes off without some hurt or bruise, and sometimes they both suffer considerably. The great satisfaction they have in throwing their antagonists, consists in the *Guiriot's* extolling their valour with a loud voice, and encouraging them to gain many more such victories.

RAMADAN and FEASTING.

Fasting and feasting at once.

DURING the time of their *Ramadan*, which is the *Mabometan* lent, and lasts the whole month of *September*, they have great feasting and rejoicing at night; which, from the *Portuguese*, they call *Folgar*, that is, to make merry. They are then forbid eating, drinking, and smoking in the daytime; and some are so very precise, that they will not spit, or scarce do any other thing, if they can avoid it; but as soon as the sun is set, or the first star appears, they all fall to feasting with an intolerable noise of drums, and never give over eating and drinking till the sun rises again, with great excess and debauchery.

A VISIT paid to CONDE, the VICEROY.

Conde, viceroy and general.

BEFORE I proceed upon the subject in hand, it will not be ungrateful, in this place, to give an account of the visit I once paid to old *Conde*, viceroy and generalissimo of the forces of king *Damel*, at the village of *Racho*, about a mile up the country, in order to settle a good correspondence, between the *Blacks* and the *French* factors at *Goeree*, which had been interrupted for several months, on account of the customs for wood and water, for the use of the company's ships; which will

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farther demonstrate the dexterity of these BARBOT. people at bodily exercises.

I had in my company the head factor of *Goeree*, whom the *French* call *gouverneur*, and a file of soldiers from the fort. Being all landed in the bay, near the cape, we walked about a mile and a half up the country through a thick copse, or wood, to a small village, call'd *Racho*, where we found *Conde* sitting on a mat, under a large round thatch'd roof, with a long tobacco-pipe in his mouth, according to the custom of the country, and five or six of his wives about him in a ring, finely dressed after their manner. When I drew near him, he stood up, took me by the hand, and bid me welcome; next, he desired me to sit down on his right hand, which being done, a slave, by his order, brought me a calabash of palm-wine. That ceremony being over, I made him the usual presents, consisting of some trivial things, to the value of about three crowns; and then declared to him, in *French*, the occasion of my coming, which a *Black*, who understood *French*, interpreted in his own language. Hereupon the viceroy agreed, that for the future, the *French* company's ships should pay no more than 30 bars of iron each, in full for all customs, according to the agreement made in the year 1677, with the *Alcaide Medioup*; besides two dry hides for every long boat, or pinnace, which should fetch water, or wood from the shore.

As soon as the contract was concluded, Dance. we were surrounded by a great number of *Blacks*, men and women, who formed a dance to the sound of several of their instruments; which lasted a considerable time, and was not altogether displeasing to us, tho' odd and extravagant in itself.

The dancers being withdrawn, *Conde* Camels, stood up, and invited me to see his camels and horses, which were at a small distance. I observed, that the camels were but of a middle stature, and not exactly like those of *Asia*.

This is rather a sort of dromedaries, Or dromedaries. being small, lean, and tender, only fit for carrying of men; but so far excelling in swiftness, that it is reported, they will travel an hundred miles a day, for seven or eight days successively, with little, or next to no food, which is a little grass, or browsing on the leaves of trees. The *Arab Moors* call this sort of camels *Raguabil*, or *Elmabari*; and they are commonly used in *Lybia* for travelling through the desarts.

Dromedaries are made use of in the empire of *Morocco*, upon occasion of hasty, urgent affairs. They differ from a camel, only in being leaner and much swifter; qualities which are natural to them, and very peculiar;

P

BARBOT. peculiar; for if we may credit the natives of that country, this beast will travel ten leagues in a day, for every day it spends in sleeping before it could see distinctly, after its first coming into the world. So that, if it sleeps six days, as soon as it comes from the dam, it will travel sixty leagues, and so more or less in proportion. Some do positively affirm, that the uncle of the present emperor of *Morocco* did thus ride a hundred leagues in a day; and do add, that the fatigue of this way of travelling, which is but the dromedaries constant pace, is equal to the expedition, and that it was impossible for the traveller to hold it, did he not cause himself to be fast bound to the saddle, and his mouth to be cover'd, for fear of being suffocated. The bunch on the backs of these camels or dromedaries is smaller, in proportion, than that of the camels in *Arabia the stony*, call'd *Bactrians*. The dromedaries of *Arabia* have two bunches on their back, and are much swifter than the *Arabian* camels; but these here have another smaller bunch on their stomach, which serves them to lean on when they rest.

Dromedaries and camels of Arabia.

Horses.

Some of the horses seem'd to me pretty fine; but all very small.

Having spent about two hours at this interview, I took my leave of the old gentleman, who bid the interpreter tell me, he would bear me company to the water-side, and see me safe in the pinnace. I admir'd all the way how the people of the neighbouring cottages and hamlets, being inform'd that *Conde* was going down to the water-side, flock'd about us, pulling off their sandals from as far as they could see him, and prostrating themselves flat on the ground before, throwing sand or earth, with both hands, over their own heads; which among them are the usual tokens of respect, paid to persons in eminent dignity.

Respect paid to him.

Antiquity of prostrating.

This practice of prostrating on the ground before persons in a high station, appears by ancient history to have been follow'd by all the eastern nations, and commonly used by the people of *Israel*; whereof we find many instances in holy writ, of which I shall only point out those of king *David* and *Abigail*, *1 Sam.* 25. 23. *Mephibosheth*, *2 Sam.* 9. 6. *Ab-salom*, *Ib.* 14. 33. and *Bath-shebah*, *1 Kings* 1. 16. & 1. 31. It is still practis'd in several eastern countries, and particularly in the dominions of the *Mogol*.

Praises sung.

All the way we walk'd to the sea-side, I had two of *Conde's* *Guiriots*, one on each side of me, who never ceas'd, in their sort of tone, to sing a kind of panegyrick in praise of me, as I was inform'd by the interpreter. The song was attended with abundance of grimaces, gestures, and skipping, which, tho' very disagreeable to me, yet I durst not command them to give over,

for fear of disobliging their master, it being the custom of the great men among the *Blacks* so to honour the *Europeans* that come to see them.

When we were come to the sea-side, *Conde*, to show me how expert he was at riding and managing a horse, mounted upon one of the most fiery, which he had caus'd to be brought along with him, and which he said was of *Barbary*. I own I could not but admire to see a man at seventy years of age so hail and active as he then was; for during above a quarter of an hour, he put himself into several postures, and perform'd divers motions a horseback. Sometimes he put his horse upon full speed on the strand, darting an *Affagaia* or javelin with the right hand before the horse, and running so swiftly, as to catch it again with the same hand, before it fell to the ground; or if it happened to fall, he would take it up again without stopping in the career; which was the more surprizing to us, because no horses whatsoever are fleetier than those of *Barbary*.

It is proper here to observe, that the *Affagaia* or javelin above mention'd, as darted by *Conde*, is a sort of lance, or rather a half-pike universally used by all the *Blacks* of *Nigritia*, *Guinea*, and *Ethiopia*, as will be farther made appear in the course of this general description of those parts of *Africa*.

This sort of weapon is of very ancient usage in the eastern countries of *Asia*, and in all probability among the *Hebrews*; for we often find it mention'd in holy writ under the several denominations of lance, javelin, dart, &c. *Phineas* kill'd *Zimri* and *Cosbi* with a javelin, *Numb.* 25. 7, 8. *Saul* smites *David* with the javelin, *1 Sam.* 19. 10. *David* took away *Saul's* javelin and water-pot out of his tent, *Ib.* 26. 16. *Joab* thrust three darts through the heart of *Ab-salom*, *2 Sam.* 18. 14. The ancients always represented *Pallas* holding a javelin or lance in her hand; and all men of distinction always carried a javelin in one hand. *Homer* assigns javelins to his heroes, as the *Romans* did to their *Quirinus* and other gods; and the emperor of *Morocco* always rides with an *Affagaia* in his hand. See a farther account of these weapons hereafter.

It must be own'd, that many of these *Blacks* of *Nigritia* are excellent horsemen, which in all likelihood they learn in *Tom-but* and *Geneboa* their neighbouring nations, which have acquired it by their commerce with the subjects of *Morocco*. All men, who are vers'd in history, must know that the *Moors* were always excellent at riding; as particularly was formerly observable in the *Moors* of *Granada*, whose racing and tilting was admir'd by all their contemporaries: and at this very time the *Moors* of *Morocco* are

so much addicted to this exercise, that the emperor's sons, at nine or ten years of age, will ride an unruly horse bare-ridg'd, without boots or spurs, and sit fast; it being the *Moorish* fashion to mount horses bare very early, as well for the sake of the beast as of the man, because they thus break colts at a year old.

GUIRIOTS.

IT is convenient I should in this place give some account of the *Guiriots*, having several times made mention of them.

*Buffoons
infamous.*

The name of *Guiriot*, in their tongue, properly signifies a buffoon, and they are a sort of sycophants. The kings and great men in this country, keep each of them two, three, or more of these *Guiriots* to divert them, and entertain foreigners upon occasion. These men are so much despis'd by all the other *Blacks*, that they not only account them infamous, but will scarce allow them a grave when they die; believing the earth should never produce any fruit or plants, should it be defiled with their dead carcasses, nor will they throw their corps into ponds or rivers, for fear of killing the fish, and therefore they only thrust them into the hollow trunks or stumps of trees. However, notwithstanding this mean conceit among the people, the *Guiriots* have the sole privilege of carrying the *Olamba*, that is, the great long drum-royal, made of a fine goat-skin, before the king when he goes to war; which the *Guiriot* hangs about his neck, and beats with small sticks, or with his hands, hallooing aloud with a wretched voice, and singing sundry sorts of tones to nonsensical words. At other times, to divert their masters or foreigners, they have a timbrel, after the *Morisco* fashion, made like our flat ball-baskets, ty'd athwart with several small strings, which they touch with one hand, or grasp with their fingers, and beat upon it with the other.

Timbrels.

*Balafé mu-
sick.*

Others again play on another sort of musical instrument call'd *Balafé*, which would make a tolerable harmony, if well managed, for it sounds like a harpsicord; being a set of calabashes or gourds made fast together in a row, with strings of several sizes over them in a tuneable order. Others also use a kind of lute, made of a hollow piece of a particular sort of wood, cover'd over with a piece of skin or leather, having two or three hair strings, and at the stops, some little plates of iron and small bells.

*Another
sort.*

*Blacks fond
of praise.*

The *Blacks* look upon it as a great honour done to any man, to have his praises sung by the king's *Guiriots*; for they generally affect being flatter'd, as fond of applause and commendation, and will therefore give any thing they have to be so complimented by the *Guiriots*; and the rather, be-

cause if they do not reward them generously, those *Guiriots* will abuse and defame them as much as they before extoll'd and magnified them: for it is another privilege of those fellows, to slander and reproach whom they please, without any checks or fear of punishment; and therefore some will, upon occasion, present the *Guiriot* with two or three bullocks; and others will strip themselves of all the clothes they have, tho' ever so valuable, to present him.

BARBOT.

The usual cant of these buffoons, either in speaking or singing upon the like occasions, as I was inform'd by the interpreter, is no more than this: *He is a great man, or a great lord; he is rich, he is powerful, he is generous, he has given Sangara or brandy*; and much more such wretched stuff, often repeated, with such sorry voices, bawling, and impertinent gestures and grimaces, that it must tire any but a *Black*: nay, sometimes it is in a manner intolerable, and yet must not be found fault with, but rather applauded, as if extraordinary pleasing. Among many such expressions as above-mention'd, which *Conde's Guiriots* used towards me, they ofteneft repeated, *That I was the king's chief slave*; thinking they did me a mighty honour.

*What it
consists in.*

The GOVERNMENT.

IN some countries the crown is hereditary, in others elective. In some of the hereditary countries, as soon as the king is dead, his brother succeeds, and not his son; but when the brother dies, the son of the former king ascends the throne, and after him his brother again, and not his son.

*Brothers
succeed.*

In other hereditary kingdoms, neither the brother nor the son succeeds; but the nephew by the sister's side; and the reason they give for it, is, because it is uncertain whether the children the king has are of his own getting; but his sister's children cannot fail of being of the blood-royal, and consequently they are sure of such a king, and no other can be so.

*Succession
of nephews.*

In the elective countries, when the king is dead, three or four of the greatest men in the nation make choice from among themselves of the person they think fittest to succeed in that dignity; reserving always to themselves the right of deposing or banishing him, as they shall afterwards think fit, in case of any mismanagement: which is often the occasion of mighty troubles and civil wars, because of the many pretenders or several interests that are made upon such occasions; there being always many kindred or relations of the depos'd king left behind; who, notwithstanding that constitution, do endeavour by open force to step into the throne.

*Elective
kings.*

But

BARBOT. But whether the king become such by right or violence, as soon as ever he is invested with the royal authority, the people pay very great respect and veneration to his person and chief officers. Such a one was *Conde*, of whom I have already shew'd how much he was honour'd by the *Blacks* in my presence.

Respect paid them.
Absolute power.
In the same manner, by whatsoever title these kings get the crown, the moment of their inauguration they assume a haughty carriage towards their subjects, of what quality soever, and do tyrannize over them at discretion, so absolute is their authority: neither can any man, tho' ever so great, presume to come into his presence, without his special command or leave.

Great submission paid.
When a *Black* of ever so great distinction has occasion to petition the king, he is to take off his cotton shirt or frock, and lay it on one of his shoulders, leaving the body naked from the waist upwards, and approaching near the king in that manner, he kneels down, bows his head, kisses the ground, after taking off his shoes or sandals, and with both hands throws earth or sand over his head, face, and shoulders. Then rises again, repeating the same ceremony two or three times, as he draws nearer and nearer to the prince.

Others kneel down at a great distance, and advance all the way upon their knees, continually strewing earth or sand on their heads and shoulders to denote that they are but dust and clay in respect of their king.

Being thus come up to the king, they discourse him concerning the subject matter of their petition on their knees; and when that is over, rise up, without presuming to look on him, but resting with their hands upon their knees, and from time to time casting sand or earth upon their heads and foreheads. All this while, the king scarce seems to take any notice of them, but diverts himself some other way; till at last, he returns a very short answer to their petition, with much gravity and in a majestick tone: after which, the petitioner withdraws, and joins the other persons of note, who usually assist at such ceremonies.

The king's will the law.
So great is the king's authority over the people of the highest rank, that he will sometimes, for the least offence, order the offender's head to be immediately struck off, and his goods and chattels confiscated; nay, sometimes he will also order his wives and concubines to be put to death. With the common people, and *Marabouts* or priests, his severity seldom extends to life, but to make them perpetual slaves.

Civility to the French.
When a *Marabout* or priest, or the *Azoaghe* of the *Moors*, or an *European* approaches king *Damel*, he salutes him with a bow, presenting his hand to lay it on his; but he shows much more kindness and friend-

ship to any *French* gentleman, whom he will cause to sit down by him, after the manner of the country, on the same mat or bed he sits on himself, which is very often a quilt, cover'd with red skins or leather, he having a long tobacco-pipe in his mouth, and asks him several questions; but most particularly concerning the nature and value of the present he has brought him: for, as I observ'd before, no *Frenchman* or other foreigner approaches him without it; and that commonly consists of three or four gallons of brandy, with some pieces of coral, some ells of linnen, some sugar or garlick, &c. For which reason, the *French* never wait on the king, but upon some extraordinary occasion; because it often happens, that besides the present, that prince will beg of the envoy his very clothes, hat and sword, or whatsoever he sees about him and fancies, and will over and above eat up the best part of the provisions, which must of necessity be carried along with him from home, to subsist him on his journey, so that some of these messengers have been in danger of starving by the way, in their return; his majesty seldom making any other return for his present, but a *Riud* or fore quarter of a camel, a little *Couscous*, some palm-wine, or a kid; all which is but very sorry food for a gentleman, who is us'd to better. It is true, the king never directly asks any thing he fancies of an *European*; but only desires a thing to be put into his hands, that he may view and examine it, and then never offers to return it.

At an audience the *French* factor of *Goeree* had of the king of *Juala*, that prince took off the hat of a friar, who was with the said factor, who desired the king to return the friar his hat, as being a very poor man. The king took this very ill, and answer'd, he did not want to be advised by him; but the next day sent the friar a young slave for his hat.

Good return.
When the king gives audience to foreign *Guards*, envoys, his guards do duty about him, arm'd with *Affagaia's* or javelins. The king of *Juala* has commonly five hundred men for his guard, divided into three bodies, thro' which the envoy is to pass before he comes to the king's apartment; and in the courts there are fifteen or twenty horses, indifferently well accoutred, and adorn'd with abundance of *Grigri*, to show his magnificence.

Drunken audience.
At these audiences there is generally much brandy and palm-wine drunk, so that it is much if the king or the envoy come off sober; and when it is about the time of dismissing the envoy, the king orders some of the officers of his guards to take out of the next village two or three of the first persons they can meet with, to present him as slaves. Upon some particular

cular occasions, he will add two or three oxen. Unhappy those poor wretches, who are thus seized by the officers, being condemn'd, without any offence committed, to lose their liberty, and be sent into miserable thralldom, at the arbitrary will of an unjust and cruel sovereign. This shows how absolute the power of the kings is here over their subjects; and if they are so inhumanly treated in their persons, how much worse must it be as to their properties? It is not therefore to be admir'd, that they impose what taxes they please, which is the reason that the Blacks in general are very poor and miserable. However, a king here shows very little difference in appearance from his subjects; their wealth, for the most part, only consisting in camels, dromedaries, beeves, goats, millet, and fruit.

BRAK king of SENEGA

Poor king. **H**AS but very small revenues, and being often in want of millet to maintain his family and retinue, is forc'd to go about the country, living two or three days upon his subjects in one town, and so to another, which proves very burdensome to many of them: for he not only eats their provisions, but takes whomsoever he fancies to make slaves of them, either for his own use, or to sell to the Europeans or Moors for goods, brandy, horses, &c.

This Brak has more horse in his army, than any of the other black kings of this country, because he can have as many horses as he pleases from the Azuagbe Moors his neighbours, of the country of Geneboa, in exchange for slaves. Besides, he is so great a lover of horses, that it has been sometimes observ'd, when provisions were very scarce in the country, that he would be so sparing of millet to feed them, as to live himself upon little besides tobacco and brandy; this liquor not being prohibited by the law of Mabomet, as wine is, for which reason they are often drunk with it.

A lover of horses.

I have been told, that this king maintains five or six thousand horse after this manner, which enables him to make frequent excursions into the dominions of his neighbours, to get cattle, slaves, or provisions. Brak, as has been before observ'd, is not the proper name of the person, but of the dignity. The Portuguese author Vasconcelos writes this name Breque.

SILLATICK king of the FOULES.

A potent prince.

IT is said of him, that he can bring fifty thousand men into the field upon occasion; but must dismiss them very soon, for want of provisions to subsist them. His ordinary food is millet, beef, and dates. He never drinks any liquor but water and milk, and is a stricter observer of the law of Ma-

bomet than any other in those parts, which he has learnt from his neighbours the Moors. His country produces dates and millet, and has very good pasture-grounds. The natives are accounted the most civiliz'd people of Nigritia, being neither so black as the other Negroes, nor so white as the Moors or Arabs.

BARBOT

It will not be improper to insert here what Vasconcelos writes of the manner of these Blacks making war. Tho' they are not acquainted, says he, with the European military discipline, yet their way of making war deserves in some measure to be inserted. All such as are capable of bearing arms, are distributed into certain regiments or bodies, maintain'd and quarter'd in places assign'd for that purpose, under the command of Ingarafes or colonels. When a war breaks out, orders are sent to the several quarters for bringing a mighty army into the field, without making any new levies; for the sons succeed their fathers, and thus put the prince to no extraordinary charge for their subsistence: besides, to save other expence, every foldier carries his own provision.

Manner of waging war.

Some of the black kings pretend to the moiety of all ships or vessels which happen to be drove ashore on their coasts by stress of weather, or any other accident, as being sovereigns of the said coasts.

Wrecks.

Others of them, and particularly the king of Baool, in case any Portuguese or other European dies in their dominions, claim all the goods and effects of the person deceased, to the prejudice of the creditors, kindred, and relations; and therefore when any of the French factors, residing in such country, find themselves very ill, they cause themselves, and all they have, to be removed to Goeree, to prevent the seizure in time. Nor is it very safe for such as are in health to live there, for fear of being poisoned by the king's command, in order to have a plausible pretence for risting of the factory; or even to trade with the people in sloops or canoes: so treacherous are those people upon that account.

Goods of foreigners dying seiz'd.

JUSTICE.

THE kings are assisted in the government, and in the administration of justice, by several officers, who have also their subalterns in every part of the land, and in every town of any note, an Alcaldé, or a Geraffo. Conde above-mentioned as viceroy and generalissimo of the kings forces, in the former of those qualities goes the circuit, with the Grand Geraffo or chief justice, at certain times, to hear the complaints, and decide the controversies of the people, and to inflict punishments, much in the same manner as is done in England; as also to inspect into the behaviour of the Alcaldes in their

Circuits. Geraffo chief-justice.

BARBOT. their respective districts. They order justice to be done off hand. A thief convicted, is punish'd by being made a slave; and it is rare that any one is put to death for this crime.

Vasconcelos says, the *Blacks* along this coast are brave enough upon occasion, and excellent horsemen, which, he adds, they have undoubtedly learned of the *Zenegas*, their neighbours to the northward; whom they much excel in their civil government, as much better observing distributive and commutative justice; and proceeding with much prudence and secrecy in the affairs which concern the preservation or aggrandizing of their state; being very impartial in distributing of rewards, and inflicting punishments. The antientest are preferred to be the prince's counsellors, keeping always about his person, and the men of most judgment and experience are judges, sitting every day to hear complaints, and decide all controversies. They have a sort of nobility and gentry among them, whom they call *Sabibobos*; as they do the *grandees* and princes of the blood *Tenbalas*, which are as it were the seminary of their kings, who are chosen from among them, but never under thirty years of age.

Alcaides. The *Alcaides*, or chief magistrates of towns, are generally collectors of the king's duties and revenues, and accountable to the king's *Alzari* or great treasurer, who is much of the same rank as the great *Geraffo*, but his authority more limited. The word *Alcaide*, used in these parts, is common to both *Whites* and *Blacks*, and signifies a governor of a town or village.

Trial of ordeal. It is reported, that when a person is accused of a crime, which cannot be sufficiently made out against him, he is oblig'd to lick a red-hot piece of iron three times, or to touch it with his lips; and if it burns him, he is looked upon as guilty; if not, he is consequently discharged without costs, but must immediately run away with the informer, and so the prosecution ends.

Corruption. However, it is here, as in other more civilized parts; for justice is not so impartially administred, but that very often the judges, nay the king himself will through favour, or prejudice, or corruption, condemn the innocent and distressed, and clear rich and powerful criminals. Such is the corruption of human nature every where. Many instances of corruption among these people might be brought, but that I think it superfluous, that crime being too notoriously practis'd among christians; and therefore none will question its prevailing among unpolished infidels, who have less ties to secure them against interest and human respects.

Of their WARS.

I Have before described the manner of their armies, composed of horse and foot, and how they manage their wars at home and abroad; it remains to add, that they engage in such wars upon very slight pretences or provocations.

When king *Damel* has resolved on any *small* martial expedition, he orders *Conde*, his *army*. generalissimo, to assemble the chief men, and all the *Blacks* of the country, from among whom a draught is made, to form a body of horse and foot, seldom exceeding 1500 men, most infantry, because this king has scarce 300 horse at command throughout his dominions.

This small army, being thus formed, the general *Conde*, and other chief officers, accoutred in the best manner, and particularly adorned with as many of their *Grigri* as almost load them, march according to the king's orders. The accoutrements, especially those of the horse, are so cumbersome, that if any of them happen to be dismounted in fight, they can scarce walk or mount again; and yet will not go into the field without them, because of the wonderful virtue they fancy is in the *Grigri*, as shall be observed.

Their way of fighting is a disorderly sort of fray or skirmish, which lasts not long. The first engagement being over, is renewed for two or three days successively, with great courage and resolution, meeting their enemies with fierce aspects, and a hideous mien. These encounters being over, each army sends a *Lyncherin*, or *Marabout*, to the other to treat about a cessation, or peace; which being once concluded, they both swear on the *Alcoran*, by their prophet *Mabomet*, as plenipotentiaries, punctually to observe the articles agreed on. The prisoners taken on both sides are never exchanged, but remain slaves to the captors.

Their RELIGION.

IT will be a hard task to give a good *Pagans*. account of it, most of the *Blacks* being gross superstitious pagans, living after the wildest manner, in woods and forests, preying on travellers, and making deities, according to their own extravagant fancies, of the similitudes of many ridiculous and absurd productions of nature, or of their own imagination. Others, tho' fewer in number, profess *Mabometanism*, especially those about the sea-coasts; but they know very little of that impostor's *Alcoran*.

Most of these *Mabometans* are about and *Mahome*; along the river *Gamboa*; and they are the *tans*. strictest observers of that law, tho' remoter from the *Azoaghe Moors*. Few of the *Senega*, and *Cabo Verde Blacks* can give any rational

rational account of the *Alcoran*, except the *Marabouts*, or priests, and some of the prime men, who are taught by them. These pay great reverence to it, and have here and there some *Mosques*, or places of devotion, built with mud walls, and thatch'd with straw or rushes, like their other common houses; and yet they seldom have any religious assemblies, or use books: nay, most of the *Marabouts* themselves, tho' they have the sole privilege of reading and writing, exclusive of all other persons whatsoever, are but indifferently knowing in the law of *Mabomet*; and differ very much among themselves in many points, there being at least 72 sects of *Mabometans* in *Africa*. Some of them follow the literal sense of the *Alcoran*, without any comment; others add the exposition of several *Marabouts*. *Vasconcelos* says, these *Blacks* have been infected with *Mabometanism* by their neighbours the *Azoagbes*; as it is natural for distempers to spread more than health, and vice rather than virtue.

Their worship. These *Mabometan Blacks* generally believe in one God, creator of all things, and worship him in their way. They salute the new moon, at every change, with loud cries, like the *Hottentots*; and at that time repair to the woods and forests, to make their *Sala*, or prayers, and offer sacrifice, which is commonly some rice, mixed with honey, and the blood of certain animals they kill for that purpose, eating part of the flesh, and laying up the rest in the hollow trunks of great trees; about which, some who mix *Mabometanism* and *Paganism*, place several odd and extravagant figures, of their own carving with knives.

New moons. Feasting and rejoicing on the first day of the new moon, was customary among the ancient *Jews*, as appears by what is said of *Saul's* feasting three days at the time of the new moon, 1 *Sam.* 20. The *Hebrews*, says an author, reckoned their months by the moon, at least in the latter times, yet not astronomically, but visibly from the day on which some men, deputed for that function, declared her to be new; which was the day immediately following her first appearance. Then they used to feast and rejoice for three days together, after offering their sacrifices of thanksgiving, and for their future prosperity.

Images forbid. To return to the *Blacks*: Others among them say, they ought not to represent the deity by any manner of likeness, or image, as being incomprehensible and invisible; and therefore all portraitures are so precisely forbid by their law, that the gold and silver coins in all *Mabometan* countries, have no other stamp but some *Arabick* letters, the prince's head never being put to it, as not allow'd by the law. For this

reason, the princes themselves, and more especially the kings of *Morocco*, *Fez*, *Tafilet*, *Suz* and *Darab*, who boast themselves lineally descended from *Mabomet*, in their seals use no other figures but the names of *Mabomet*, and of *JESUS CHRIST*, whom they call *Cidi Naiffa*; or of *Mabomet* and *God*, written in *Arabick* characters: all other coats of arms being also forbid by their law.

These are the truest *Mabometans*; yet they ridicule the mystery of the incarnation of our Saviour, in the womb of the virgin *Mary*, and much more his mediation between God and man, alledging, that *Mabomet* is the only mediator.

Others again assert, that God, who is so good, so great, and so powerful as to produce the lightning, the rain, the thunder, the winds, &c. and who rules the heavens and the earth, does not require the prayers and oblations of man, who is so infinitely below him in purity and sanctity; but that the devil, being a wicked mischievous spirit, who, as they conceit, beats and torments them, they ought therefore frequently to make application to him, that he may become more merciful towards them. Hence we may infer, that most of the worship and the sacrifices, above mentioned to be offered in the woods and forests, are directed to the evil spirit, and not to the true God.

The intention of their prayers and sacrifices is directed, that they may have handsome wives, plenty of corn and other food; that they may be victorious over their enemies; that the *Gune*, or the devil, may not hurt them; that they may have good weather, good fishing, and many other such petitions, according to their several wants and desires.

Nothing is more certain, than that those ignorant stupid people do firmly believe, that the devil beats and torments them, an instance whereof I mentioned before, at *Goeree*. This makes their condition very deplorable, as living under such miserable thralldom; and therefore they study all ways which they fancy, to be delivered from him. As for example, if a woman has been troubled by the devil, she is dressed in man's apparel, holding an *Affagaia* in one hand, and led about, singing in a doleful tone; which they pretend drives him away, so that he will touch her no more. The *Patagons*, a people of a gigantick stature, about the streights of *Magellan*, are reported to dread a great horned devil, by them called *Setebos*; pretending, that when any of their people die, they see that tall devil, attended by ten or twelve smaller; dancing merrily about the dead corpse.

Others

BARBOT. Others make use of forcerers; for they have those they believe to be such among them, who at those times, when the devil beats them, sing, roar, and make many grimaces, and strange motions with their bodies, to conjure and divert him from the patient.

Sorcerers. They believe predestination, acknowledging every accident that befalls them to be the divine decree; and when one man happens to kill another, they say, God has kill'd him. However, they punish the murderer, felling him for a slave.

Predestination. They are so superstitious, and put such confidence in the *Grigri*, or charms they carry about them, as really to believe they will preserve them from wild beasts, or any other fatal accidents, or even from incantment, as we shall see elsewhere.

Their MARABOUTS or PRIESTS, and GRIGRI or CHARMS.

Cheats of Marabouts. THE Marabouts are generally of *Arabick* or *Moorish* extraction, and by them call'd *Bischariuns*, or *Lyncherins*; on whose sleeves the *Blacks* so much pin their faith, that they can impose any absurdities, or nonsensical opinions whatsoever on them, and even, at pleasure, cheat them of all they have. It is not easy to conceive what frauds these fellows put upon them with the *Grigri's* they sell to the people, as having the sole liberty to read and write. They may be supposed to have been brought up to reading and writing *Arabick*, in the famous city of *Tombut*, seated on the north-side of the river *Senega*, above 200 leagues from its mouth; where the emperor of *Tombut* maintains schools, with store of *Arabick* books, brought thither successively from *Barbary*, by the *Caravans*; a great number of *Arabian* merchants resorting thither to trade, of which more in the Supplement.

Marmol. lib. 34. speaking of the ancient characters of the *Africans*, tells us, the most renowned of the *Arabian* historians are of opinion, that those people had no other letters but those of the *Romans*, when the *Mabometans* conquer'd *Barbary*, where there was, and still continues, the nobility of *Africa*. However, they believe, that people spoke another language besides the *Latin*, which was the most common. Hence it is, that all the histories left them by the *Arians*, are translated and abridged from the *Latin*, with the names of the lords and princes, answering to the reigns of the kings of *Persia*, *Affyria*, *Cbaldea*, and *Israel*, or to *Cæsar's* calendar. But it must be owned they have very few of them; for when the schismatick *Califs* ruled in *Africa*, they caused all books of sciences and history to be burnt, which the people, or those of

their own sect, could read. Some again affirm, the *Africans* had other characters, besides those of the *Romans*; but that the said *Romans*, the *Greeks*, and the *Goths*, abolished them; as the *Arabs* did afterwards with the *Persians*: for the *Califs* caused their books to be burnt, believing they would otherwise never be true *Mabometans*, as long as they kept any thing that could put them in mind of their idolatry. They also took from them the study of sciences, as well as from the *Africans*. Thus all the antiquities which are found by way of inscriptions in *Africa*, from before the coming in of the *Arabs*, are *Latin*, or *Gotbick*, and all the more modern, *Arabick*. *Ibni Alraquiq* says, the *Romans* defaced and erased the inscriptions and ancient characters they found in *Africa*, when they conquered it, and set up their own in their place, that they only might be immortalized, which is a frequent practice among conquerors; and that therefore it is, there remains no tract of ancient *African* characters: for which reason, we are not to be surprized that the native *Africans* should have lost their letters, having been for so many ages under the yoke of divers nations, who were of different religions; the last of which have none but *Arabick* letters, among which there are no vowels, but only points, or dots, in lieu of them; as in the *Chaldee* and *Hebrew* languages, which the *Arabick* much resembles, all three being writ quite the contrary way to the *Latin*. The *Arabick* grammar is very difficult, as to reading and writing, because that tongue is writ with abundance of accents; and the orthography is much more difficult than that of the *Latin*, because the words are very equivocal, so that the same word, writ with different accents, signifies several things: and one *Geda*, which is the redoubling of two consonants, makes a different signification of the same thing in the same word.

The *Grigri* are generally a quarter, or half a sheet or two of ordinary paper, quite full of many lines of coarse *Arabick* characters, pretty large, drawn with pen and ink. This ink is made of the ashes of a particular sort of wood, known by them. I have still some of these by me, which I keep as a curiosity, none of those I have shown them to in *Europe*, who are skilled in the *Oriental* languages, being able to read them; because some of the letters are *Hebrew*, some *Arabick*, and others *Syro-Arabick* intermix'd together in the same word or syllable, as is supposed. These writings, it is likely, are some passages or sentences out of the *Alcoran*, which they believe have many occult virtues, to preserve the persons they are worn by, from any misfortunes, every *Grigri* being for its peculiar use; some

to prevent being cast away, when they go a fishing; some to save them from being wounded, killed, or made slaves in war, or as they travel; others to secure them against thunderbolts; others to preserve women in child-bed; others to excel in swimming, to get many wives, or much wealth, to have a good fishery, and to all other purposes which relate to their welfare. In short, they have as much confidence in them, as ignorant people place in relicks, and therefore will boldly expose themselves to any danger.

Calendars
religious
men.

The *Grigri* may perhaps have been originally introduced by a certain sect of *Morabite-Arabs*, called *Calendars*, living in religious societies, or monasteries, among *Mahometans*, according to *Marmol*, lib. 2. chap. 3. who have a sort of cabalistical learning, or rather art-magick among them. Those religious men observe very austere fasting, and never eat any thing that has had life in it. All the hours of the day and night are appropriated to particular employments; and they are known by certain numbers, figures, or characters they wear about them, in square frames. They pretend to visions of heavenly spirits, which give them the true knowledge of worldly affairs. This sect is much feared and respected in *Africa*, says the same author; and, in the opinion of the people, they are great forcerers. Their rule was given them by one *Boni*, by the *Arabs* called the father of enchantments and forcery, who has writ a small treatise of the way of making those square frames, or *Calendars*. They have also three other books; the first and chiefest whereof is called *Ellumka-mitanor*, that is, instructions of light, containing their fasts and prayers. The second is *Sems-Elmaharifa*, that is, the sun of knowledge, which treats of the manner of making the *Calendars*, or square frames, and of the advantages thereof. The third, *Cyrr-les-mey-el-buzne*, that is, the secret of the divine attributes, treating of the virtue of the fourscore and ten names of God.

Phylacteries
of the
Jews.

I must farther add, in relation to these *Grigri's* of the *Blacks*, that they may perhaps have been originally made in imitation of the ancient practice of the *Jews*, of wearing *Phylacteries*; that is, rolls or slips of parchment, with some sentences of scripture writ on them, according to what God had commanded, *Deut. vi. ver. 8. to bind them for a sign upon their hands, and to be as frontlets between their eyes.* There was not a *Jew* but what wore them, and the *Pharisees* much larger than others, through an hypocritical affectation, *Matth. xxiii. ver. 5.* *Mahomet* having compiled his *Alcoran*, in part, of sentences and passages taken out of holy writ, intermixt with pagan rites, and the addition of his own impious and ri-

diculous opinions; and this pernicious doctrine being spread over this part of *Africa*, it may be rationally supposed, that the *Mahometan* zealots have, in imitation of the *Phylacteries* of the *Jews*, invented these new ones for their black disciples, they being supposed to be sentences or passages of the *Alcoran*; the *Marabouts* having found they took well with the people, and were extraordinary profitable to themselves.

In *Morocco*, the natives have a great respect for horses that have been the pilgrimage of *Mecca*, where *Mahomet* was born; and those horses they call *Hadgis*, or saints. *Hadgia*, or *Hagia*, is the name of the province, in which are the towns of *Mecca* and *Medina-al-Nabi*, two places reckoned holy by all true *Mahometans*; whence the name of *Hadgi*, given to the horses which have performed that journey, may be derived. Such horses have their necks then adorned with strings of beads, and relicks, being writings wrapped up in cloth of gold or silk, containing the names of their prophet, or some pretended saints of their law; and when these horses die, they are buried with as much ceremony as the nearest relations of their owners. The king of *Morocco* has one of them, whom he causes to be led before him, when he goes abroad, very richly accoutred and covered with these writings; his tail being held up by a christian slave, carrying in one hand a pot and a towel, to receive the dung, and wipe the fundament. The king himself sometimes kisses this horse's tail and feet.

Whatsoever was the original of these *Grigri*, that stupid ignorant people will willingly part with any thing they have to be furnish'd with as many as they are able to purchase, according to their quality and profession; and take a great pride in them. Some will give two or three slaves for one *Grigri*; others two, three, or four oxen, answerable to the virtues or qualities assign'd to it. I was told, that *Conde*, king *Damel's* viceroy, with whom I said I had an interview, constantly wore to the value of fifty slaves in these *Grigri's* about his body; and so every other person of note proportionally: for not only their caps and waist-coats, but their very horses are cover'd with them in the army, to prevent being wounded. To say the truth, some of the principal *Blacks* are so well furnish'd all over with *Grigri's* in every part of their bodies, under their shirts and bonnets, that they cannot well be wounded with any *Affagaia*, or javelin; nay, they often stand in need of being help'd to mount their horses, which are also adorn'd with the same, to render them the more sprightly, and prevent their being hurt.

BABROT. The *Grigri's* of the prime *Blacks*, and men in high posts, are wrapp'd up in a piece of linnen curiously folded, and artificially covered with a piece of reddish leather; some of them about an inch thick, others two, all neatly stitch'd. The smaller sorts are most worn about the hair, or in the nature of necklaces, many of them ty'd in a string, intermixt with some pieces of red coral and *Cauris*, or another sort of red shells. But some wear more of these baubles about their caps or bonnets than about the neck. Those of the meaner people are only cover'd with some red stuff, made much larger, and pretty thick, which they wear before and behind about their stomachs. Others again are made only of a horse's tail, or of the horns of deer, rams, or bullocks, cover'd with red serge or cloth. Of this last sort was that I took from about the neck of a common *Black* at *Goeree*, which put him almost beside himself, in so much that I had much difficulty to appease him, and could not prevail without some bottles of brandy and many threats. Thus much for the *Grigri*.

Marabout *frands.* I return now to the *Marabouts* or priests. What has been said above, plainly shows, how blind and implicit a faith the *Blacks* have in them, in relation to religious matters, whereby they are often encouraged to practise many villanies among those simple people; as for instance, it happened about the year 1677, that a *Marabout*, descended from the *Arabian Moors*, possess'd himself of the kingdom of *Kayor* under colour of religion, deposing the king *Damel*, and giving out, he was sent from heaven for that end; and that he had the power of miracles, especially that of causing the earth to produce abundance of corn and other food without labour; which the people so firmly believ'd, that they turn'd off their own king. But having waited some years in expectation of those happy times he had promis'd, so agreeable to their natural slothfulness, and all that while neglected to till their lands, they were at last reduced to such distress for want of food, that I was told, several of them were compell'd by necessity to eat human flesh; and very many sold themselves for slaves, to get bread; till at last, being exasperated by misery, and sensible that they had been deceiv'd by that impostor, whose design was to plunder them and their neighbours, during the revolt, they banish'd him, and restored their own king; resolving never more to entertain any *Marabout*, but to sell all such as they should find in their country for slaves. I am apt to believe there was one of this sort among the slaves I purchased at *Goeree* in the year 1681; for I observ'd, that during five or six months he was aboard the ship, he always kept apart from the other slaves, when he could conveniently, and

continually appear'd pensive, and disorder'd in his mind: but would never discover what he was, tho' it plainly appear'd by his gestures and tawny complexion, that he was a *Marabout* of *Arabick* descent. This revolt of the *Marabout* before mention'd, *chap. 4.* was, in all likelihood, the occasion of the mighty famine, still continuing in that country, when I arriv'd at *Goeree* above spoken of, towards the conclusion of the second chapter.

The *Marabouts* may not marry any women, but the daughters of *Moors*, nor teach any persons to write or read, but such as are of their own tribe; and therefore value themselves as much above the black men of letters, as those do themselves above others, and yet those *Blacks* are much honour'd, both here and at *Tombut*, where the college is, for their students. However, these schools are like those at *Mequinez*, in the empire of *Morocco*, and in others throughout *Africa*, where all the extent of the students learning consists in reading the *Alcoran* from one end to the other. When he has run through it, he is finely dress'd, mounted on horseback by his companions, and led about the town in triumph, with mighty praises and acclamations.

They circumcise the children of the *Blacks* at eleven years of age, causing them to swallow the prepuce or foreskin which is cut off, and will not allow them to complain, tho' the pain they endure by the operation be ever so great; but will make them laugh, when they fear the wound with a red-hot iron, to stop its bleeding.

During the whole night which precedes *Mabomet's* great festival like *Easter*, of which more hereafter, they light abundance of lamps and torches in their *Mosques*, and the *Talbes* or *Marabouts* sing his praises there incessantly till the day appears.

The *Mabometans* are often seen in the streets, sitting on their heels near a wall, and holding long strings of beads, which they drop as fast as is answerable to the shortness of the prayers they say by them; and those only consist in pronouncing the several attributes they assign to God, as saying at every bead, *God is great, God is good, God is infinite, God is merciful, &c.*

They pray five times a day, particularly at sun-rising and setting, and at midnight, and at every time before they make their *Sala* or prayer, they make their ablution, according to the law of *Mabomet*; that is, to wash their bodies all over several times, and while praying, often repeat these *Arabick* words, *Alla Mech-met, Ely, Allah, Ely.* They are so attentive at their devotions, that nothing can divert them, even though they should see their own combets or huts on fire. They always take off their *Babouches* or shoes at the door of the *Mosque*, and wash their

their heads, hands, and feet, pretending to cleanse themselves from sin. When a man has had to do with his wife, or committed any crime, he is to wash his body all over, before he enters the *Mosque*, or to pronounce these words reckoned the most sacred in their law, *La illa illeula Mahameth Darazoulla*, signifying, *There is but one God, and Mahomet is his messenger*. These words they believe have the same virtue as bathing. The women never enter their *Mosques*, being look'd upon as incapable of ever entering paradise, because, according to them, only created for the propagation of human race. Yet they make the *Sala*, or pray in their houses; and on *Fridays* repair to the burial-places to pray and weep over the graves of their relations, being then generally clothed in blue, which is the mourning of the *Mussulmans*, as

the *Mahometans* call themselves. They have BARBOT many other superstitions, no less unaccountable, and too tedious to be inserted here.

When the *Marabouts* of the *Blacks*, who, Ignorance for the most part, are not very strict observers of the *Alcoran* rules, are ask'd whence they derive their ablutions, circumcision, and other ceremonies in use, they make no other answer, but that they have been practis'd by them and their ancestors time out of mind.

I have shown how much these *Africans* are subject to superstition, and shall add no more but this one particular, that they will not ease themselves at sea, unless they be too far from the shore; and when they do it at land, they cover it with earth or sand, according to the ceremonial law given to the *Jews*, *Deut. xxiii. 13.*

CHAP. VI.

Of Mahomet and his Alcoran; the several sects of Mahometans; the cities of Medina and Mecca, and Mahomet's tomb; and of the Arabs, their original; first coming into Africa, &c.

HAVING already made mention of *Mahomet* and his *Alcoran*, which I shall have occasion several times to speak of again in the following description of *Nigritia* and *Guinea*, it will not be improper to give some small account of both, for the information of such as are altogether unacquainted with them.

MAHOMET,

His birth.

THE *Arabian* false prophet, was born, according to some authors, at *Harib* near *Mecca*, in *Arabia Felix*, on the fifth of *May*, in the year of our Lord 570. His father was a pagan, call'd *Abdala*, was the son of *Abdelmutalef*, and grandson to *Abdelmenef*; his mother a *Jewish* woman, by name *Emina*, the daughter of *Hyayof*. However, those of his sect will have him to be of royal extraction, and have deduced his genealogy from *Adam*, with as little sense as is to be found in his religion. Poverty at first oblig'd him to serve an *Arabian* merchant of *Canaan*, whose name was *Kero Padicha*, by which means he convers'd much among *Christians* and *Jews*. His mother's brother pretending to be a great astrologer and magician, gave out he would be a mighty king and law-giver; which render'd him famous.

Goes to service.

Marries his mistress.

His master dying, the widow, whose name was *Cadirbe* or *Tadige*, a woman of about fifty years of age, was prevail'd upon by *Mahomet* to marry him, by which means he became her other husband's heir. He made use of her wealth to raise himself, and being naturally ambitious, strove to get above all

his companions. To this purpose he associated with one *Batiros*, a *Jacobite*; *Sergius*, a *Nestorian* heretick; and some *Jews* of his acquaintance; that his sect might have something of every religion.

The ALCORAN.

WITH their assistance he compiled the The nature of it. *Alcoran*, signifying in *Arabick* the book; being a volume full of incoherences and absurdities, divided into four parts, and each of them into several chapters, with comical titles to them; as, *Of the cow, of the ants, of the spiders, of the table, of the fleas*; and many, more no less ridiculous. The book is compos'd in *Arabick*, pure as to the style, but so void of method, that it is a meer jumble of incongruity; the impostor sometimes speaking in his own person, sometimes as by the mouth of God, and sometimes for the faithful. All his notions are borrow'd from the heresies of *Arius*, *Sabellius*, and such others. He sometimes makes use of the histories of the bible, falsifying as is for his turn, corrupting that of the patriarchs; and adding fables, about the birth of *Christ*, and his fore-runner *St. John Baptist*. Notwithstanding all this, the book is in such veneration among those infidels, that if a *Christian* or a *Jew* should but touch it, he would be immediately put to death, unless he changed his religion; and if a *Mussulman* or true believer, as they call themselves, handles it without washing his hands, he is reputed criminal. So fully has their false prophet persuaded them, that not all the men in the world, nor even all the angels in heaven, can

Veneration paid to it.

BARBOT can ever compose such another. For this reason they hate all that do not believe it, and pretend, that God sent it to *Mabomet* by the angel *Gabriel*, written on a parchment made of the skin of the ram, which *Abraham* sacrificed in lieu of his son.

As for the doctrine, it says, that after the punishment of the first posterity of *Adam*, who is placed as antientest in the catalogue of prophets, *Noah* repair'd what the former had lost. That *Abraham* succeeded this second, and *Joseph* the third, he being produced by a miracle, as *Moses* was preserv'd by another. That *St. John Baptist* was sent to preach the gospel, which was establish'd by *JESUS CHRIST*, conceiv'd without corruption, in the womb of a virgin, free from the temptations of the devil, created by the breath of God, and animated by his Holy Spirit; and that *Mabomet* had confirm'd it. Notwithstanding his giving these encomiums to the Saviour of the world, whom this book calls *The word, the virtue, the soul, and the strength of God*; yet he denies his eternal generation, and mixes extravagant fables with the sacred truths of christianity.

Opinion of
CHRIST.

MAHOMETAN TENETS.

Con-
cerning
CHRIST.

THEY hold that there is but one God without trinity of persons; that *JESUS CHRIST* was a great prophet, calling him *Cidy-Naiffa*, and their own prophet *Cidy-Mabameth*. They allow *CHRIST* to have been the most holy of all men, that he wrought infinite miracles, yet do not allow that he died as we believe, but that he was taken up into heaven, where he continues both in soul and body, and will return to live forty years on the earth, in order to reunite all nations under one only law; after which, he shall be laid in the tomb, which *Mabomet* caus'd to be made on the right hand of his own. They believe that those who follow'd the doctrine of *JESUS CHRIST* till the coming of *Mabomet*, will be sav'd; but that the religion we now profess, not being the same which he taught, and the persecution of the *Jews* having hindred his bringing it to perfection, such as will not follow the law of their prophet, who was sent by God for no other purpose than to give it the last perfection, and whom therefore they call his great favourite, and the interpreter of his will, shall suffer eternal pains.

Children
under fif-
teen sav'd.

They hold, that all children dying before the age of fifteen years, whether they be christians, jews, or idolaters, go to heaven; but if they pass that age, without acknowledging *Mabomet* for God's favourite, they are lost to eternity; except females dying virgins, which they pretend are reserv'd for accomplishing the number of seventy,

And vir-
gins.

which every *Mussulman* or believer is to enjoy in heaven. They allow the books of *Moses*, the psalms of *David*, the holy gospels, as interpreted by *Sergius the Nestorian*, and the *Alcoran* to be true canonical scriptures. They admit of praying for the dead, after the doctrine of *Origen*, believing that the torments of the damn'd will cease at last, and that the devils shall be converted by the *Alcoran*.

Mabomet makes the soul to be a portion of God, as the *Gnosticks* did; and tho' he allows free-will in man, yet asserts a destiny, like the pagans. The *Alcoran* says, *Seven heavens*. there are seven heavens, and the book of *Azar* adds, that *Mabomet* saw them all, being mounted on an animal, call'd *Alborak*, which was bigger than an ass, and smaller than a mule. The first of those heavens was of pure silver; the second of gold; the third of precious stones, in which was an angel of such a prodigious magnitude, that one of his hands was seventy thousand days journey distant from the other, in one of which he held a book, which he was continually reading. The fourth heaven was of emeralds; the fifth of crystal; the sixth of the colour of fire; and the seventh, a delicious garden, through which there ran springs and rivers of milk, honey, and wine, with abundance of ever-green trees, loaded with apples, the kernels whereof are converted into virgins, so beautiful and sweet, that if one of them should but spit into the vast ocean, the waters of it would immediately lose their saltness.

This unaccountable book adds, that this heaven is guarded by angels, some of which have heads like oxen, bearing horns, with forty thousand knots in them, and that there is forty days journey distance from one knot to another. Others of those angels have seventy thousand mouths, in each of which are seventy thousand tongues, and each of them praises God seventy thousand times a day in seventy thousand different languages.

Before the throne of God stand fourteen lighted torches, being fifty years journey in length; but it does not say, whether these journeys are on foot or on horseback. All the apartments in these fabulous heavens will be adorn'd with all that can be imagin'd most pompous, rich, and magnificent; and the blessed shall be fed with the rarest and most exquisite eatables. Besides, they shall marry maidens, which shall retain their virginity; making felicity to consist in sensual brutality.

The ingenious *Monf. Pascal*, speaking of the *Mahometan* religion, says, *it has the Alcoran for its foundation, and Mahomet was the compiler of it; but that his paradise is singularly ridiculous*. And indeed what can be imagin'd

Monstrous
angels.

Felicity of
heaven.

Ridiculous
notions.

imagin'd more absurd and stupid, than the idea of the blessed in heaven as related above, and as follows on below.

Hell. The *Alcoran* says, that women shall not enter into paradise; but will at a distance behold the felicity of their husbands. As for hell, it will be a place of torments, which will end at last, through the goodness of *Mabomet*, who will wash the damn'd in a spring, and then cause them to feast on the fragments of the provisions of the blessed.

Purgatory. For purgatory, the *Alcoran*, and the *Suna* say, that after death, two black angels come into the grave, and return the departed soul into its body; then they examine the person, whether he has duly observed the law. If the deceased answers in the affirmative, and it is not true, the offending member gives him the lye, and reproaches him with his crime: after which, one of those black spirits knocks him on the head with a hammer, in such a furious manner, as sinks him seven fathom deep in the earth, and torments him for a long time. If, on the contrary, the dead man has answered right, as being innocent, two white angels succeed in the place of the black, and carefully preserve that body till the day of judgment.

Supporter of the earth. The earth, according to this book, was created in two days, and is upheld by an ox, standing under it, on a white stone, with his head to the east, and his tail to the west, having forty horns, and as many teeth; and the horns at such distance from each other, that it is as much as a man could do to walk from any one of them to the next in a thousand years, tho' he never rested. To conclude with these ridiculous notions, it will suffice to add to what has been already mentioned, that the *Alcoran*

Articles of religion. sets forth two abominable propositions, as the basis of the law; the first is predestination, or the belief, that whatsoever happens is so firmly decreed by the eternal being, that nothing can divert it. The second, that this religion is to be planted without miracles, established without disputing, and received without contradiction; insomuch, that all who oppose it, are to be put to death without any form of process, or trial; and that the *Mussulmans*, or faithful, killing such unbelievers, merit paradise by so doing. Hence, to this day, in the empire of the cherif of *Morocco*, the people have so great an abhorrence for the very name of a christian, which in their language imports the same as a dog, that it is a most common and provoking reproach among them. They never utter it

Hatred to christians and others. without adding, *God destroy him, or God burn his father and mother.* These are the first expressions they teach their children, when they begin to speak; and when

a christian appears in *Mequinez*, the re-*BARBOT.* sidence of the court, he is generally exposed to be hooted at by the rabble and children, which follow their sport of abusing and throwing stones at him. The *Alcoran* enjoins its being forc'd on mankind by violence and arms. They are no less mortal enemies to all sects of *Mabometans* differing from their own, and particularly those who follow *Omar*.

I will now briefly mention what hap-*Comments varies on the Alcoran.* pened in relation to this extravagant book, after the decease of *Mabomet*. The eastern nations, who are no less inconstant than superstitious, labouring to become perfect in this new religion, there were at last found above two hundred different commentaries on the *Alcoran*. This confusion of doctrines being likely to occasion much mischief, among those headstrong ignorant people, every one endeavouring to enhance the value of his own chimerical comments; *Mohavia*, then calif of *Babylon*, contrived to appease the troubles arising with that variety of sects. To this effect, he summoned a general assembly to meet in the city of *Damascus*, whither all such as had any writings of their legislator, or his successors, were ordered to bring them. The vast diversity of opinions produced such hot contests among those doctors, that nothing could be concluded. Hereupon, *Mohavia* chose himself six of the most learned, whom he shut up in an apartment, with directions that each of them should pick out what he could find best in all that variety; whereof there were six books composed, which to this day are called the *Alcoran*, all the rest being cast into the river. It was then ordered, that no person whatsoever should presume to say, believe, or act contrary to what was writ in that volume, under the penalty of being declared a heretick. Notwithstanding all the care those doctors had taken to establish one sole fundamental doctrine, they could not prevent becoming authors of four several capital sects.

FOUR SECTS of MAHOMETANS.

The first sect. THE first is that called *Melquia*, from the doctor *Melick*, whom *Marmol* names *Ibnilmelec*, being that of *Abubeker*, father-in-law to *Mabomet*, the most superstitious, and followed by the *Moors* and *Arabs*, or the *Saracens*, *Agareniens* and *Africans*. *The second.* The second is called *Imeniana*, or *Pontifical*, agreeable to the interpretation of *Ali* or *Hali*, son-in-law to *Mabomet*, as having married his daughter *Fatima*, being the most rational, and followed by the *Persians*; as also by the *Berebere Arabs*, who wander in hoards about the desarts of *Lybia*; by the *Indians*, some people in *Arabia*, the *Gelbins*

BARBOT. *Gelbins of Africa*, and some *Barbarians* dwelling on the neighbouring mountains. *Marmol* names this sect *Hanesia*, or *Asafia*, that is, the law of religion, and devotion; adding, that it is followed by a great number of *Saracens*, and by the people of *Damascus* and *Syria*. *The third.* The *Turks* follow the third, which is the freest, being that of *Omar*, which *Marmol* says is called *Buanesia*, or *Cbesaya*, from the names of the authors, who compiled or digested it, like the other two above. It is also called *Lesbaria*, from one *Lesbari*, who became the head of the *Arabian* divines, and gathered the three others *The fourth.* into one volume. The *Tartars* follow the fourth, which is the most simple, and suitable to the sentiments of *Odeman*, or *Othoman*. *Mabomet* is equally respected by all these sorts of deluded wretches, who all believe he is the greatest of prophets. The religion of all these several nations is described in their history and geography, to which I refer the curious; as also to what *Marmol* has writ concerning those particular sects, which had all a being, when he liv'd, in *Asia* and *Africa*.

Many holy and learned christian doctors have solidly refuted the impostures of this extravagant collection; as *St. John Damascene*, *Peter of Cluni*, the cardinal of *Cusa*, *John of Segovia*, &c.

Their RAMADAN or LENT, and FESTIVALS.

Ridiculous **T**HE *Mabometans* keep a lent of thirty days, by them called *Ramadan*, fasting from break of day, till the first appearance of the stars in the evening, and then spend most of the night in gluttony and debauchery. Some days before the *Ramadan* begins, they prepare for it with abundance of mirth, repeated volleys of small arms, and frequent cries of *Allah*, that is, God. They are all on the watch to discover the new moon, and fire at her as she rises. Then they assemble, to make their *Sala*, or prayer, with their *Marabout*, or *Talbe*; kneeling, rising, and prostrating themselves, with their faces on the ground, successively, always looking towards the east. *Festivals.* They have three great festivals, like our *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, which they observe for the space of seven days, but do not abstain from buying and selling, any more than on *Fridays*, which are their *Sabbath*. The first of these festivals is kept on the first day of the moon after their *Ramadan*; on which day the *Cherif*, or emperor of *Morocco*, usually has all prisoners brought before him, and either acquits, or puts them to death, according to the nature of their offences, or the humour he is then in, for he is a cruel and bloody prince. *Mr. St. Olan* reports of him, that on the

third day of this festival, he in his presence put twenty men to death. The second festival, called the great, is seventy days after the *Ramadan*, and celebrated by sacrificing to *Mabomet* as many sheep as they have male children in their families, in memory of the sacrifice of *Abraham*, the father of *Ismael*, the progenitor of the *Arab Agarenians*, and from him they believe *Mabomet's* mother was lineally descended. The third festival is always three moons and two days after the second, and kept in honour of *Mabomet's* birth; during the first days whereof, they feed on pap, in memory of that which he eat. They celebrate the feast of *St. John Baptist* with bonfires in their gar- *Feast of St. John Baptist.* dens, burning much frankincense about the fruit-trees, to draw a blessing on them. They allow of circumcision, but do not fix the age, nor the time for it. Besides the feast of *St. John*, they call upon about a dozen more of their saints; and particularly *Cidi-Bellabec*, who they say is *St. Augustin*, the word *Cidi* importing holy or lord. They all make the *Sala*, or pray four times a day, and once in the night, at certain set hours, which are notify'd to them by the cries and noise made by proper officers, like our sextons, on the tops of their *Gemmes* or *Mosques*. They observe abundance of ablutions, or washings, and other ceremonies in their religious worship; which I forbear to dilate upon, referring to the proper authors.

To return to *Mabomet*: He having thus *Mahomet's rise.* made up his religion, partly of *Judaism*, and partly of the ravings of condemned hereticks, adapting it to the sensuality of corrupt nature, first caused a parcel of wicked men, and vagabond robbers, who knew nothing of God, or righteousness, to embrace it by the powerful argument of his wealth, and some sly insinuations. With these men he had recourse to arms, and by degrees subdued several nations, more particularly those of *Arabia*. He had under him ten chief lieutenants, which were *Abubeker Cedie*, his father-in-law, *Omar Ben el Hatab*, *Odman Ben-afen*, *Ali Ibni Abitaleb*, *Moavia*, *Ali Zubeir*, *Abiazed*, *Abiazid*, *Ali Obeid*, and *Abutal Hael Anzari*, alias *Zeid Aben Cebel*. All these were his prime doctors, or divines, as well as commanders. The three first of them successively became califs after *Mabomet*, or sovereigns of all the dominions he had ruled over, contrary to what he had appointed, viz. that *Ali* his son-in-law should succeed him. But the other three combining together, after the death of *Mabomet*, by their interest, and the votes of the other prime commanders, chose *Abubeker* the first calif; after whom the others succeeded in the supreme authority.

His frauds. *Mabomet* being, as has been said, got into power, put to the sword all that refused to submit to his government, and to embrace his religion. Thus, by hypocritical means, this impostor was, in a short time, followed by a vast multitude; and the better to blind and deceive them, being himself much troubled with the falling sickness, he had a tame pigeon which would then come and peck in his ear; and that he persuaded his followers was the angel *Gabriel*, sent by God, to tell him what he was to do. It is also reported, that having once caused one of his companions to hide himself in a dry well, he ordered him to cry aloud as he passed by, that *Mabomet* was the true prophet. This man did so, and those dull people admired at that wonder; but the impostor, fearing his knavery would be discovered, immediately ordered his company to fill up that well, lest it should afterwards be profaned, as he pretended. The well was accordingly filled up with stones, and the wretch within it perished in a miserable manner.

His flight from Mecca. Most of the *Arabs*, being a people fond of novelty, followed *Mabomet*; but his countrymen, who knew something better, expelled him with scorn, when they perceived his design was to set up for a prophet and lawgiver. Thus was he forced to fly from *Mecca*, on the 16th of July 622, and retired to *Medina al Nabi*, that is, the city of the prophet, distant four days journey from *Mecca*. From that day the *Mabometans* reckon their *Hegira*, that is, their computation of time, as christians do from the birth of our Saviour. He had several wives, yet left only one daughter, called *Fatima*; tho' others say he had three. He

His death. is said to have died on the 17th of June, in the year of our Lord 631, having reigned eight years and some months, and lived sixty seven lunar or *Arabick* years. Since that time his followers have made themselves masters, of *Palestine*, *Syria*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, *Greece*, &c. and a very great part of the world has submitted to his law.

Pilgrimages. The city of *Medina*, tho' of little extent, is nevertheless very famous among the *Mabometans*, as well as *Mecca*, and both of them yearly resorted to in great caravans from very remote parts of the world, and even from the western shores of *Africa*, as *Fez*, *Morocco*, *Tremezen*, *Sus*, &c. tho' at a prodigious distance; the people resorting to pay their vows and religious worship to that false prophet's body, which is deposited in *Medina*, in the principal *Mosque*, by them called *Mos al Kibu*, that is, the most holy. It is supported by 400 pillars, with upwards of 3000 silver lamps. There is a little tower, all covered with plates of silver, and hung with cloth of gold, in which is *Ma-*

homets coffin, under a canopy of cloth of BARBOT. silver, embroidered with gold, yearly sent thither by the *basia* of *Egypt*, at the grand seignior's charge. It is not true, that his coffin is made of iron, and hangs in the air, being attracted by load-stones, as some have given out; for though it be death for any christian to come within fifteen leagues of the place, the truth has been made known by *Turkish* pilgrims, who afterwards became christians, who have declared, that the coffin is supported by very small columns of black marble, encompassed with silver banisters, hung with a great number of lamps; the smoke whereof does so darken the place, that it is not easy to discern how the coffin is upheld. The *Turks* are obliged, by their religion, to undertake a pilgrimage once in their life, to worship that tomb; but at present only the meaner sort perform it, the richer being easily dispensed with by the *Musti*, who is the high-priest of the *Mabometans*.

At *Mecca*, they pay their devotions at a *Mecca*. place called *Kiaabe*, being a square house, by them called the house of God, and supposed to have been built by *Abraham*. The most renowned of all *Mabometan Mosques*, and the most resorted to in the universe, stands in the middle of this city, and may be seen at a great distance from the town, by reason of its high roof in the nature of a cupola, with two lofty towers, of a curious structure. There are above an hundred doors into it, with every one a window over it. The floor is deep in the ground, and they descend into it by ten or twelve steps. They reckon the ground it stands on sacred, for two reasons; the first, because, say they, *Abraham* built his first house on that spot; the second, because *Mabomet* was born there. The whole *Mosque* glitters with the richest tapistry, and other works in gold; but more particularly one part, which has no roof, and, according to their tradition, is the extent of *Abraham's* house; the door leading into it being of silver, just broad enough for a man to pass through. On one side of it is a *Turbe*, so they call a chappel, enclosing a very deep well, of brackish water, which they reckon so holy, that it cleanses from all sin such as are washed with it. On the day which answers to our 23d of March, a solemn festival is there kept, after their manner, by drawing water from this well, and sprinkling the *Mussulmans*, or believers, with it. This is done when the caravans of pilgrims arrive at *Mecca*. The arches of the *Mosque*, and the shops standing about it, are full of a prodigious quantity of rich merchandize, precious stones, and aromatick powders, which spread a most admirable odour.

BARBOT.

Of the ARABS.

THEY all pretend to be descended from *Ismael* and *Esau*, as mentioned in the introductory discourse. There are very many of them in *Africa*, who first enter'd it in the year of our Lord 653, under *Odman*, or *Othman*, their calif, who sent thither an army of above 80000 combatants, commanded by *Oecuba Ben Nafic*. These *Arabs* built there the city of *Cairaven* or *Carvan*, 30 leagues east from *Tunis*. In the year of CHRIST 999, which is of the *Hegira*, or *Mahometan* æra 400, three races or tribes of *Arabs* were sent into *Africa*, by permission of *Caira*, calif of *Carvan*. At this time the *African Arabs* are dispersed in several parts, and have many communities. The principal tribe or hoard of them is called *Esquequia*, divided into six others, who live in their *Aduars*, or villages, which are easily removed from place to place, as consisting only of tents, with only two avenues to them; the one for the herds of cattle to come in, and the other for them to go out; both shut up at night with thorns to keep out the lions. The *Arabs* of *Numidia* are as miserable as the native *Africans* of that country. They have better natural parts, and more courage, keep abundance of horses for sale, and love hunting, astrology and poetry. The other *Arabs* of *Africa* are not so poor, except those who live in the desarts of *Barca*, betwixt *Barbary* and *Egypt*. They are said to be treacherous and thievish, especially those last mentioned, who are often obliged to pawn their children to merchants of *Sicily*, and other places, for corn to subsist them. So great is their propension to robbery and theft, that their very name seems to imply it; for where the prophet *Jeremy* says, like a thief in the wilderness; *St. Jerom* turns it, like an Arab in the wilderness.

Arabs of Numidia.
How they came into Africa.

These *Arabs* are generally a slothful unactive people, retaining nothing of the former bravery of their ancestors, who extended their conquests so far, not only in *Asia* and *Africa*, but even in *Europe*, and particularly in *Spain*; which kingdom they, for the most part, subdued, being called in by the base count *Julian*, because king *Roderick* had debauched his daughter. Those infidels drove the *Goths* into the mountains of *Leon*, *Asturias* and *Galicia*, after they had been possessed of that nation during the reigns of thirty-four kings, from *Ataulfus*, the founder of their monarchy in the year 412, to *Roderick* in 713. The *Arabian* authors call this entrance into *Spain*, the victory of *Andaluzia*. At their first landing there, they were 200000 foot and 40000 horse, against whom king *Roderick* opposed 120000 foot and 10000 horse, who encamped between *Xeres* and *Medina Sidonia*; and on Sunday

the second of September 714, a year fatal to *Spain*, the battle began, which lasted eight days successively, with various success on both sides; till at last, on the Sunday following, in the evening, the *Goths* gave way. King *Roderick*, most authors say, was killed, yet others affirm he fled, disguised in a shepherd's habit, and with one *Romanus* a holy monk, after recovering from a swoon, occasioned by trouble and weariness, made his way into *Portugal*; where they both took their dwelling on the sea-coast, near the town of *Pederneira*, about nine miles from each other, and there ended their days. Twenty thousand *Moors* were slain in this battle. A *Spanish* historian upon this occasion observes, that the number eight was fatal to *Spain*, for the battle lasted eight days, the *Moors* spent eight months in subduing *Spain*; during which time, 80000 men lost their lives, and the *Spaniards* were 800 years in recovering of the country. When the *Moors* had overrun the greatest part of *Spain*, *Don Pelago*, or *Pelagius*, erected a little kingdom among the mountains of *Galicia*, *Asturias* and *Leon* in the year 717.

In or about the year 732, for authors vary, *Charles Martel*, general of the *French*, gave these infidels a mighty overthrow near *Tours*, where they were ravaging and destroying all the country. Some affirm, there were no less than 300000 slain in this battle, others more modestly write 80 or 100000, and with them their king *Abderramen*. After this defeat, the *Saracens* were in a few years quite expelled *France*, where they had ranged over the provinces of *Languedoc* and *Guienne*, by *William*, surnamed, *au Cornet*, prince of *Burgundy*, who had the principality of *Orange* bestowed on him by *Charlemain*, as the reward of his victories, he having also taken the city of *Orange* from *Theobard*, a *Saracen* king. *Charlemain* also constituted him constable of *France*, duke of *Aquitain* and *Provence*, earl of *Toulouse*, and governor of *Languedoc*. From this *William*, the princes of *Orange* deduce their genealogy; and he wore a horn on his buckler, and was thence surnamed *au Cornet*. *Charlemain* himself gave the *Arabs* a great defeat in *Spain*, in the year 778. The *Goths* after some time venturing out of their mountains, by degrees drove those infidels out of *Spain*; yet that war lasted near 800 years, till *Ferdinand V.* surnamed the *Catholick*, king of *Aragon*, marrying *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth* of *Castile*, united those two crowns, and conquered the kingdom of *Granada* from the *Moors*, after a war of eight years, and quite expell'd them *Spain*, in the year of CHRIST 1492. *Mahomet Boabdi i*, surnam'd *el Chico*, or the little, son to *Muley Assen*, was then king of *Granada*.

This

Granada city.

This city of *Granada*, by some is said to have been founded by *Bedis*, son to *Aben Habus*, who lived in the tenth century; but this must be meant of re-edifying or enlarging, that place having been noted several ages before. The annals of the *Arabs* tell us, the *Moorish* kings kept their residence there, from that time, till the days of *Aben Hul*, who drove the *Almobades* out of *Spain*. This *Aben Hul* settled his court at *Almeria*, and was there killed, and *Mabomet Alamar*, his successor, restor'd it to *Granada*. The city increased wonderfully; and authors affirm it contain'd 60000 houses. King *Bulbar* erected there such sumptuous and magnificent structures, and of such prodigious expence, that his subjects positively believed he had the art of making gold. There were ten successors from him to *Muley Assen*, the father of *Boabdili*, the last king. *Granada* is still one of the greatest cities in *Spain*, and the pleasantest in summer, by reason of the purity of the air, and the vast number of fountains in it. The *Moors* were wont to say, that paradise was in the part of heaven, which is over this city.

I might here entertain the reader with an ample account of the manners, government, sciences, language and religion of the *Arabs* in *Africa*; but that it would be too long a digression from the subject in hand, and therefore shall briefly touch something of those particulars.

There is no question, but that the language of the *Arabs* is one of the beautifullest and most ancient. Their letters are linked together; they use two sorts of punctuation, and sometimes three or four letters are exactly alike, and only distinguishable by these points set over, or under them. Their alphabet consists of twenty-nine letters, tho' the *Hebrew* has but twenty-two.

Arabick letters.

Learning.

Of these people, some are merchants and traffick, others profess literature, and particularly philosophy, physick, astrology and mathematicks. They have also grammarians, rhetoricians, historians, and interpreters of the *Alcoran*. This is what renders the *Arabick* language so highly esteemed, especially in *Asia*, where these sciences are more frequently to be met with among the *Arabs*, inhabiting that large quarter of the world, than among those in *Africa*. They have had eminent men in all these sciences. *Almanzor*, of the family of *Ben Abas*, who began his reign in the year of the *Hegira* 137, and of *CHRIST* 775, to the study of the *Alcoran*, joined that of philosophy and astronomy. The *Calif Abdala*, who began his reign in the year 815, sent embassadors to the emperor of *Constantinople*, to ask of him books of all sciences, which he caused to be translated into his own

language, to excite his subjects to the love of learning. His endeavours were not vain; for during his reign there were several philosophers and physicians. There are several *Arabian* historians, who own, that *Mabomet* in his law prohibited the study of letters; but that the *calif Almam'n*, or *Maimon*, encouraged and promoted it, on account of an apparition he had of a spectre, in the night-time, in the form and shape of *Aristotle*, which advised him to the study of philosophy. He afterwards caused *Ptolemy's Almagest*, as *Scaliger* informs us, to be translated into his own language, for his subjects to study astronomy. This good inclination to literature continued long after in *Africa*; infomuch, that there were among those people very excellent philosophers, as *Algazel*, *Alfarabius*, *Albumazar*, *Maimonides*, *Alkend*, *Albusabar*, *Abencina*, *Avicenna*, *Alfragan*, *Averroez*, &c. They had universities at *Constantina*, *Tunis*, *Tri-* Philosophers. Universities. *poli*, *Fez* and *Morocco*; and when possessed of *Spain*, as has been mentioned above, they founded a college at *Cordova*: and in *Marmol's* time, had publick schools, with multitudes of students, in the city of *Tombut*, on the *Senega* river, as will be farther observed in the Supplement. This is not a proper place to speak of the discoveries they have made in several sciences, and how they introduced the use of those we call cyphers throughout all *Europe*. It will suffice to observe, that their years are lunar, and the computation of time, which they call *Hegira*, being instead of our year of *CHRIST*, commences from *Friday* the 16th of *July*, in the year of our Lord 622, when *Mabomet* fled from *Mecca*; from which time not only the *Arabs*, but all other *Mabometans*, reckon their years, as has been already observed elsewhere.

The *Arabs* were formerly idolaters, worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, and even trees and serpents. They also paid a particular veneration to the court of *Alcara* or *Aquebila*, which they said was built by *Ismael*, for whom they have a singular respect, as also for his mother *Agar*; and therefore are pleased to be called *Agareniens*, or *Ismaelites*. It is believed, that the three wise men, who came out of the east to adore the son of God at his birth, were the first apostles of *Arabia*; where *St. Jude* afterwards preached the gospel: which was so well established in the third century, that a council was held against the bishop of *Beryllus*, and another against the hereticks called *Arbicks*; wherein the *Arabs* appear'd very zealous for the faith, and their bishops assisted very punctually at those councils, as is evident by their names, still extant in their subscriptions. *Mabomet*, who was also an *Arab*, perverted those simple credulous people,

BARBOT. people, and so entirely charm'd them with the pleasure of his chimerical notions, as well as by dint of arms and force, that they followed him with a most deplorable steadfastness. After the death of that famous impostor, they took upon them to propagate his sect. Amidst the variety of expositions of the *Alcoran* every man took upon him to make, they took up with that of *Melich*; tho' there be some among them who follow those of *Odman* and *Lesbani*, as has been before observed. The *Arabs* of *Africa* have formed sixty sects, all differing in opinions and customs. However, they all agree in what relates to *Mabomet*, whom they look upon as the greatest of prophets.

Sects of
Arabs.

They have had several princes, called *Califs*, who erected to themselves a vast empire in *Asia* and *Africa*, after *Mabomet's* decease, under the common name of *Saracens*. I have already hinted how they passed into *Africa*, and possessed themselves of all that had been subdued by the *Vandals*; but about the year 1170, one *Abdelchir*, who had render'd himself famous by an hypocritical outward show of piety, revolted against *Cain Adam*, *Calif* of *Carvan*; and though he was himself killed, before he could make any great progress, yet he left two sons, one of which became king of *Bugia*, and the other of *Tunis*. These two brothers, the better to maintain themselves in their kingdoms, became tributaries to the *Almoravides*; but they being expelled by the *Almohades*, *Joseph Almanzor* possessed himself of the kingdom of *Tunis*, turning out the successors of *Abdelchir*. The power of the *Almohades* being afterwards entirely broken, by the famous battle of *Navas de Tolosa*, in *Spain*, anno 1212, the *Arabs* again recover'd the kingdom of *Tunis*. I have already mentioned their conquests in *Spain*, and how they were again expelled. The *Arabs* at present are subject, for the most part, to the *Turks* and *Persians*, or else to particular princes of their own; some of which last are also tributary to the two former.

Arabs in
the east.

Besides the *Arabs* here mentioned, now inhabiting the northern and western parts of *Africa*, and the deserts of *Lybia*, as far as the frontiers of the *Blacks*, there are several tribes, or hords, of the same nation, who have been for several ages settled in all parts of *Egypt*, and along the coast of *Africa*, next the *Red-Sea*, called *Aben* and *Aian*; and on towards the east and south-east, in the countries of *Zanguebar*, *Mozambique*, *Sofala*, &c. of whom *Marmol* gives a particular account. The same author, lib. 1. cap. 24. speaking of the ancient *Arabs* of *Africa*, says, they are descended from *Ismael* and *Esau*, the progenitors of all the

Arabs, either in *Asia* or *Africa*. The first were called *Agarens*, from *Agar* or *Hagar*, mother to *Ismael*, and *Abraham's* concubine; the latter carefully distinguished themselves from the others, by the name of *Saracens*, from *Sarab*, *Abraham's* lawful wife, and grand-mother to *Esau*, as being the line of the free-woman; whereas they reckon the *Ismaelites* the descent of the bond-woman, to use *St. Paul's* expression, *Gal. iv.* *Marmol* farther adds, that these *Arabs*, according to the most renowned *African* historians, were the very first inhabitants of *Barbary* and *Numidia*. Afterwards *Melec Ifiriqui*, a king of *Arabia Felix*, came into *Africa* with five tribes of these *Arabs*, then surnamed *Sabeans*, viz. the *Zinbagians*, the *Mucamudins*, the *Zenetes*, the *Gomers*, and the *Hoares*; from all whom are descended six hundred races of *Bereberes*, or *Barbarians*; and the greatest families in *Africa* deduce their pedigrees from them. The *Gomers*, it is likely were descended from *Gomer*, the son of *Japheth*, the son of *Noah*; and from them some mountains in the empire of *Morocco*, had the name of *Gomere*; and perhaps *Gomera*, one of the *Canary* islands, opposite to it, might have the same original.

The *Sabean Arabs*, at first, settled in the eastern parts of *Barbary*; whence they afterwards spread, and subdued the best of *Africa*. The name of *Bereberes* was given them, from their first settlement in *Barbary*; whereas those that were before in *Numidia*, *Tingitana*, and *Lybia*, are called *Chilobes*, or *Xilobes*. When these people fell at variance among themselves, the conquerors becoming masters of the field and cattle, obliged the vanquished to fly for safety to the mountains, or into populous cities; where, intermixing with the other *Africans*, they came at last, like them, to live in houses, and to be under the same subjection. Therefore those who live in tents, like their countrymen in *Arabia*, are reckoned the nobler, being also more powerful, and richer in cattle; yet both keep to their own race, and possess the strongest places in *Barbary*, *Numidia*, and *Lybia*. We read that *Abraham* travell'd about, with his family and cattle, and liv'd in tents, as these *Arabs* do, *Gen. xiii.* and so did his nephew *Lot*. Each wandering company of *Arabs* chuses a captain, whose tent, hutt, or barack, as they call it, stands in the middle of the *Adouar*, or village, where he takes care of all things which concern their welfare. The men lie on the bare ground, among their cattle. Their barracks are like pavillions, supported by two great poles, the door made of branches of trees. Thus we see the word *Barack*, made use of by all *Europeans* to signify a hutt, is derived from the *Arabs*.

Monsieur

Arabs in Morocco. Monsieur de St. Olon, in his embassy to the emperor of Morocco, in the year 1693, observes, that in the plains of the kingdom of Morocco, there were then actually reckoned to be thirty thousand cottages of Arabs, containing one hundred thousand men, paying the *Garamma*, which is a yearly tribute to the emperor, or the tenth of all they possess; and are liable to it from fifteen years of age. They live in the eastern part of the kingdom, and are distinguished into three different races, or tribes; which are, the *Husseins* and *Caragi Arabs* to the northward, and the *Menebbe Arabs* to the southward; besides a tribe, or hoard of the *Ait-gari Bereberes* to the south-west of them. In the kingdom of Fez, the Arabs amount to three hundred thousand men, that pay the *Garamma*. In that of Suz, which borders on the south and west parts of Morocco, there were then fifteen thousand *Adouars*, making up fifty thousand brave men, whom the present emperor has not yet been able entirely to subdue. The same author adds, that all the Arabs and Bereberes subject to the emperor of Morocco, when they lie in the way where his army marches, are obliged to supply it gratis with all sorts of provisions; as wheat, barley, meal, butter, oil, honey and cattel, under pain of having all they possess plundered, and being themselves cut in pieces.

Emperor of Morocco. The present emperor of Morocco is Muley Imael, who calls himself great *Cberife*, that is, first and most potent of *Mahomet's* successors; and boasts himself to be descended from him by *Ali* and *Fatima*, son-in-law and daughter to that false prophet, and takes more pride in that kindred, than in the antiquity of the crown in his family: which sufficiently proves, that his predecessors, who stiled themselves *Miramamolins*, that is, emperors of the faithful, made use of the colour of religion to establish their government. The people there have such a veneration for this character of *Miral-moumin*, or, as we call it, *Miramamolins*, and prince of the tribe of the *Hachems*, as this emperor stiles himself in all his letters to christian princes, that they reckon it a particular honour, and no less advantageous towards their going directly to their paradise to be killed by his hand, without any reason, or justice. This not only here, but throughout all the *Turkish* dominions, the fanatick *Mussulmans*, or *Mahometans*, look upon as being crowned with martyrdom. The word *Cberife*, and *Xerife*, another title given to this emperor, imports the same in Arabick as *Xorfa*, which signifies one of the race of *Mahomet*; whence it is they give the name of *Xerifes*, or *Xorfas*, to all that are descended from their prophet; whose family is the most honoured among

them, and looked upon as almost divine, BARBOT. says *Vasconcelos*, in the Life of king *John II.* of Portugal.

Monsieur de St. Olon, speaking of the Trade of Morocco. trade of this empire, says, its only neighbours by land are the Blacks on the one side, and the Algerines on the other; the Moors of Morocco, Fez and Tarudant driving a considerable trade in Guinea, that is *Geneboea*, which is very advantageous on both sides. The Moors for some salt, little looking-glasses, and toys, carry home a considerable quantity of gold-dust, elephants-teeth, and numbers of Blacks. This emperor of Morocco has gained so far on the affections of these Blacks, by the good usage he affords them, and by preferring them to be about his person, in the quality of guards, that they look upon themselves as his true subjects. The emperor of Morocco has always seven or eight thousand of these Blacks, as well horse as foot, reckoned the best of his soldiers, and in all engagements they are the next about his person. Besides, he gives the best governments and chief commands in his army to such of them as signalize themselves. They are not only his confidants, but entrusted with the execution of his orders; which they perform in such a haughty and arbitrary manner, that the very *Acaides* tremble at the sight of the meanest of them. The emperor constantly raises recruits of these Blacks, either by way of purchase, or other means, and marrying and employing them, by which means he has a sort of nursery, or breed of them, to serve in time of need. This author's account shews what correspondence there is at present between the Moors and Arabs of Morocco, and the people of Nigritia.

I shall conclude this chapter with a general observation of a practice universal among most *Mahometans*, but more especially the *African Moors*, relating to their being just and true to their words. The liberty of lying and retracting whatsoever they say, is so thoroughly established among them, that they rather look upon it as a virtue than a fault. One of their *Marabouts* being once told of it, by a christian of note, as a thing very surprising to him, did not hesitate to answer, that they made this one of the distinctive marks between their religion and christianity; and were fully persuaded they should soon be like us, slaves to false doctrine and idolatry, should they, like us, think themselves obliged to keep their words.

Thus have I endeavoured, in this chapter, though it may look like a digression, which yet cannot but be entertaining to the reader, to give a short, but I hope satisfactory account, from the most reputable authors,

BARBON authors, of the rise and progress of the *Mahometan* religion, in several parts of the world, and more particularly in *Africa*; as also a brief narrative of the first coming of the *Arabs* into that part of the world: which may serve to illustrate what I have said of them already, and am to add in the supplement. This, I am of opinion, few or none of the many *Europeans* trading to *Guinea* and the coasts of *Nigritia*, have ever given themselves the trouble to enquire into; and yet I look upon it as useful and necessary, for the better understanding of the constitution, government, customs, manners

and religion of the many several nations inhabiting those parts; for by this means the mistakes many of them conceive and inculcate into others concerning the affairs of those people, for want of true information, will be removed; many travellers forming to themselves most absurd notions of things, when they see or hear of such as they never met with in their native countries: for I am apt to believe, there are too many, who, according to the *Turkish* proverb, think the world is every where like their father's house.

C H A P. VII.

Description of the river Gambia, or Gamboa; Mandinga town; sea-horses; crocodiles or alligators. James's island; product, beasts and birds; the natives, their cloathing, houses, food, and trade; their government, religion, sorcerers, &c.

GAMBIA RIVER,

Names of
the Gam-
bia.

BY *Marmol*, called *Gamber* and *Gambra*, is well known to proceed from the *Niger*, where it divides it self into two branches; that which runs to the north-west, is called *Senega*, as has been before observed. The other, whose course is south-west, bears the name of *Gambia*, or *Gamboa*. The *Portuguese* call it *Rio-Grande*, that is, the great river, and *Gambea*; the *French*, *Gambie*; and the *Blacks*, *Gambic*. Both these rivers running down from the place where they part to the Ocean, with it form a large Island, of all the Dominions lying between them, mentioned at the beginning of this description. *Vasconcelos*, author of the Life of king *John II.* of *Portugal*, in his 4th book says, he takes the *Stachiris* of *Ptolemy* to be this river of *Gambia*, and that of *Durango* to be the *Senega*. He adds, that *John de Barros*, who writ before him, affirms, that both these rivers proceed from the *Niger*, the source whereof is in the lake *Libya*, and at *Chenolides Naba* and *Ringer*; but that the inhabitants fancy it springs from the *Nile*, tho' without any ground. The *Portuguese* having long known that country, adds that author, have found, that the river *Gambia*, running through the province of *Mandinga*, and by the way, receiving into it the waters of several rivers, which run through that country, conveys them all into the ocean, as well as its own, in the latitude of seventeen degrees and a half. The *Senega*, known by more names, tho' its run be shorter, and almost in a strait line from east to west, falls into the sea in about fifteen degrees and a half of north latitude, after taking in the river *Gemii*, or *Geneboa*, which must be the river of *St. John*, running northward up a-crofs

the kingdom of *Geneboa*, *Geneva*, &c. whence the *Portuguese*, says the same writer, have given the name of *Guinea*, with little variation, to this part of *Nigritia*.

The true position of the mouth of the *Gambia* is at thirteen degrees, thirty two minutes of north latitude; and three degrees twelve minutes latitude, from the meridian of *Teneriffe*; which mouth is three miles over, and six or seven fathom deep, the ground muddy. At some distance to the westward are the shoals, by the *Portuguese* called *Baixos de Gibandor*. This river is very navigable as far up as *Dobbo* and *Arsebil*, which in a direct line down to cape *St. Mary*, the south side of the river's mouth, is eighty *English* leagues by land, but much more along the winding channel of the *Gambia*. The depth of water in the shallowest part of the river, near the Island *Jeremire*, to the southward of *Dobbo* above-mentioned, is three fathom, unless near some rocks, a few leagues below *Jeremire* Island, where there is but nine foot water.

The farther part of this river, above *Arsebil*, is not much frequented; and little can be said of it, that I could hear. According to a very modern author, we know nothing of it any farther up, than to the eighth degree of the west longitude, from the meridian of *London*, and not much above the town of *Mandinga*, where there are rich gold mines. That town is seated in the province of *Cantorfi*, of the kingdom of *Mandinga*, and about sixteen leagues up the inland from the river.

On the north-side of the mouth of the *Gambia* runs out a long low point, almost imperceptible, as you come from sea in hazy weather. The land on the south-side is much higher, and covered with

with trees, stretching out north-east and south-west. There is a sort of bar athwart the mouth, having four fathom water at the lowest tides, and lying north-west and south-east.

How to steer up it.

To steer a right course into this river, when the entrance appears open, you must bear for the point called *Ponta da Barra*, in five or six fathom water, till you have brought the said point to bear south-east, and then come to an anchor, if the wind happens to be scant; but if the wind is large, hold on that course, always sounding, till you come into four and a half, or five fathom water, keeping the aforesaid point always at south-east, and the other point by the *French* called *Bayonne*, on the opposite side at south by east. Then tack and steer for the said point of *Bayonne*; and being past two leagues beyond it, keep in the middle channel of the river, which course will keep you clear of the muddy bank, lying round the *Isle of Dogs*, where some ships are stuck, when they least think of it, and it costs much trouble to get them off. And thus will you come to anchor safe before *Fort-James*, on the little *James's* island, lying about ten leagues up the river.

Salute and duty.

All ships entering this river use to fire three guns, by way of salute, to a very tall and thick tree, which serves instead of a standard for the king of *Bar*, and the same they do at going out, which is more particularly observed by the *English*; and at both those times they pay one bar of iron to the king, or his officer, for the duty of anchorage.

The channel, tide, &c.

This river in its way from *Cantory* to the ocean, has many great turnings and windings, but more particularly from *Cantor*, and is much deeper than the *Senega*, and the channel more spacious. The tide or current is very rapid, tho' not so much as that of the *Senega*, and being increased by many torrents and small rivers falling into it, carries such a fresh into the sea, as is visible eight or ten leagues from the shore. The tide flows up as far as *Barra Conda*, being a great length, where dreadful falls obstruct the passage of ships, but sloops may run up two hundred leagues. The banks on both sides are low, and cut with many rivulets, which the flood runs into. The channel about the creek of *Jagre* is from four and a half to five fathom deep, near four small islands opposite to it.

Islands.

It is much easier to sail up the river by night than by day, because there are usually calms all the day, and towards the evening a fresh gale generally rises. From the island that is under *Mansagar*, the tide of flood carries up the river without any danger. There are many islands in it. That of dogs, above-mentioned, is so close to one

side, that the passage can easily be forded. ^{BARBOT.} Were it not for that, it would be a very fit place to settle a factory, as the *French* did once, and the *Courlanders* before them; but they had all their throats cut by the treacherous natives thereabouts, so that it has been ever since abandoned by all *Europeans*. I think the *English* call this *Charles's* island.

Here are abundance of *Hippopotami*, or river-horses, lying in the small rivers, which fall in about the mouth of the *Gambia*; especially in that of *Giumba*, joining with that of *Sangedegou*, by means of the *Brevet*. This animal is bigger than a common ox, and shaped like a horse; has a very large head, the legs, feet and tail very short, so that it rather seems to creep than walk, the skin is hard and without hair. They generally keep in swampy and woody places, as the cattle do, and when in the river swim holding up their snout above the water, which affords the *Blacks* the conveniency of shooting them in the neck, as they usually do, for the sake of their skins and teeth. The skins are thicker than those of any other animal, and said to be good against the looseness and bloody-flux. The teeth or great tusks, which are but two, serve for the same uses as the elephants, being better in one respect, which is, that the ivory of them keeps always white; besides, they are said to have a physical virtue to stop bleeding, and cure the hemorrhoids, as has been found by experience. These river-horses live on the land, as well as in the water, going out of it to feed, ruining the fields of rice and millet, because they spoil more than they eat. They are apt to overturn the canoes of the *Blacks*, but do not hurt the men.

Here are also crocodiles or alligators of ^{Crocodiles.} thirty foot in length, and a proportionable thickness; which devour men and beasts at one mouth-full, and whole bullocks have been found in the bellies of some of them. Their tail is as long as all the rest of their body, and their skin so hard, that a musket-bullet will not enter it. Some of these monsters live on fish, others on flesh; and the better to catch any creature, they keep close in such places as are frequented, and when near enough to a man, or beast, strike it with their tail, and so devour it. Only the upper jaw of them moves, the lower being fix'd, but out of the water can do little harm. They lay their eggs on the shore, covering them with sand, which as soon as hatched the young ones run into the water. The *Blacks* kill them to eat. Some *French* commentators on the forty-first chapter of *Job* are of opinion, that the *Leviathan* so elegantly described there, may as well be the crocodile, as any other sea-monster; because it is covered with very hard scales,

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very close knit together. Besides, the *Arabs* to this day call the crocodile by the name of *Lavab*; and several things said by *Job* in that place cannot properly be apply'd to any other creature but the crocodile. The savages inhabiting the country about the great river *Mississipi* in *North-America*, being often exposed to much danger in navigating that river in their small light canoes made of the bark of the birch-tree, by reason of the great multitude of vast big crocodiles there are, especially towards the mouth of it, which do not only look dreadful, but will attack them as they sail along; take all possible care to avoid them by day, and in the night keep constantly a great light to fright those creatures, who dread nothing so much as fire. Thus much may serve for a caution to all travellers in this river, or any other where there are crocodiles.

Trade in general.

The trade of this river is very considerable: the *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese* having had several factories in the country about it, and paid yearly tribute to the kings of the countries it runs through, particularly the latter nation; no person whatsoever being allow'd to traffick there till the customs are paid, and those are higher or lower according to the nature of the trade, or of the settlement made in the country; besides many presents that must be given to the kings when they come to visit the factors, which cannot be deny'd, tho' sometimes they amount to a considerable value; those black kings being very free and importunate in asking whatsoever they fancy, as has been before said of those about the *Senega*.

The *Dutch* and *Portuguese* have at present little or no trade there, neither is that of the *French* or *English* so considerable as it was formerly; these *European* nations having, during this last century, as they happen'd to be at war, destroy'd one another's settlements, or interrupted the trade in ships or sloops, as either of them chanced to have the upper hand. It would be too tedious to run thro' all those several changes and revolutions; I shall here only take notice of the *English* settlement on the small rock or island of *James*, which lies in the midst of the channel of the river, opposite to the town of *Gilofre*.

English trade.

Fort James.

This island is but about a quarter of a league in compass, being a sort of gravelly rock a little above water. Commodore *Holmes*, in his expeditions, ann. 1664, against the *Dutch* settlements in north and south *Guinea*, founded *Fort-James* for the principal seat of the *English* commerce, and to secure their new conquests over the *Hollanders* on this coast. This fort is a quadrangle or square, built with lime and stone, and

has four bastions, lined with good brick-work; and in the outworks, three, as it were, redoubts in the form of horseshoes, with batteries along the palisadoes from one to another; and within the fort, spacious buildings, storehouses, magazines, a cistern for fresh water, a powder-room, and sixty or seventy pieces of cannon mounted, besides several others dismounted. But the worst is, that the garrison is obliged to fetch all the fuel and fresh water from the main land on both sides of it. The situation of it is very advantageous, and there wants nothing, but that the cistern and magazine for powder should be bomb-proof, and to have it well stored with ammunition, provisions, and especially fresh water, to render it in a manner impregnable, if well defended by a suitable garrison. At this time there are generally in it sixty or seventy white men, and near as many *Gromettoes*, always in the company's pay. This is the next best fortification to *Cape Coast Castle*, of all that are to be found, on either the north or south coasts of *Guinea*, having under its jurisdiction several factories on the respective branches of that river, as being the head settlement of the royal *African* company of *England*, and the chief magazine for trade, managed by a governour or agent, with several factors under him. One of these factories is at *Gilofre*, on the north side of the river, opposite to the fort.

The *French* company of *Senega* have another factory at *Albreda*, a little village at some distance westerly from *Gilofre*, both of them belonging to the king of *Bar*, and this is under the direction of the agent at *Goeree*.

The factors of the *English* company at *James-Fort*, and those of the *French* at *Albreda* and other places, drive a very great trade in that country, all along the river, in brigantines, sloops, and canoes; purchasing

Elephant's teeth or ivory,
Bees-wax,
Slaves,
Pagnos or clouts,
Hides,
Gold, &c.

Commodities exported.

In exchange for which they give the *Blacks*

Bars of iron,
Drapery of several sorts,
Woollen stuffs and cloth,
Linnen of several sorts,
Coral and pearl,
Brandy or rum in anchors,
Firelocks,
Powder, ball, and shot,
Sleyfiger linnen,
Painted calicoes, of gay colours,
Shirts,
Gilded swords,

Imported.

Ordinary looking-glasses,
 Salt,
 Hats,
 Roan caps,
 All sorts and sizes of bugles,
 Yellow amber,
 Rock crystal,
 Brass pans and kettles,
 Paper,
 Brass and pewter rings, some of them
 gilt,
 Bracelets,
 Box and other combs,
 Dutch earthen cans,
 False ear-rings,
 Satalaes and sabres, or cutlaces,
 Small iron and copper kettles,
 Dutch knives call'd *Bosmans*,
 Hooks,
 Brass trumpets,
 Bills,
 Needles,
 Thread and worsted of several colours.

French
 and Eng-
 lish.

The *French* having an inconsiderable trade here, in comparison of the *English*, who are almost as good as masters of the river, they send all they can get in exchange from the *Blacks* in brigantines to *Goeree*, where they have their chief fort and magazines; for it is very rare they have any ships coming into the river, during the war with *England*, because of *Fort-James*, which commands all the river, and for fear of meeting the *English* company's ships: besides, that they have been often insulted by the natives in their factory at *Albreda*, that being only a thatch'd house, of little or no defence, and their goods pillag'd; the king of *Bar* having always been more favourable to the *English*, in all likelihood because they have so good a fort, and a good garrison in *James* island, so near him, and consequently may soon revenge any wrong offer'd to the company's people by the natives.

Dutch.

The *Dutch* had formerly a considerable trade at *Gambia*; but since the taking of the island *Goeree* from them by the *French*, in the year 1678, (as has been mentioned above, speaking of the river *Senega*) they have lost all their interest in these parts of *Africa*, and all manner of trade whatsoever; unless now and then some interlopers of that nation will run the hazard of being seiz'd, and their ships and goods confiscated by the *English* agent, or the commanders of the royal *African* company's ships following that trade.

Portu-
 guese.

As for the *Portuguese* trade here, they drive it far up, by cross rivers from *Cacheco* to *Gambia*; very few of their ships coming directly to the great river, for fear of being seiz'd by the *English* and *French*, who now claim the sole privilege of trade in this place, exclusive of all other *Europeans*. *Marmol*, a *Spanish* author, born at *Granada*, who

lived about the years 1580 and 1590, be-
 fore quoted by me, and whom I shall have
 hereafter occasion to mention, translated in-
 to *French* by *Nicholas Perot d'Ablancourt*,
 and publish'd at *Paris* in 1667, gives a suc-
 cinct account of the *Portuguese* settlements
 throughout these countries, as follows.

BARBOT.

The death of *Bemoy* (a negro king in *Se-* Their first
nega, of whom something has been said out actions in
 of *Marmol* in the first chapter of this descrip- these parts.
 tion) alter'd the design of *Don John* king of
Portugal, with the concurrence of the ill suc-
 cess of his general *d'Acunba* at *Senega* (men-
 tion'd in the said first chapter) but not his
 resolution to continue the discovery of the
 rivers of *Senega* and *Gamboa*. His naval
 forces serv'd to establish his reputation a-
 mong the *Blacks* in those parts, who seeing
 such a number of ships together, well fur-
 nish'd with all goods and necessaries, and a
 good number of soldiers well appointed,
 spread the fame thereof all over the neigh-
 bouring parts of *Nigritia*, which made those
 sovereigns to sue for the friendship and al-
 liance of so potent and magnanimous a
 prince, who offer'd them his assistance against
 all their enemies; and they, to secure such
 an auxiliary, sent him ambassadors with pre-
 sents. The king on his part began also to
 intermeddle in their affairs, and take share
 in their wars, which made him more and
 more known and respected among them.
 He sent ambassadors to the kings of *Tucuroi*
 and *Tombut*, as well as to those of *Mandinga*,
 who were potent princes. These embassa-
 dors repair'd into their countries by the way
 of *Cantor*, the two first kings being then at
 war with the king of the *Fulos*, who had
 rais'd so formidable an army in the south
 parts of the province of *Fura*, which borders
 on the east of *Mandinga*, with which he was
 marching against them, that they pretended
 it dried up rivulets. The king of *Portugal*
 writ also to the prince of the *Mosses*, who
 made war on *Monimonse* his ally, desiring
 him to desist; as also to *Mabomet Ben Ma-*
niziguel, grandson to the king of *Songo*, the
 capital of *Mandinga*, a *Mabometan*, who
 being astonish'd at this message, said, that
 none of the 4404, from whom he was de-
 scended, ever had that honour done them by
 a christian monarch, and that till then he
 had known but of four potent princes, which
 were the kings of *Alimaen*, of *Baldac*, of
Cairo, and of *Tucuroi*. The reason the king
 of *Portugal* had for behaving himself so obli-
 gingly towards these princes of *Nigritia*, was,
 the forwarding of the discoveries he was so ear-
 nestly bent upon, in order to penetrate into
 the inner *Ethiopia* from this side of *Africa*,
 and to get fuller information concerning the
 emperor of *Abyssinia*, much spoken of in the
 year 1481, by some religious persons, who
 came from thence to *Rome*, and so into *Por-*
tugal.

BARBOT. *tugal.* King *John* had also sent him an embassador by land, who found a very favourable reception; but that emperor, whose name was *Alexander*, being dead, his brother who succeeded him, took no great notice of the embassador, but on the contrary detain'd and would not permit him to return home. This emperor also dying, his son *David* reign'd next, and king *John* sent him another embassy, by which means he gain'd farther information into the affairs of *Abyssinia*.

James island.

James island being but a sort of flat rock, without any creeks or proper places for careening or repairing of ships or floops, that is perform'd three leagues up *Block* or *Bintan* river, on the south side of *Gambia*, over against the fort, near a village call'd *Block*, the residence of a prince, who stiles himself emperor of *Grand Cantor*, and is always at war with the king of *Borsalo* or *Bar*. The *French* pretend that this river *Block* meets with that of *Combe*, which is some leagues to the westward of it, forming a sort of island where they join; and that to the westward of that again, is another small river, which they call *Rio Brevete*.

Barifet village.

The village of *Barifet* is on the same river of *Block*, near to where it falls into the *Gamboa*, and tributary to the king or emperor of *Cantor*.

King of Bar.

The king of *Bar* or *Borsalo* resides some part of the year at the town or village of *Bar*, above said to be on the north point of the river *Gamboa*, near the lofty tree, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Arvore da Marca*, or the landmark tree, which serves instead of a standard to the *European* ships going in or out at the said river. At other times that king resides at the town of *Auna-Bar*, seated about a mile farther up the land in a wood. From this village of *Bar* to the eastward, on the banks of the *Gamboa*, are the villages of *Grigou*, *Bubacoulon*, and *Lamy*, almost opposite to the isle of dogs, and somewhat to the eastward of them again those of *Albreda* and *Gilofre*, where the *English* and *French* have their factories, and the *Portuguese* a poor little church at the latter.

Cantor kingdom.

The kingdom of *Cantor* extends along the south side of the *Gamboa*, including within it many petty kings tributary to the emperor.

Borsalo.

That of *Borsalo* is on the north side, but much smaller, and has only one tributary prince call'd *Wollo Wolly*.

Towns along the Gamboa.

Both these kingdoms are populous, and have large towns and villages, most of them on the banks of the *Gamboa* to the eastward; some of the chiefest whereof are, *Tankerval*, twenty five leagues up the *Gamboa* on the south side; *Tandaba*, a very large one, somewhat higher; *Jagre*, twelve leagues beyond the last, on a small river, running into the

Gamboa, and remarkable for many skulls of sea-horses, made fast to two trees; *Jambray*, a league and half above the river of *Jagre*, and opposite to an island in the *Gamboa*; *Mansagor* on the north side of the river, about a little league from a creek, on the mouth whereof stands a cross, erected by some *Mulatto Portuguese*, who live thereabouts in great poverty; *Tinda*, on a river that runs into the *Gamboa* at ten days rowing up in a boat from its mouth, and where the heats are so excessive, that there is no possibility of rowing, except only in the mornings and evenings; *Joliet* somewhat above *Tinda*; and *Munckbaer*, six days journey from *Joliet*; *Jaleat* is near to *Munckbaer*, on the west side of it.

About seventy *English* leagues up the *Gamboa*, on the south side, stands the town of *Liabor*, a considerable trading place, resorted to by *European* vessels of fifty or sixty tons, which sail fifteen or eighteen leagues in twenty-four hours with ease, or else may row up, and run on as far as *Cassan*, of which I shall soon speak; the channel of this river being so far up every where clean, deep, and pretty wide, and at *Liabor* about a musket-shot in breadth. A *French* prisoner at *Southampton* told me, that on *Christmas* eve, in the year 1710, being come up before *Liabor* in order to attack an *English* ship of fourteen guns and thirty five men, which lay there at anchor to trade, this *Frenchman* being in a small courvet of four guns and fifty men; he laid the *Englishman* aboard, and after a dispute of an hour and a half, wherein he kill'd many of their men, and particularly seventeen *Portuguese*, of an hundred the town sent to the assistance of the *English*, tho' they all fought under shelter of the decks and cabbins, he was fain to desist, with the loss of half his own men, and fall down the *Gamboa* without his intended prize.

At this town of *Liabor* is a great mart of *Trade* gold, wax, ivory, and some slaves. It is ^{there.} partly inhabited by *Blacks*, and partly by *Portuguese*, who live there, several families together, under the jurisdiction of the natives, and drive a considerable trade along the river *Gambia*, and in the adjacent parts.

The *Frenchman* above mentioned has observ'd, that the true channel of the *Gambia* ^{Channel of the Gam-} lies mostly on the south side for a great way up; and that on the contrary, the north channel is best, between *Gilofre* and *James* island, where *James-Fort* formerly stood, but is now demolish'd and abandon'd.

The town of *Faije*, the *Blacks* say is nine days journey from one call'd *Serambras*; and that of *Seliko*, so famous for trade, is still farther up the inland. The village *Petit Cassan* is about an hundred and ten leagues ^{Cassan.} up the river *Gamboa*, reckoning from the point of *Barra*, and on the north side. That

of

of *Great Caffan* three miles beyond it, being the metropolis of the kingdom; and but about three days journey down the *Gamboa* to *Barra*. This town is said to be wall'd, and is the usual residence of the king of *Cassan*.

We have an account of two nations, possessing that tract of land which lies from cape *St. Mary*, at the mouth of the river *Gamboa*, to the river *Rba*; which nations are call'd *Arriaeros* and *Felupes*; tho' *Jarick* thinks these people live about cape *Verde*, and therefore gives their names to the small islands lying near that cape. He adds, that they are very shy of venturing aboard any *European* ship without hostages given them, because some of their people have been treacherously carry'd away; as also, that they used to slit their under lips, thrusting in a small round stick to keep the cleft open, and to cut various figures on their bodies, which they afterwards wash'd with a liquor made of the juice of certain herbs, to preserve it from corruption; and the more the body was so scarified, the greater they accounted the ornament. At this time the country between the rivers *Gamboa* and *Rba*, next the sea, is reckoned part of the kingdom of *Gamboa* by most *Europeans*.

Product. This country produces almost all the same fruit and plants as are above mentioned of the *Senega*; but abounds much more in rice, whereof the *Blacks* reckon five sorts, one of them not unlike mustard-seed in shape and figure. There is also great plenty of millet; but right oranges, lemons and ananas are scarce.

It also produces abundance of cotton, bananas, sabacombas, being a large Fruit like a pear, with the rind like that of a pomegranate; and *Plougue*, which is a sort of medicinal nut. At *Cassan* and above it, there are large fields of tobacco, which makes a great trade there, the *Portuguese* buying considerable quantities for *Juala* and *Cachau*.

Pasture. There are every where excellent pasture-grounds, which serve to feed immense herds of cattle, particularly oxen, kept merely for the profit the people make of their dry raw hides, which they sell to the *English*, *French*, and *Portuguese*; a good ox being generally sold for one bar of iron, which is about the value of four or five shillings *English*.

Beasts. The country is also well stored with goats, sheep, elephants, lions, tygers, wild boars, and many other sorts of tame and wild beasts; especially about *Manfagar*, where they have great droves of horses, camels, and asses, which are of great use to the natives for travelling, and carrying on their trade from place to place. Nor is there less plenty of apes, monkeys, and baboons, some of them very large, and consequently no less mischievous; for if we may believe

what is said of them, they often take children of six or seven years of age up into trees, and it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to rescue them. Civet-Cats are also numerous, and there is plenty of musk at a low rate.

As for poultry, the plenty is incredible; *Birds.* and so of parrots and parroquets, with many other sorts of birds, several of them very remarkable for the wonderful variety and beauty of their feathers. Among the rest, is a sort of pelican, about the size of a large goose; and a kind of peacock, of the bigness of a small turkey, having two tufts on the head, and charming fine feathers.

The air about the river *Gamboa* is reckoned the most unwholesome of all *North-Guinea*, which is occasion'd by the malignant vapours rising from the marshy grounds and thick woods and forests, and spreading all the country about; together with the intolerable heats in the day-time, and the dead calms in the night, and the excessive rains falling at some seasons of the year, particularly in *August* and *September*, frequently breeding maggots and small worms in cloth. Add to all this, the horrid thunder, lightning, and tornado's, that from *June* to *November* there is scarce one day dry; and that the winds, during that season, are constantly E. and SE. bringing along with them thick fogs and stinking mists; which do so corrupt the air, that few or none of the *Europeans*, who reside there any small time, can escape its malignant influence, producing several sorts of diseases, and most commonly lingering fevers, which waste a man away to nothing before he dies. Were it not for this destructive disposition of the air, it might be pleasant living in that country, being so fertile and good, as has been mention'd; especially towards the sea-side, where the soil is so rank, that I have been told, there are in several places prodigious tall trees, and of such a vast bulk, that twenty men can scarce fathom one of them.

Of the NATIVES in general.

THE *Blacks* of *Gamboa* were formerly *Civilized*, very savage, cruel and treacherous; but through long commerce with the *Europeans* they are now become pretty tractable; especially those about the sea-coasts, who are most civiliz'd, many of them understanding, or speaking *Portuguese*, *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*, indifferently well.

Many of them take to some profession, *Wealth.* and their wealth consists in slaves and gold, especially about *Jagre*.

The blacksmiths make all sorts of tools *Black-* and instruments for tillage, &c. as also wea-*smiths.* pons and armour, being indifferent skilful

BARBOT. at hardning of iron, and whetting it on common stones. Their bellows are made of two large reeds, joined together, in each of which is a stick, covered all over with small feathers, tied fast to it, so that drawing out and thrusting in the sticks with both hands, they blow and light the fire.

Weavers. The weavers make great quantities of narrow cotton-cloth, which from the *Portuguese* name, they call *Panbo*, of the same as has been mentioned at *Cabo Verde*. The best sort they call *Panbos Sakes*, being eight narrow slips stitch'd together, generally white, clouded with flames. The second sort is of six narrow slips put together, called *Bontans*, about two yards long, and a yard and a half broad, curiously striped. The third sort is called *Barfoel*, of the same size, but coarser.

Cloth. These cloths they sell to the *English* and *Portuguese*; one of the first sort for a bar of iron; three of the second for two bars; and two of the third for one bar: with which those *Europeans* trade at *Sierra Leona*, *Sherbro*, and on the fourth coast of *Guinea*, and purchase for them elephants teeth.

Husbandry. The husbandmen till the ground with a sort of tool, much like a small axe, but sharp. At certain times of the year every one of the *Blacks* is obliged to till the land, excepting only the king, the chief officers, the decrepit, and small children.

Their CLOATHING.

BOTH men and women generally wear a sort of coat, or vest, made after the manner of a shirt, reaching down to the knees, with long wide open sleeves; and under it the men have drawers, after the *Turkish* fashion.

Maids and young women make several figures all over their faces, arms, breasts, and fingers, with hot burning irons, or needles, which at a distance look like a mezzo-relievo on the flesh; and this they reckon a mighty ornament.

Their HOUSES,

OR huts, are much after the same form, and of the same materials as those described at *Senega*, but neat and convenient, commonly made of a red binding clay, or earth, which soon hardens in the sun; and so well thatched or covered with rushes, or palm-tree leaves, ingeniously wove together, that neither the sun, nor rain can offend those within. At the village of *Bar*, the huts are generally smaller, than at other places.

Their FOOD

COMMONLY consists of millet, flesh, milk, rice, poultry, and fruit. The *Portuguese Mulattoes* boil fowl and rice together. The

way the *Blacks* use to dress their meat, is much the same as at *Senega*; and their drink is palm-wine, especially about the coast, near cape *Roxo*; but, for the most part, they are not very cleanly, either in their meat or drink.

Their TRADE.

THIS is the employment of very many of the *Blacks*, either among others of their own complexion, or with the *Europeans*, making good advantage of it. The *English* and *French* deal with those that are about their settlements; and the *Portuguese* with those farther up the country, along the rivers, from *Cachau* to *Gamboa*, in the nature of interlopers.

The *Blacks* do not only trade along the river *Gamboa*, in their canoes, but along the coast too, as far as *Juala*, *Ale* and *Rio Fresco*, constantly attending the times of fairs and markets. Such are those appointed by the kings of *Mansagar* twice a year, at *Great Cassan*, *Jaye*, *Tinga*, *Tandaba*, *Tankervaal*, *Joliet*, *Seliko*, and several other places.

The fair at *Mansagar* is held under a hill, near the town, where some *Portuguese Mulattoes* have their dwelling; and thither is brought to the market abundance of salt, wax, elephants teeth, mats, cotton, gold-dust, of this the least, all sorts of cattle, goats, poultry, horses; and every *Monday* throughout the year there is a small market for provisions. Mats are properly the coin of the country, all other things being rated by the mats, for they know nothing of plate, or money.

The fair kept twice a year at *Great Cassan*, is both times very considerable, an almost incredible number of people resorting thither from all parts of the country, and vast quantities of all sorts of commodities being brought to it. The *Portuguese* resort to it very much to buy dry hides, elephants teeth, &c. for bugles, and iron bars. They set out from *Cachau*, and other places on the south-side of *Gamboa*, at the beginning of the rainy season, and return not home till all is over. But the rivers about *Cassan* being interrupted by great falls, which obstruct the navigation, all the goods they carry thither, or bring back, must go and come by land on the backs of slaves.

The fair held at *Jaye* is resorted to by great numbers of *Arabian Moors*, from *Genebooa*, and other parts, in caravans of camels; bringing thither salt, bugles, and toys, to truck for gold-dust.

I will here, upon the credit of others, insert, a very extraordinary, and no less remarkable way of trading between those *Moors*, and the *Blacks* at *Jaye*; occasioned by the *Blacks* of this country having a monstrous

stuous large *Scrotum* full of fores, besides other natural deformities in their shape and bodies; which makes them so bashful, that they will not be seen by those *Moors*. The *Arabs* lay down their goods by way of lots, in a place appointed, at some little distance from each other, and then withdraw a great way, leaving no soul to look to their merchandize. The *Blacks* perceiving they are gone, come up to that spot, examine every lot, valuing every thing they like, or want, according to their own fancy, and having left the quantity of gold-dust they think it worth by every lot, go off in their turn. The *Moors* being informed of it, come again to the trading-place, and consider on the quantity of gold laid down every man by his own lot. If they think the gold sufficient, they take it away, leaving the lot, or lots of goods for the *Black*, without the least embezzlement or fraud; and the next day the *Blacks* carry away the goods to their town. If the *Blacks* have not laid down gold enough to satisfy the *Moors*, these carry off their own goods, leaving the gold, which the *Blacks* fetch away the next day; yet it seldom happens, but that they strike a bargain. This way of trading lasts nine days successively, that they may have the more time to adjust the prices of the goods, in case the first tender of gold is not accepted of by the *Moors*. Salt is a good commodity among the *Blacks*, who pay a great price for it. They use it very much for rubbing and washing of their fores, which would otherwise soon corrupt, and be the death of them. This way of bartering is exactly describ'd by the *Sieur Mouette*; in the account of his captivity at *Fez*, printed at *Paris*, in 12mo. but translated into *English*, in the two quarto volumes of monthly travels; being a good account of the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*.

Other fairs.

In the markets or fairs at *Tinga*, *Tandeba*, and *Tankerval*, are exposed to sale great quantities of dry hides, elephants teeth, cotton, rice; these two, most at the two last places, and the first two, more at the former places. The carriage of goods to any of those places being all by land, and the roads extremely bad and difficult, makes it very chargeable; and if done by rivers, it is very tedious to row all the way against a mighty rapid stream. Beside, that iron is not carried up to these places, which the *Blacks* say, have iron-works of their own; and yet iron there yields a better price than at *Gamboa*.

Salt is an extraordinary commodity at *Tinda*, and other places opposite to it, on the other side of the river. The most current goods exposed to sale at *Tinda* are elephants teeth, hides, some little gold-dust, cotton, and the country cloths, all in truck for salt and iron.

The fair at *Joliet* is mostly for gold-dust. BARBOT. This town is beyond *Tinda*, and, if we may credit the *Blacks*, there is a very great quantity of gold-dust at the fair, as well as at other places seated on the river *Niger*, where that admired metal is not so much valued by the natives as iron. That as Joliet.

At *Seliko* fair, great quantities of salt are bought by the *Portuguese* in exchange for slaves. The best salt is brought from *Barnivaet*. At Seliko.

The *Marabouts*, as well as all the other *Blacks*, trade with those of *Borsalo*, and others living beyond them, where gold is to be had.

Their GOVERNMENT.

THE kings of this country scarce differ in behaviour, or cloathing, from the common *Blacks*, unless upon solemn occasions, as giving audience to envoys, or *Europeans*; for then they adorn themselves more than at other times, putting on some red, or blue coat, or doublet, hung about with tails of elephants, or wild beasts, and small bells, bugles, and coral; and on their heads, bonnets made of osier, with little horns of goats, antelopes, or bucks. They are then attended by a considerable number of *Blacks*, and walk with much state and gravity, generally holding a pipe in their mouths, to the place appointed for the audience; which in some places is under a tall stately tree, as practised by the king of *Borsalo*, at *Bar*. No person whatsoever is admitted to audience, without making the usual presents to the king, or to his deputy, in his absence; and those for an *European* consist of ten, fifteen, or twenty bars of iron, some runlets of brandy, a sword, or a firelock, a hat, or the like; but good brandy is generally most acceptable, and sometimes before the audience is over, the king will be almost drunk with it. I forbear to mention many more particulars relating to these kings, because what I have said before of those of *Senega*, &c. exactly suits with these. I shall only add, that the *Blacks* look upon their kings as very extraordinary forcerers and fortune-tellers; and believe that *Magro*, formerly king of *Great Cassan*, besides his mighty skill in magick, and commerce with the devils, could, by their help, blow so violently with his mouth, as if all things about him would have been torn in pieces; as also, that he raised flames and fire from the earth, at those times when he called upon his infernal spirits.

Divination by oracles is by the law of *Mahomet* forbid to all persons, except kings, princes, and great lords. However, according to *Marmol*, at *Grand Cairo*, and in several cities of *Barbary*, there is a vast number

BARBOT. number of vagabonds, who pretend to divination, three several ways. Some tell things past and to come by magical figures; others fill an earthen vessel with water, and cast into it a drop of oil, which becomes very clear and bright, wherein they pretend to see swarms of devils moving in order of battle, some by land, and others by water. As soon as those devils have halted, they put the question in hand to them, which they answer by motions of the hands and eyes. This sort of cheat cannot be perform'd but in the presence of little children, because persons of age own they see nothing of what those deceivers relate; whereas children being ordered to look, and told what they are to see, are easily persuaded to answer in the affirmative, that they do; which gains those knaves much reputation, and consequently no less profit. These are called *Mauritania*, *Motalcimizes*, that is, enchanters. The third sort of these impostors are women, who make people believe they converse very familiarly with devils, some of which are white, others red, and others black. When they are to foretel any thing, they smoak themselves with brimstone, and other stinking ingredients; which done, they are immediately seized by their familiars, and alter their voices, as if those dæmons spoke through their organs. Then those who consult them draw near, and in very humble manner put the questions they desire should be answered; and when that is done, withdraw, leaving a present for the witch.

As to the authority of the kings over their subjects, it is much the same as has been above represented, in speaking of those of *Senega*; the subjects here being no less submissive than there.

Their RELIGION.

Mahometans, idolaters and christians.

IT is a very hard task to be particular as to the notion they have of it. In general, it may be said, that many of these *Blacks*, in outward appearance, are *Mahometans*, as strictly observing circumcision, with the prayers, fasts, and ablutions prescribed by the *Alcoran*, the *Marabouts* having much influence over them. Many are also gross pagans, but yet with some mixture of *Mahometanism*. The *Portuguese* missionaries have undergone great labours,

and run mighty hazards to convert some of them to christianity, ever since the beginning of the last, and during this century, but with little success: for though some seem to embrace the doctrine, yet many mix it with pagan idolatry and *Mahometanism*; others are no sooner baptized, but they return to their wild natural way of living.

It has been already observed, that the *Mahometans* put into the grave with their *Marabouts* all the gold they have, that they may live happy in the other world.

As a farther testimony of the wonderful ^{Sorcerers.} superstition of the *Africans*, both *Arabs* and *Blacks*, I will, out of *Marmol*, in this place, mention a fourth sort of sorcerers, though they might have been inserted above among the rest. They are known in *Egypt* and *Barbary* by the name of *Bumicilis*, are reputed to out-do all the others. These, says that author, pretend to fight with the devils, and commonly appear in a great fright, all over covered with wounds, and bruises, about their bodies. About the full of the moon, they commonly counterfeit a combat, in the presence of all the people, which lasts for two, or three hours; and is performed with *Affagaia's*, or javelins, till they fall down to the ground quite spent, and battered; but after resting for a while, they recover their spirits, and walk away. These are look'd upon as religious persons. Another generation of sorcerers in *Barbary*, called *Mubacimin*, that is, *Exorcists*, boast they can drive away devils; and when they do not succeed, alledge for their excuse either the incredulity of the people, or that the spirit is celestial. These generally make circles, in which they write certain characters, and make impressions on the hand or face of the person possessed; then they smoak him with some nauseous scents, and proceed to their conjurations. They ask the spirit, how he entered into that body, whence he came, what is his name, and lastly, command him to depart.

Others divine by a sort of *Cabala*, not ^{Cabala.} unlike that of the *Jews*; but that it is not taken from the scripture. They say it is a natural science, which requires great knowledge in astrology to be rightly used. *Che-rif Mahomet* was well acquainted with this art, and often used it.

C H A P. VIII.

The coast from cape St. Mary to cape Roxo. Rha river; Portuguese trade and settlements. The natives and their idolatry.

Rha river. THE coast between cape *St. Mary* at *Gamboa*, and cape *Roxo*, or red-head, to the south of it, extends about twenty-four leagues along the sea, north and south, being cut through by several rivers falling into the ocean; the chief whereof is the *Rba*, by the *Portuguese* called *Rbaque*, mixing its waters with the ocean, at three several mouths; the largest and deepest of which is the southernmost, being the right channel to sail up it. This river is by others called *Casamansa*; and has the town of *Jara* on the north bank, two leagues up it from the sea. Small ships and brigantines may sail fifteen leagues up this river, going in at the largest of the three mouths, as above mentioned, for there is generally six, seven, or eight fathom water; but there are also many flats and shoals. There are no habitations to be seen along the banks of it, when once past the town of *Jarim*, unless here and there some huts of fishermen.

Other rivers. The other rivers betwixt cape *St. Mary*, and the river *Rba*, are that of *St. John* first, that of *St. Peter* next; and before the mouth of this, at some distance westward, are the *Baixos de San Pedro*, or *St. Peter's* shoals. Some leagues to the northward of *St. John's* river is a bay, by the *Portuguese* called *Porto de Cabo*, that is, the port of the cape; before which, to the westward, lie the *Baixos de Santa Maria*, or *St. Mary's* shoals.

Foul coast. All the coast between the two capes aforesaid, is very foul and dangerous; and therefore those who design from *Gamboa* for *Cachau*, must keep three leagues out at sea, in five or six fathom water.

Cassangas people. The people called *Cassangas*, or *Casamansas*, live along the banks of the river *Rba*. Another nation called *Beubuns* is settled to the eastward of them.

Cape Roxo. Cape *Roxo*, known to the ancients by the name of *Ryffadium Promontorium*, is easily known from the seaward, by a small grove near to it, and by the coast, which from it runs away E S E. being in 12 degrees, 42 minutes of north latitude. Before the cape there is from six to nine fathom water, muddy and sandy ground, for some leagues off to the westward; but closer up to the south part of the cape, and so sailing along it towards the E S E. four and five fathom, in the channel, by the *Portuguese* called *Canal de Janiaries*; on the south-side of which is a bank of sand, called *Baixos de Joao de Coimbra*, or *John of Coimbra's*

shoals; and on the north-side a long ridge of rocks under water, just before *Angra de Falulo*, a bay to the eastward of *Cabo Roxo*.

Ponta Vermelba is some leagues to the eastward of cape *Roxo*, so named by some *Portuguese*, and by others of the same nation *Barreiras Vermelbas*; but by the *Dutch* *Rugge boeck*, there being shoals about it off at sea. These capes show at a distance like islands in the sea, and the shore all hilly.

Thence to *Rio de Santo Domingo*, or *St. Dominick's* river, the coast forms several bays and headlands, with shoals all the way; some of which the *Dutch* have named *North Bank*, and *South Bank*, or *Mewwen Bank*, on which the sea breaks at high water, and they are dry at low water. The *Portuguese* name them *Baixos de Norte*, and *Baixos de Falulo*; this latter being to the southward of the other, very large and extending on that side to the channel of *Rio Grande*. The *Baixos de Joao de Coimbra* above mentioned, run to the eastward, as far as *Barreiras Vermelbas*. At that end the channel of *Janiaries*, already spoken of, turns short away south, being but two fathom deep, into the great channel of *St. Dominick's* river, which commences at the south of the *Baixos de Joao de Coimbra*, having a bar at the mouth of the channel, called *Barro de Rio de Santo Domingo*; on the skirts whereof, quite round, there is four, five, and six fathom water.

Higher up, to the east of *Baixos de Norte*, on the opposite northern continent, stands a nick's tall tree, by the *Portuguese* called *Arvore da Praya das Vacas*, or the tree on the shore of the cows, being a good land-mark for ships to sail into the river of *St. Dominick*. Some leagues above this tree, another river runs down from the northward into this.

The lands here described are very fertile, abounding in several sorts of fruit, plants and cattle, being water'd by several large and smaller rivers. The *Portuguese* have erected a small fort on the north-side of the *Rba*, and planted some guns on it.

The country is subject to a petty king, depending on him at *Jarim*; and this again is tributary to another, who resides higher up the inland; and this last owns the emperor of *Mandinga* for his sovereign.

In former times, the *Lisbon* merchants drove a great and profitable trade in the rivers

BARBOT. rivers *Rba* and *Gambia*; but at present, they have in a manner settled it at *Cachau*, or *Cacheo*, on the river of *St. Dominick*, contenting themselves with sending now and then some barks or brigantines to *Rba*, up the inland waters, to purchase slaves for *Spanish* wine,

Brandy,
Oil,
Dry fruit of *Spain*,
Iron, the best commodity,
Fine linnen,
Thread, and gold and silver laces,
Cloth,
Damasks,
Needles,
Thread,
Silk,
Haberdashery of several sorts,

And such stuffs as are proper for *Gamboa*.

A person employ'd by the *French* at *Goeree*, takes notice of a river that runs down between those of *Gamboa* and *St. Dominick*, and has left another *French* man the following account of it. The banks of the river *Zamenee* are inhabited by several sorts of *Blacks*; those at the mouth of it call themselves *Feloupes*, a people extremely savage, with whom no nation has any commerce. They are all *Gentiles*, every one having his peculiar god, according to his own fancy. One worships a bullock's horn; another a beast, or a tree; and to them they offer sacrifice after their manner. Their habit is like those of cape *Verde*, and the people about the river *Gamboa*. The boldest and most wealthy man is generally commander over all the nation or tribe. They improve their land well, for producing much millet, and rice. Their wealth consists in bullocks, cows, and goats, of which some have great numbers. All the coast as far as the river *Gamboa*, and about six leagues up the inland, is in their possession. Their towns are populous, and not above a quarter of a league distant from each other. Those *Feloupes* who dwell along the south-side of this river *Zamenee*, are exceeding barbarous and cruel; for they never give quarter to any *European* they can catch, and some say they eat them. They extend all along the coast to a village call'd *Boulol*, at the mouth of *St. Dominick's* river.

The coast we were speaking of above, is much better peopled than that of *Gamboa*, the villages being about two leagues distant from one another, and about half a league from the sea.

Jam Town. Seven or eight leagues farther is a little river, which leads to the town of *Jam*, where the *Portuguese* gather great quantities of wax, with which they trade by land to *Gamboa* and *Cachau*.

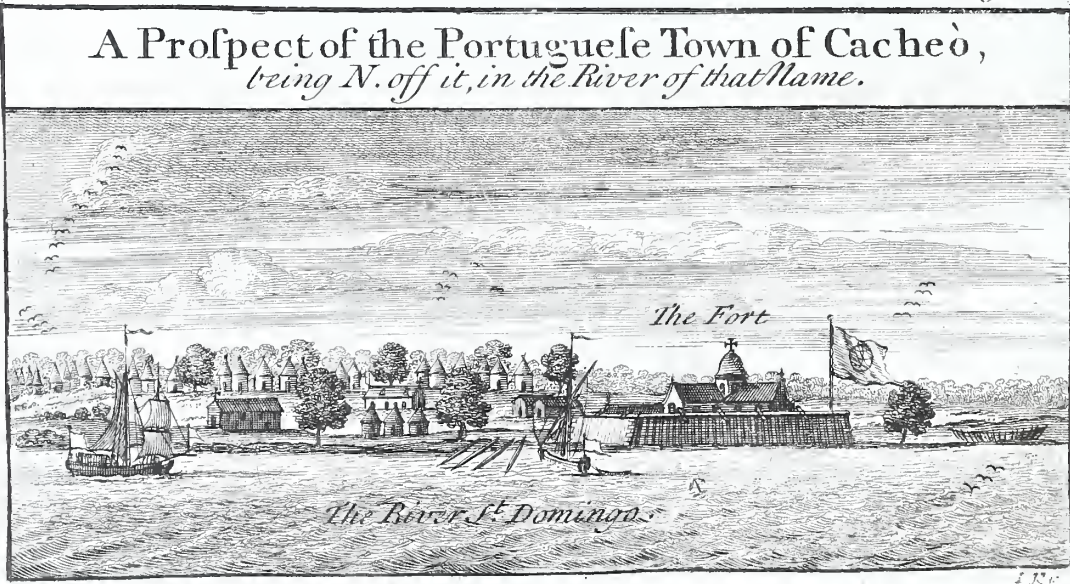
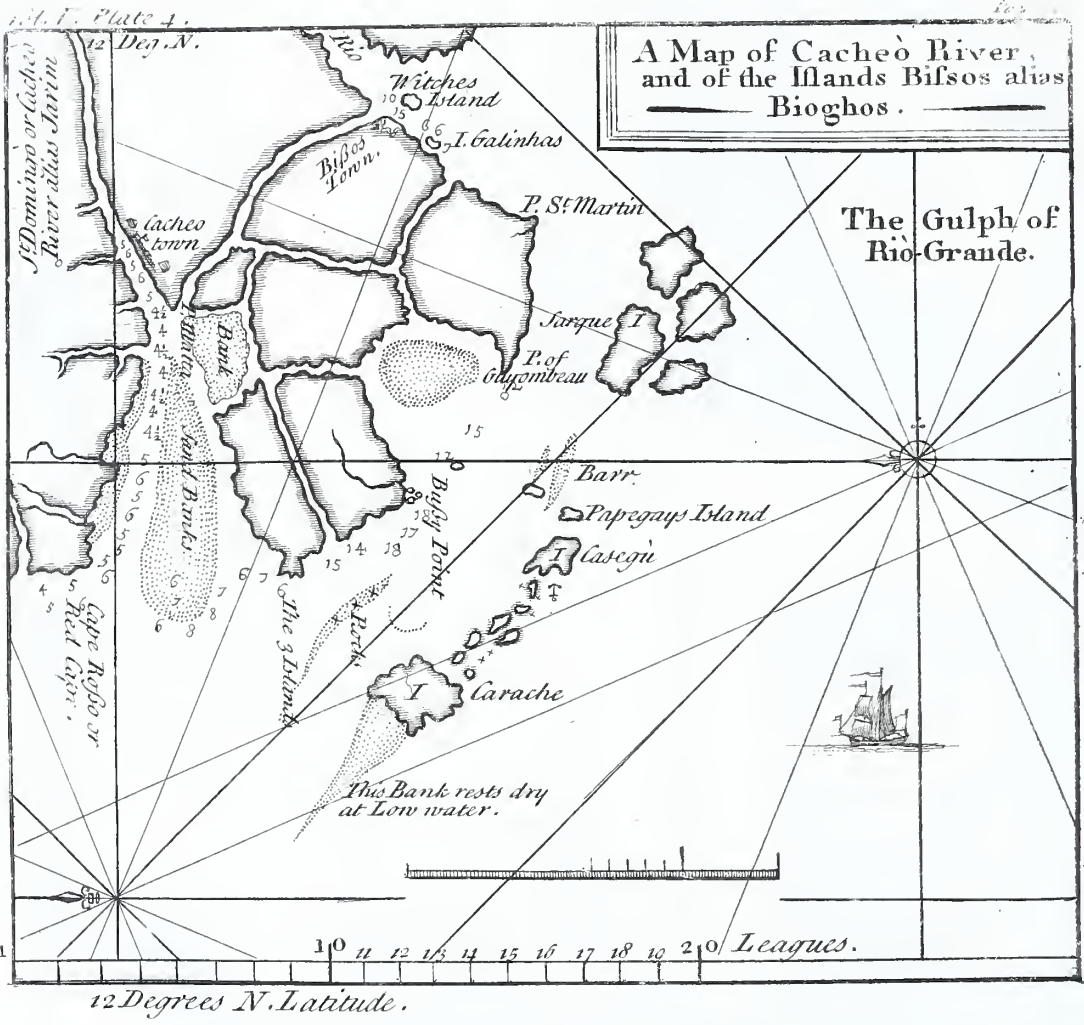
The adjacent parts are inhabited by *Blacks*, Bagnons called *Bagnons*, whose king lives twelve or thirteen leagues from the sea.

The river of *St. Dominick*, or *Jarim*, *St. Dominick's* reckon'd to be one of the branches of the *Niger*, is very large, running a winding course of near two hundred leagues, thro' the lands of the *Papais*, or *Buramos*, and *Mandingas*; and receiving by the way several smaller rivers, especially about *Cacheo*. Two of them, as the natives pretend, run athwart the country, northward into the *Rba*, and one of them, whose banks are cover'd with mangrove-trees, is resorted to by the *English*. *St. Dominick's* river is much encumber'd with shoals and banks of sand, some of which being left dry, at low water, shew from afar like islands. The mouth of it is in twelve degrees of north latitude.

The three small islands, call'd *Buramos*, lying at the mouth of this river, towards the south-side of it, the first whereof has peculiarly the name of *Three Islands*, because looking as if it were so, are little better than gravelly rocks, and yet inhabited by *Gourmet Blacks*, who have cast off their subjection to the *Portuguese*, and are relaps'd into paganism. There they cultivate cotton, and make their sort of cloth, which they sell to the natives on the continent; but will allow no man to come upon their islands, having canoes to carry on their trade. The channel they cross over is call'd the *Bot*, and they take all possible care that no vessels shall come near their islands.

There are two channels to go up *St. Dominick's* river; the greater for ships, close to the bar; the lesser for barks, or sloops, being on the north-side, as may be seen in the map, and is that of *Janiars*. The south point of the river's mouth, is call'd *Ponta Matta de Puttama*, some leagues to the southward of which is the little river *Obate*. The country about the river is inhabited by several sorts of *Blacks*, and by *Portuguese*, who have several towns there. The tide runs very strong out at the great channel, which hinders ships of great burden from sailing up any nearer than within eighteen or twenty leagues of *Cacheo*, and generally they come to an anchor between *Ponta Vermelha*, and cape *Roxo*, driving their trade between that and *Cacheo* in arm'd boats and sloops. However, the *Portuguese* ships which resort to this place being seldom of above one hundred tuns, commonly go up to *Cacheo*, where they have a little fort, mounted with four guns, on the north side of the river, near a village of *Blacks*, and kept by a sergeant with four soldiers.

Four leagues higher, near the village of *Boulet*, is the little river of *Linguim*, which runs nine or ten leagues under ground, as the



the *French* report; and then loses itself. The country about it is possess'd by the *Bagnon Blacks*, who are all idolaters, and much dreaded by their neighbours.

Guongain village. The village of *Guongain* is directly at the mouth of the river, where abundance of *Portuguese* and *Gourmet Blacks* have their dwelling, and gather much wax.

Boguinda river. The river *Boguinda* is on the same coast, about three leagues higher than the tide flows, and reaches twelve or fifteen leagues up the country, which is inhabited by the same sort of people, dealing like the others in wax. This is the ordinary passage from *Cacheo* to *Jam*.

Matto Fermofo. On the south-side of the mouth of the river of *St. Dominick* is a large wood, call'd *Matto Fermofo*, that is, the beautiful grove; and a village inhabited by the *Feloupes*, much more civiliz'd than those before mention'd; with whom a trade is maintain'd for slaves and provisions, but most particularly for rice.

About two leagues higher is a small rivulet, not navigable, but noted for parting the *Feloupes* from the *Papels*.

Papels Blacks. Those *Papels* are as great idolaters as the others. Their king resides five or six leagues higher. When any considerable person among them dies, they sacrifice bullocks, cows, kids and capons to their idols, which are generally trees, bullocks horns, &c.

Cacheo town. On the road, about four leagues higher, stands the town of *Cacheo*, on the south-side of the river; consisting of three hundred houses, made of clap-boards, pallisadoed round, and defended on the west-side by a sort of redoubt, mounted with fourteen large pieces of cannon; besides two other forts of no defence at present, with each three or four guns. There are four churches in the town, the chiefest of them dedicated to the virgin *Mary*, the parish-church to *St. Francis*, the third of *Capuchins*, to which belong three or four religious men, and the fourth is of *Jesuits*. The parish-church is serv'd by a curate. There is also a visitor, in the nature of a great vicar in *France*, who makes his visitations in the name of his diocesan, the bishop of *Santiago*, one of the islands of cape *Verde*. Most of the inhabitants are *Portuguese Mulattos*, being about three hundred families, which drive a very considerable trade with the natives that are under the *Portuguese* government. They formerly paid a considerable tribute to the king of the country, who had permitted them to erect three forts, the largest of which is, as hath been said, on the west-side of the town. These forts have since put them into a condition to deliver themselves from that tribute, and to command the country as their own, trading about where they think fit. For the satisfaction

of the curious, I have here inserted a prospect of the town of *Cacheo*. BARBOT.

The *Portuguese* report, that about six leagues towards the north-east, on the other side of *St. Dominick's* river, there is a large inland town, call'd *Bixamgor*, not far from a considerable river, running from the north-east, into that of *St. Dominick*, at some leagues to the eastward of this town; which last river, about fifteen leagues to the eastward of *Cacheo*, winds away to the southward, and so into *Rio Grande*, making an island of the country where *Cacheo* stands.

The *Portuguese* here are so careful to conceal the mystery of their trade, and the discoveries they have made in this part of *Africa*, that what we know of it is only from some discontented servants of theirs, who have withdrawn themselves. These say, it is a very profitable trade carry'd on along the inland rivers, from this place to *Gamboa*; first along the small river *Dominico*, opposite to *Cacheo*, which flows into that of *Rba*; then having carry'd their goods a few leagues by land, they come upon the *Sanguedegou* river, which falls upon the *Gamboa*; having built a small redoubt at the place where the land-carriage is; to secure the communication between the two rivers. Others report, that they have a way by rivers from the *Gamboa* to the *Senega*, which is probable enough, by what has been said in the description of *Senega*.

Nor do the *Portuguese* make less advantage of their trade in the *Bissegbo*, and other islands thereabouts, and carry'd on in brigantines and sloops, or barks. They also traffick in the rivers *Nonne*, *Pougues*, and *Sierra Leona*; where they purchase wax, slaves, elephants-teeth, red-wood, &c.

The merchants at *Cacheo* pay to the king of *Portugal* ten per cent. *ad valorem*, for all their goods; there being a collector to receive it, both coming in and going out. There is also a governor, and a recorder, or publick notary. There are yearly forty or fifty criminals banish'd from *Portugal* to this place, to supply the place of such as die, either for want of good diet, or of natural distempers. Such of these offenders as can season themselves to the climate, and overcome the malignity of the air, make their banishment easy enough.

The fort of *Cacheo* is under the command of an officer; they call captain major, or chief captain; but subordinate to that of cape *Verde*.

An hundred and fifty leagues higher up this river of *St. Dominick* is the town of *Farim*, another *Portuguese* colony, in the country of *Mandinga*, pallisadoed round, and govern'd by another captain major, subordinate to him of *Cacheo*. Some bees-wax, and

BARBOT.

PLATE 4.

Portuguese trade.

BARBOT. and abundance of cloth is made here, where-
in their chief trade consists: for most of the
Gourmet Blacks are taught to weave, or ex-
ercise other mechanicks.

Farim town. The inhabitants of *Farim* are not so nu-
merous as those of *Cacheo*; but they have
many summer-houses, where their *Gourmets*
make calicoes, cloth, and wax.

Stupid Idolatry. The villages and hamlets all along the
river, from *Cacheo* to *Farim*, are inhabited
by *Portuguese Gourmets*, or christian *Blacks*;
but all the others throughout the country
are gross superstitious pagans, worshipping
trees, oxen's horns, and other inanimate
things, as their wild fancy leads them; to
all which they offer sacrifices of bullocks,
kids, fowl, &c. Those of *Casamanse*, be-
sides their other multitude of idols, pay a
particular veneration to one they call *Cbina*,
which in their language signifies God; in
honour of whom, about the latter end of
November they make a general yearly pro-
cession at midnight, just when they are to
sow their rice, which devotion is perform'd
after this manner.

China idol. All the people being assembled at the
place where the idol *Cbina* is kept, they
take it up, with great humility and reve-
rence, and go in procession to the appointed
station, where sacrifice is to be offer'd; their
chief priest walking at the head of the con-
gregation, next before their god *Cbina*,
and carrying a long pole, to which is af-
fix'd a blue silk banner, with some thin-

bones of men, who perhaps have been put
to death for that purpose, and several ears
of rice. Being come to the intended place,
a quantity of honey is burnt before the idol,
after which every one present makes his of-
fering, and smoaks a pipe, and then they
all go to prayers, begging of their god, that
he will give a blessing to their harvest, and
afford them a plentiful crop, in due season.
This done, they carry *Cbina* back in the
same order to the place of his residence,
proceeding in a very solemn manner, and
with profound silence.

The river of *St. Dominick* abounds in *Alligators*
fish, and breeds such monstrous alligators,
that they devour any men, who venture too
far into the water. The *Blacks* along it
are careful to file their teeth very sharp,
looking upon it as a great ornament.

One thing is reported very singular of *Way to si-*
the women, and is, that in the morning *lence wo-*
they use to fill their mouths full of water, *men.*
which they hold all the time they are clean-
ing their houses and dressing their meat,
to prevent talking, being extremely ad-
dicted to it.

The slaves purchased by the *Portuguese* *Good*
and others in these parts of the continent, *slaves.*
and the neighbouring islands, especially
those call'd *Bissos*, are the ablest and most
servicable of any throughout *North Guinea*,
and valued at *Mexico* and *Cartagena* in the
West-Indies, beyond those of *Benin* and
Angola.

C H A P. IX.

The coast from St. Dominick's river to Rio Grande. Geva river and trade; Guinala kingdom. Guard of dogs; burial of kings. The kingdom of Biguba.

THE coast from the river of *St. Do-*
minick to *Rio Grande*, by the ancients
call'd *Stachiris*, as well as the *Gambia*, to
which *Ptolemy* gives the same name, as has
been observ'd at the beginning of the se-
venth chapter, runs south-south-east, and
south-east, to a place, where there are two
very large trees, which seem from afar to
be close together; and there are two towns
on it, call'd *Amacada* and *Times*. *Rio de*
las Isletas, or the river of the little islands,
is to the eastward of it; and by the *Dutch*
named, *de Rivier van de drie klein Eylands*,
that it, the river of the three little islands.
This part of *North-Guinea* is seldom re-
ported to by any *European* traders, except
the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, as affording
little or no profit.

Rio Grande. The air about *Rio Grande* is pretty
wholesome, and the country has much the
same plants and animals, as the others al-
ready described. This is call'd *Rio Grande*,
or the great river, because of its wideness,

and is the fourth great branch of the *Niger*,
forming two mouths, viz. *Guinala* and *Bi-*
guba. The north-side of it is inhabited by
the people call'd *Tangos-maos*, and the south-
side by the *Biafares*, forming two king-
doms, named as the two mouths last men-
tion'd, *Guinala* and *Biguba*. According to
some ancient geographers, there was once a
place call'd *Portus Magnus*, or the great
harbour, on the north-side of *Rio Grande*,
near the mouth of it. This river is gene-
rally look'd upon as one of the mouths of
the famous *Niger*, and opposite to the
islands *Bisseghos*, or *Bissos*.

On a river by the *French* call'd *Geva*, *Geva*
which must needs fall into *Rio Grande*, *river.*
tho' they pretend it is lost in the sea, after
a winding course of seventy leagues from
north-east to south-west, is the village *Gouf-*
fode, about a league from the harbour,
where slaves, bullocks, and poultry are
sold. The *French* place this town on the
Geva about five leagues higher; but the
Portu-

Portuguese have a church there, and it is in the country of the *Biatares*. Several barks and sloops are kept in the port, which trade to *Sierra Leona*, with the fruit call'd *Kola*, or *Coñers*, resembling the great chestnuts of *India*, which I shall speak of hereafter. They deal for great quantities of them with the natives of these parts, and with the *Blacks* on the river *Nunbas* for elephants teeth, and indigo in the leaf, for dying of their cloth. The barks can go no farther than a village call'd *Goeree*, but their canoes run up several rivers of little note. Just opposite to the port, there are several small islands not inhabited, besides that of *Bou-lam*, six leagues in compass, and lying just at the mouth of *Rio Grand*.

Guinala
kingdom.

The kingdom of *Guinala* is so call'd from one of the branches of *Rio Grand*, which runs thro' the country of the *Souffis*. The port of *Guinala* is the chief town; and that which the *Portuguese* call a *Cruz* or the cross, is not far from it. The king of *Guinala* is always attended by a numerous retinue whenever he goes abroad, and particularly by a company of archers. He is said to give the hat, which is there used instead of a crown, to seven petty kings under his jurisdiction, and that he maintains them at his own expence, and with great profusion. This king had formerly twelve such kinglings his tributaries; but the *Jags* have reduced five of them under their dominion.

Guard of
dogs.

It is also reported, that at *Guinala* the king maintains fifty great dogs, cloth'd in jackets or coats made of skins, whose business is to watch at night; which obliges the inhabitants to be at home betimes, for fear of being torn in pieces and devour'd by those dogs, every one of which has a keeper, who chains him up in the day and takes care to feed him. This odd sort of watch has been settled there, because formerly abundance of wicked vagabond *Blacks* used to resort to *Guinala*, and carry away many of the inhabitants in the night.

The coun-
cil.

The royal council consists of the king himself, the heads and chief men of the country, and twelve chosen counsellors.

Burial of
kings.

The *Blacks* in these parts do not differ from the others already spoken of, in manners, customs, &c. but only in the way of bewailing and burying their dead kings, which is worth observing. As soon as the king has expired, twelve men, call'd *Scitens*, wearing long and wide gowns, adorn'd all over with feathers of several colours, make it known by way of proclamation, being preceded by twelve other men, sounding a trumpet in a doleful manner; which, as soon as heard by the people, every man runs out of his house, covered with a white cloth or sheet, and goes about the town all the day, whilst the principal persons of the country, and the late

king's officers are assembled to consult about BARBOT. the election of a new king. Having agreed upon that point, they order the body of the deceas'd to be open'd, and burn his bowels before the idol *Cbina*, which is their chief deity, as well as of the *Caramansas*, before spoken of. Then the corpse is very well wash'd and embalmed with sweet odors mixed with the ashes of the bowels. Every *Black* is oblig'd upon these occasions to furnish his quota of frankincense, musk, ambergris, and white amber, according to his ability. The corpse remains after this manner till the day of the funeral, when six of the first quality in the country carry it to the place of burial, being clothed in white sarcenet gowns, followed by a multitude of others, playing a melancholy tune on a sort of flutes and hautboys, made after their manner. After these follows a croud of *Blacks*, crying and howling as loud as they are able. The corpse being thus laid in the grave, in the presence of the relations, who are usually on horseback upon this occasion, and clothed in loose sarcenet gowns, which is a sign of mourning, they kill that wife the dead king was fondest of, and several of his servants, to wait on and serve him in the other world; and that he may want for no conveniency there, and to the same intent, his horse is to be kill'd. It is reported, that above fifty persons have been sometimes slaughter'd upon such occasions; but the unheard-of barbarities usually executed on those wretched victims of superstition and ignorance, before they give them the last stroke to put an end to life, are wonderfully inhuman; for, they are said to tear out the nails of their fingers and toes, to crush and break their legs, and many more such-like cruelties: and as a farther addition to the monstrousness of this practice, they oblige the miserable creatures, destin'd for this butchery, to be present at the torments of their fellows till the last. This abominable custom strikes such a terror into the minds of the wives and servants, that, notwithstanding the plausible stories told them of the advantages accruing to those who are so sacrificed, in the other world, most of them abscond, or run quite away, as soon as they apprehend the least danger of death in the king.

Mercator in his *Atlas* observes, that it was formerly the custom in great Tartary to sacrifice, on mount *Alcasi*, all that were present at the funeral of their *Great Cham*, by the *Muscovites* call'd *Czar Cataiski*; and that it once happened, that near 300000 men were so butcher'd at one time. *Emanuel de Faria y Sousa* in his *Spanish* history of *Portugal*, chap. 6. pag. 40. speaking of *Viriatus*, general of the *Lusitanians* or *Portuguese*, about an hundred and forty years before CHRIST, who was kill'd by the con-
trivance

BABROT. trivance and treachery of *Servilius Cepio*, a Roman general in *Spain*, tells this passage, of the same nature as what we are speaking of. That the *Lusitanians* missing their general, found him dead in his tent; whereupon the whole camp was fill'd with their lamentations. To perform his funeral rites with all imaginable pomp, they rais'd a vast pile of timber in the midst of the field, leaving a space for the body. The top of the pile was adorn'd with colours and other trophies of arms. Then their idolatrous priest going up to the top, call'd upon the ghost of *Virriatus*, and killing some captives, sprinkled the arms with their blood; which done, he came down, and setting fire to the pile, the body was consumed in a moment.

Unsettled
Blacks.

The *Portuguese* jesuits, and other missionaries, about the beginning of the last century, baptized many of this nation of *Guinala*, who soon relaps'd into their former paganism and superstitious worship of the idol *China*: some of them, upon fresh exhortations, were again reconcil'd, but as soon fell back into their absurdities; which, at last, tired those missionaries, who were thus convinc'd, that to undertake the conversion of those infidels was labour in vain, and therefore refused to baptize the king, and some of his courtiers who desired it, withdrawing themselves from that country.

The kingdom of *Biguba* or *Busequi* is inhabited by the people call'd *Biafares*, as has been said before, and depends on that of *Guinala*. The port of *Biguba* is somewhat higher up the river than that of *Balola* or *Bayla*, which is inhabited by the *Tangos-maos*, and *Biguba* mostly by *Portuguese*. The *Tangos-maos* are said to be of *Portuguese* extraction, some of that nation having marry'd black women; however it is, they differ not in customs and manners from the generality of the other *Blacks*, going almost naked, and cutting or scarifying their bodies like them.

When a king of *Biguba* dies, and leaves only one son, that son is immediately enthron'd; but if he leaves several, the eldest cannot be king till he has kill'd all the others hand to hand; the *Biafares* looking upon the bravest as most worthy of that dignity. This way of deciding the right to the crown being tedious, it occasions great troubles and tumults during the interregnum.

There are few christians in this country, notwithstanding the great toils formerly undergone by the missionaries for gaining of converts; but the grossest paganism is follow'd by all the natives without exception.

C H A P. X.

The islands Bissos; their inhabitants and product; Bissos town and trade. How they plight their faith to strangers; their habit, houses, food, burials, &c. Of Rio Grande, and the island Fermosa.

Bissos
islands.

THE islands of *Bissos* or *Biogbos*, or *Bissan* or *Bizagooz*, or, according to the *French*, *Bissu*, lie to the westward of the coast of *Biguba*, being inhabited by the *Jagos*. The largest of them is by the *Portuguese* call'd *Ilba Fermosa* or beautiful island; and by the *Spaniards*, *Isla de Fernan Po*, that is, *Ferdinand Po's* island, because he discover'd it. Some will have it, that there are near eighty islands call'd *Bissos*, between cape *Roxo* and *Rio grande*, enclosed on the west side by a large bank, which the *Portuguese* call *Baixos dos Bijagos*, and the *French*, *Banc de St. Pierre*.

Fermosa
and Bussi
islands.

Ilba Fermosa is parted from the main by the river *Analu*, as are also two other islands near it. Opposite to the channel, call'd the *Bol*, is the island of *Bussi*, inhabited by the *Papels*, whose king is not very absolute. The sea is so shallow there, that a man may pass over to it without being wet above the mid-leg. This island is about ten leagues in compass, and has two ports, the one on the east side, call'd *Old Port*; the other on the south side, named *White Stones Harbour*.

Directly opposite to it, is the village of *Cazelut*, on the continent, and several little islands not inhabited. About two leagues from it, is the island by the *French* call'd *Des Biffaux* Des Biffaux island. A ship of three hundred tuns can pass easily between the two islands, knowing the channel. This island is about forty leagues in compass, inhabited by *Papel Blacks*, divided into nine several tribes or nations, each govern'd by a king of its own; but one of them is sovereign over all the rest, who depend on him as governours of provinces. The prime men in it, are call'd *Garges*, signifying as much as dukes or peers. These are the candidates when a new king is to be chosen, which is done after this manner. They draw up in a ring, in the midst of which is the tomb of the deceas'd king, made of reeds, and held up by several men, who, dancing about, toss it up, and he on whom it falls is their king.

These islands are very fruitful, though all over woody, being every where water'd with several streams and rivulets, and producing palm-wine, palm-oil and many other sorts of refreshments.

refreshments. The country is all flat and low, only here and there some hillocks and arable ridges at some distance from one another. The soil is so good, that any thing grows with little labour, so that there is plenty of rice, honey, wax, *Guinea-pepper*, much valu'd by the *Barbary Moors*. It is also well stor'd with all sorts of beasts, as stags, fallow-deer, elephants, &c.

The sea about them abounds in fish of several kinds, and produces ambergris, which the natives sometimes find on the shore.

Natives.

The natives are tall, but very lean, and speak no other language but their own; but are a wild treacherous people, with whom there was but little trading till of late. In the year 1683, they massacred all the crew of a *Dutch* ship, who were gone ashore, either upon necessity, or to divert themselves, not suspecting the inhabitants to be of such a bloody disposition. Only a cabin-boy was preserv'd alive among them, and afterwards ransom'd by an *English* factor of *Gamboa*, who used, from time to time, to trade to these islands for slaves, millet, poultry, cattle, and parrots blue and green. When ships arrive at their ports, no persons are suffer'd to land, till the king has sacrificed a bullock; which done, any may go ashore.

Bissos town.

The town of *Bissos*, in the island *des Bisseaux* is very large, and almost three leagues in length, because of the many orchards and plantations there are within it, belonging to the *Portuguese*, who have there a colony of about an hundred and fifty families, with a convent of *Recolets*, and a parish church; trading thence to all the other islands of *Bissos*, to *Rio Nunnez*, and *Sierra Leona*, bringing thence slaves, elephants teeth, some gold-dust, &c. which they sell again to the *Europeans* who resort thither. They value a man slave from twenty to thirty bars of iron, according to the time and scarcity.

French trade.

The *French Senega* company began in 1685 to drive a trade here, and carry the following sorts of goods to barter for slaves, elephants teeth, wax, &c.

- Iron bars,
- Bugles of sundry sorts,
- Coral,
- Yarn of divers colours,
- Frize,
- Satala's* or brass basons,
- Brass kettles,
- Hats,
- Yellow amber,
- Pieces of eight,
- Knives, and many other kinds of haberdashery ware.

English.

The *English* have also a hand in the trade of the *Bissos*, and will soon out-do the *French*, because of their nearness at *Gamboa*.

The best road for ships to ride before the town of *Bissos*, is just opposite to the parish church, not above an *English* mile from the shore, ouzy ground; but nearer the shore is better anchorage, where ships of sixty guns may ride safe: the place by the *French* is call'd *Port Bisseaux*. BARBOT.
The road.

In the year 1686, the *Portuguese* were actually erecting a little fort there, to secure their colony, and hinder strangers from trading there, that they might engross it all to themselves, having obtain'd a grant of the king of the island, by means of a very considerable present sent him by the king of *Portugal*; but they had then only two pieces of cannon mounted, and a very inconsiderable garrison. It may be an easy matter to disappoint this design of the *Portuguese*, the same way they work'd upon the king of the *Bissos*, if the *French* or *English* should offer as good, or a better present than the *Portuguese* did, which would doubtless induce that black king to grant them the same privilege; if it were thought convenient for promoting or securing the trade there, or, at least, they might have leave to settle in some other place near it: for the *Blacks* in general are not pleas'd with this grant made to the *Portuguese*, which excludes all other *Europeans* from trading with their nation; and it is likely, things will not continue so long, those *Blacks* being great sticklers for liberty.

There are several good harbours in this island, besides that I have mentioned. The king's place is within half a league of it, one parish and one monastery, as was said before. Several of the *Portuguese* inhabitants are married to native black women; and many of the inhabitants are baptized, and profess the *Roman Catholick* religion. The king has his guards, other soldiers, and many wives of different ages. He has at least fifty canoes for war, each of them capable of carrying thirty men; and two or three times a year he sends this fleet to make war on the *Biavares*, dwelling on the continent. The soldiers of these islands have no other weapons but a cutlace hanging to their arm. The *Bissos* have an open trade with the towns of *Bollo* and *Cacheo*. The king.

The town of *Bollo* lies between the other two, and affords millet, cattle, and poultry. Bollo town.

Every ship, or brigantine, that comes to *Bissos*, or the neighbouring roads, is to pay the duty of anchorage, besides the customs, which make a part of that king's revenue. Duties.

Most of the bees-wax purchased at *Bissos*, comes from *Cacheo* and *Gera*, a *Portuguese* colony and town seated above fifty leagues up the country, as before mentioned.

The custom of sacrificing an ox at *Bissos*, and other places along this coast, to their great idol *China*, in the presence of some

BARBOT. one of the ship's crew, above hinted at, is in lieu of a solemn affirmation, or oath, that they will not abuse or defraud the stranger; which ceremony is thus performed: After the bullock is killed, the priest drops some of the blood on the stranger's shoes, and hangs up the horns or feet on the *Fetiche* tree; and whosoever takes them down, forfeits an ox.

Habit. The king of the *Bissos* dresses himself much after the *Portuguese* manner; but the generality of the *Blacks* go quite naked, having only a small flap of kid-skin, dressed and painted red, to cover their privities, tied about their thighs, the ends supported by a narrow strap of leather, girt about their waist. The women wear clothes much like those of *Cabo Verde*.

Houses and food. The houses or huts are in form like those of *Rio Fresco*, and of the same materials. Their usual food is millet, boil'd with fowls, or beef, bananas, and figs, and their drink palm-wine.

Graves. They bury the dead standing upright, making a deep pit, or grave, which they fill up with several sorts of provisions, beside the body. The funerals of their dead kings are very much after the same manner, and with the same inhumanity, as I have before describ'd in those of *Guinala*; only with this difference at *Bissos*, as it was practised at the obsequies of a king not long before the year 1686. They massacred twenty-five or thirty of the handsomest maids in the country, from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, to serve the deceased king as wives and concubines in the other world; as also a like number of young men of the best sort, some of them offering up themselves of their own free will, for fulfilling of that inhuman custom; but many others were taken up by force. Those who thus prodigally cast away their lives, on such occasions, do it upon the absurd notion, that it is highly honourable: however, this brutal notion loses ground very much among the better sort of *Blacks*; who, as soon as they hear their king is in danger of death, remove and hide their daughters; and the handsomest maidens, who have no parents, will abscond carefully even from their own relations. Besides the many young men and maids thus slaughter'd and buried with the corpse of the deceas'd king, the remaining part of the grave, which is generally very deep and spacious, is filled up with provisions, clothes, gold, silver, sweet scents, stuffs, &c. in such quantity as is judg'd necessary to serve such a company for a considerable time, some say five or six years, but that seems too much.

Idol China. In these parts their god *China* is represented by a bullock's, or a ram's head carv'd

in wood, after their manner, or else made of a sort of paste, of the flow r of millet, kneaded with blood, and mixed with hair and feathers; and they have very many of these idols. There are fifteen or sixteen of them in a hut near the door of the king's house, at *Bissos*; and no man dares touch them, besides the priests, at the time of some solemn sacrifice, when they remove one or more of them to the place appointed for that ceremony; and as soon as that is perform'd, return the same to chappel or lodge, among the rest. By this it is easy to perceive what wretched gross idolaters these *Bisso Blacks* are.

Their weapons are the same as those of the *Blacks* at the river of *St. Dominick*, Arms and wars. but not so neat and handy. The natural courage and intrepidity of these islanders, renders them formidable to their enemies on the continent, with whom they are continually at variance, and sometimes with the *Portuguese*; for they are bold and indefatigable in war, and formerly conquered six small provinces on the main, bringing their adversaries so low, as to oblige them to call in the *Sjaniards* to their assistance.

They often go a privateering in their arm'd canoes, up the neighbouring rivers; and once forc'd the king of *Biguba* to take shelter in the thickest of the forests in his country, to avoid their fury; whilst they carry'd off great numbers of his subjects, and others of the adjacent countries.

Each of these *Bisso* islands has its particular prince, or commander in chief, but all of them subordinate to the king of the *Jags*, who commonly resides in *Ilba Fermoza*, or the beautiful island, and is stiled the *Great King*. These *Blacks* offer up in sacrifice to their idols, bullocks, capons, and kids. Govern-ment.

It will not be improper in this place to insert the course the *French* steer from *Goeree* Course to sail. to the *Bissos*. From *Goeree* they stand S S E. to cape *St. Mary*, of the river *Gamboa*, being twenty-six leagues, but taking somewhat to southward, to avoid *Punta Serena*. From cape *St. Mary* they steer south, along the shore, in eight fathom water, ouzy ground, for twenty-one leagues, to cape *St. Anne*, the coast there lying north and south. This cape *St. Anne* at a distance shows like high land, but is low when near.

Ten leagues S E. from cape *Roxo*, the Three coast forms three points, which as you points. come from the said cape, look like islands, there being six or seven fathom water in the channel between them. When those three points are brought to bear N E. they bear up towards them till within the distance of about a league, to avoid falling off to the SW. on the island *Carache*; after which, they steer

Carache
island.

steer SE. or ESE. at about a league, or somewhat more distance from the shore. The island *Carache* is seen from the three points aforesaid. Almost in the midst of the channel, between the continent and *Carache*, is a ridge of rocks; but the larboard side must be kept towards the continent, still sounding in six, seven, eight, and nine fathom water.

From the said three points, the course is SE. for seven leagues, to point *Buffy*, which runs far out into the sea. From point *Buffy* to that of *Guyambeau* ESE. in from twelve to fifteen fathom, with good anchoring every where. This point of *Guyambeau* is not so foul as that of *Buffy*.

The tides in these parts run nine hours, at two leagues distance of the land, and are to be nicely observed; but especially that which comes out of a small river near *Buffy* point, there being three little low islands at the mouth of it, where some ships have run a-ground, notwithstanding there is eighteen fathom water in some places, at a small distance from them.

From *Guyambeau* point is seen that of *St. Martin*, lying eight leagues to the eastward; as also the island *Carache*, with that call'd the little *Papagay*, reckoned one of the *Bissos*. There is no coming within a league of the *Papagay* island, by reason of a bank of sand near it, and stretching out east and west. *St. Martin's* point is also very foul, for a league out at sea. At a league distance from point *St. Martin*, may be seen an island once as big as that call'd *Papagay*, known by the name of *Ilha das Galinhas*, or the island of hens, lying near the main land of *Bissos*. The course from *St. Martin's* point to that island is NE. The name was given it by the *Portuguese* from the vast multitude of *Pintado* hens there is on it.

Island das
Galinhas.

There is a passage between this island and the continent, but not safe, because vessels may be drove ashore by the strong tides; and therefore it is better to pass between the island *das Galinhas*, and that of the forcerers, bearing SE. from the road of the town of *Bissos*, and so come to an anchor at *Bissos* in seven fathom water.

Sorcerers
island.

This island of *Sorcerers* is all over wooded, and appointed by the natives for a great sacrifice, which the king of the *Bissos* performs there in person every two years. Any ship may safely ride at anchor near it.

The islanders of *Carache* and *Cafegu* are a treacherous, and consequently a jealous people, perpetually at war with their neighbours. Their king is one of the tallest men that can be seen.

The islands between *Carache* and *Cafegu* are inhabited; but those of *Papagay* and *Sarques* are not, but all over wooded.

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The island *Cafegu* is about six leagues in BARBOT. compass; on the south-side of it is a convenient watering-place, and the water is Cafegu fresh and good. The natives of it, tho' island. not so bold as the other islanders, yet for profit make incursions into the neighbouring countries, to take slaves, whom they sell to the *Europeans*.

The great *Fetiche's* tree is in the midst of Strange the island, being an ever-green, from whose tree. leaves they say water is continually dropping, as has been long reported of such another tree in the island *Ferro*, one of the *Canaries*; but this last has been disproved by all persons who have been on those islands. The *Blacks* adorn this tree with abundance of polish'd horns; and it is a high crime for any man to do the least hurt to it. The petty king of the island keeps some elephants for his pleasure, in a park made to that end.

Having directed the course to the *Bissos*, I will now add the course to depart thence with the same safety, when bound for the *West-Indies*, or for *Europe*.

This must be done by tiding it, for at every Course turn of the tide, the ship is to come to anchor from the from the Bissos. *Bissos*. one tide carrying her from the road of *Bissos* to *St. Martin's* point; another from thence to point *Guyambeau*; a third from this to that of *Buffy*; and a fourth from *Buffy* to the three islands, or three points. The tide sets NW and SE. and special care must be taken to give each cape, point, or bank, a sufficient berth.

When you have brought the three points to bear NE. or NE by E. then steer away WNW. boldly, by which means you will clear the banks of *Carache*, tho' they run eighteen or twenty leagues out to sea, keeping in seven, eight, and nine fathom water, till you come into fifteen. If you design for the *West-Indies*, shape your course due west, as soon as you lose sight of *Carache*; but if you are bound for *Europe*, steer WNW.

The tides out at sea, somewhat distant from these islands, set SW. At the beginning of *May*, when the sun is there in the *Zenith*, the wind being generally at north, you may steer WNW.

Rio Grande, generally believ'd by all Rio travellers to be one of the six known branches Grande. which convey the *Niger* into the *Atlantic* ocean, and the most southerly of them, is so little frequented by *Europeans*, except some few *Portuguese*, that there can be no particular and exact description of it given. All we know in general is, that the mouth is very wide, and reaches far up into the country. The main reason why so little known to sea-faring people, is its being inhabited on both sides by wild, savage *Blacks*, little acquainted with trade,

A 2

who

BARBOT. who have often insulted such as have been forced to put in there, either for want of provisions, or some other accident. Besides, the tide runs out extremely rapid, and the entrance is much encumber'd with sands and shoals; and there is reason to believe that some ships have perish'd there, and others been assaulted by the natives, who wear long collars of old ropes about their necks, which it is likely they have had from such vessels as have been cast away, or they have plunder'd.

Fermosa island.

Some few leagues from the shore, to the southward of this river's mouth, is a very fine flat island, about ten leagues in compass; and therefore call'd *Fermosa*, that is, beautiful; abounding in rice, but difficult of access, by reason of the sea's breaking on its strand, to the westward: the east-side faces several small islands, which are near it, and the continent opposite to them. It is a proper place to be supply'd with rice, bullocks, poultry, water and fuel; but the inhabitants are very rude to strangers, so that there is no venturing ashore, as I have been informed by some *French* men of my acquaintance, who have been there of late, in much want of provisions, when the islanders attack'd their boat, and took two of their men, casting lots to decide whose slaves they should be: but the master of the vessel at length prevail'd with the king, who seem'd to be somewhat more civiliz'd than the rest of the *Blacks*, to have them restor'd, after sending some goods for their ransom.

Way of casting lots.

Their way of casting lots, upon this occasion, is somewhat remarkable; they put into a gourd, or cup, as many small bits of cloth, of several colours, as there are *Blacks*,

every one of them chusing his colour. These they shake, and mix very well; and then one appointed for the purpose draws the said lots, by which it is decided to whom the slave shall belong. This done, they perform a ceremony on the slave, thus: they take a hen, or pullet, and cut off the head and both wings, which they tie about his neck, and hang the maim'd body of the hen over him, in such manner, that the blood may drop down on his head and feet, by which ceremony they pretend to constitute him a slave to the person on whom the lot fell.

These islanders go almost naked, wearing only a square piece of black *Spanish* leather, hanging by a thong or rope about their waist, to cover their privy parts; as also a little cap, or head-band, of the same leather, which 'tis suppos'd they know how to dress, after the *Spanish* way, or else it is sold them by the *Portuguese* trading to *Rio Grande*. They have no other weapons, but bows and arrows, and long javelins, and are covetous of brandy, iron bars, knives, musquets, powder, and ball; all which they get from the *Europeans*, constantly trading at the *Bissos*, where they have residences. Hence it is they are so apt to assault strangers, who chance to come to their island; because when they have got and made any of them slaves, they at one time or other carry them to the *Bissos*, and there get such *European* goods as they like for their ransom. These say, that the *Blacks* inhabiting on the other side of *Rio Grande*, are more wild and cruel to strangers than themselves; for they will scarce release a white man upon any condition whatsoever, but will sooner or later murder, and perhaps devour them.

C H A P. XI.

Of the rivers Niger and Nile, the ancient and modern accounts of them and their sources. The gold trade, and elephants teeth.

IT will not, I believe, be unacceptable to the reader, in this place, to give some account of the source of the rivers *Nile* and *Niger*, erroneously taken for the same, and so little known in former ages: for notwithstanding all the industry used to discover the springs of *Nile*, whatsoever the ancients writ concerning it, was either absolutely false, or uncertain.

Sesostris and *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, kings of *Egypt*, *Cambyfes*, *Alexander* the great, *Julius Cæsar*, *Nero*, and many other monarchs spared neither cost, nor labour, to discover the course of the *Nile*, without any success. These latter ages have discover'd that secret; and *F. Pais* informs us, that he found and observed it, in the presence

of the emperor of *Abissinia*, on the 21st of *April*, in the year 1618; but I will first speak of the *Niger*.

The NIGER

IS the most considerable river throughout the country of *Nigritia*, or the land of the *Blacks*. The *Arabs* at this time call it *Hued Niger*; and some take it for the *Afnaga* of *Pliny*, pretending that the river *Gamboa* is the true channel which conveys it into the ocean, and urging, that the rivers *Senega* and *Grande* are only branches of the *Gamboa*. Others will have *Rio Grande* to be the true *Niger*, and all the others above mention'd only branches of it. However, most of the ablest geographers of this age, after

Guarda
lake.

after much contesting about it, agree that the *Gamboa* and *Senega* are branches of the *Niger*, parting from it in *Cantozzi*, or *Cantorfi*, a province of *Nigritia*. This river runs in a body from the lake *Sigesmes*, or of *Guarda*, being a small *Mediterranean* sea, near one hundred leagues in length from east to west, and about fifty leagues in breadth, north and south, in a pyramidal form, and lying between the fourth and the ninth degrees of east longitude from the meridian of *London*; between the kingdoms of *Agadex* on the north, that of *Guber* on the south, *Cassena* and *Bito* on the east, and *Meizara* on the west. This *Meizara* lies to the southward of the kingdom of *Tomboucton*, or *Tombut*; and the river is call'd *Ica*, or *Senega*, by the people of *Tombut*, as far up eastward, as the towns of *Semegda*, and *Timby* or *Tamby*, two towns, the one on the north, the other on the south-side of the said river: which, coming out of the aforesaid lake, takes a large compass to the northward, at the upper part whereof stands the city of *Tombut*, on the north-side, and a few miles up the land. The town of *Cabra* is on the bank of the *Senega*, about sixty leagues east from the rocks, which make a fall in the said river *Senega*, near the towns of *Galama*, *Goury*, and *Boromaia*, lying in about two degrees of west longitude from the meridian of *London*, according to the most correct observations of these latter times.

Source of
the Niger.

The source of the *Niger* has been much contended about in former ages; some pretending it was in a lake, to the eastward of the desarts of *Seu*, or *Sen*. Modern geographers will have it to come out of a lake, call'd the *Black Lake*, on the borders of the kingdoms of *Mendra* and *Vanque*, adjoining to *Nigritia* and *Abissinia*; and affirm it runs thence through the kingdoms of *Biafara* and *Nubia* westward, to a place where it sinks under ground, and runs in that manner for eighteen or twenty leagues, after which it rises again to form the great lake of *Borneo*, on the frontiers of *Guangara*, *Biafara*, *Cassena*, *Zegzeg* and *Cano*; as also the vast lake of *Sigesmes*, or *Guarda*, which waters on the south, the lands of *Mandinga*, *Guber* and *Gago*, and on the north, those of *Agadex* and *Cano*. Thence they suppose it runs from east to west, without any interruption, between the kingdoms of *Melli* and *Tombut*, to the place called the fall, above *Cantozzi*, where it divides into seven branches. The first of them is that call'd *Rio de San Joao*, or *St. John's* river, falling into the sea, in the bay of *Arguin*, at a place named *Taffia*, near cape *Blanco*; the second is the true *Senega* river; the third the *Gamboa*; the fourth *Santo Do-*

Course.

mingo, or the river of *St. Dominick*; the fifth *Rio Grande*, or the great river, from which flows the *Guinala*, being the sixth mouth, and the *Biguba* the seventh. Nevertheless, some of the most correct accounts of this time, seem to mistrust this account, as if *Gamboa*, *Santo Domingo*, *Rio Grande*, *Guinala* and *Biguba* rivers, did not proceed from the *Ica*, or *Senega* river, which is the direct branch, or part of the *Niger*, at its coming out of the lake *Sigesmes*, or *Guarda*, as has been said above. They observe, that at a place call'd *Bajozue Aquibaca*, the great river *Senega* divides itself, forming a very large stream, called the black river, as the *Ica* is there also called the white river; which gliding along to the S W. for about forty leagues, ends in a lake call'd the great lake in the country of *Mandinga*. Nor do they say any thing more positive concerning the springs of *Gamboa*, *Santo Domingo*, and the other rivers above mentioned.

The *Arabian* geographers pretend, that the *Niger* is but a branch of the *Nile* in *Egypt*, which absconding under ground, rises again by the name of the *Niger*. The *Arabs* of *Numidia* call them both by the same name of *Nile*; but for distinction sake, the one the *Nile* of *Egypt*, the other the *Nile* of *Nigritia*. There are others of this same opinion, that the *Nile* and the *Niger* proceed both from the same source, because they both produce the same species of animals and monsters, and overflow at the same time; and, *Pliny* says, the antients were of this opinion, alledging for a farther proof, besides what has been said, that the *Niger*, as well as the *Nile*, produces a sort of rushes, made use of by the *Egyptians* instead of paper to write on, and the plant *Papyrus*.

The new translation of the *Latin* history of *Ethiopia*, written by *Ludolphus*, illustrates these last mention'd opinions, with the discoveries made in this present age, of which he speaks to this effect.

The *Nile*, says he, proceeds from two deep round springs, or fountains, in the plain call'd *Secut*, on the top of the mountain *Engla*, in a province of the kingdom of *Gojam*, call'd *Sabala*, or *Sabala*, of the empire of *Abissinia*, in twelve degrees of north latitude, and sixty of east longitude. The inhabitants of that country are call'd *Agaus*, and are schismaticks; the place where the *Nile* springs, bears the name of *Agaos*, adds *Kircher*.

These two fountains overflowing, form a rivulet, running first towards the east, and then southward, whence it winds again to the northward, through several lakes, rolling along the right of *Abissinia*, its native country; where it is call'd *Abanni*, *Abani*, or *Abavi*,

BARBOT. *Abawi*, that is, the father of the waters, traversing the kingdom of *Senor*, and at last, coming into the land of *Dengula*, at the foot of a mountain divides itself into two branches, whereof that on the left takes the name of *Niger*; and having turn'd again to the southward, runs clear away west into *Nigritia*, and so through it to the ocean near *Elwab*. The other branch on the right, which carries the greater quantity of water, continues its course through *Nubia*, towards the north, and so through *Egypt*, which is fertiliz'd by its overflowing into the *Mediterranean*.

Ludolfus endeavours to back this assertion, by the natural properties of the waters of the *Niger*, and of the *Nile*, which yearly overflow at the same time in *June* and *July*, by reason of the violent rains then falling in the province of *Gojam*, where the springs are, as has been said. However, all these are no better than chimæras of *Ludolfus*, who never was himself near *Ethiopia*, and took most of his notions from one *Gregory*, a native of that country, who knew little or nothing of geography, and could give but very imperfect accounts of things; and tho' he often quotes *F. Baltasar Tellez*, who collected all the relations of the learned *Jesuits*, who travell'd throughout *Abissinia*, and observ'd all things of note, like judicious travellers, and every way qualify'd, yet he rather chuses to rely upon the imperfect and uncertain tales of a person no way fit to make those observations, than on the others, who had the proper talent, and made it their business to discover the source and course of the *Nile*. I shall here insert what those jesuits, who were eye-witnesses of what they deliver, say of the *Nile*.

The N I L E.

Source of
the Nile.

ALmost in the midst of the kingdom of *Gojam*, in *Abissinia*, and in twelve degrees latitude, is a country they call *Sacabala*, inhabited by a people known by the name of *Agas*, most of them heathens, and some who at present only retain the name of christians. This country is mountainous, as are most parts of *Ethiopia*. Among these mountains is a spot of plain, not very level, about a mile in extent, and in the midst of it, about a stone's throw over. This lake is full of a sort of little trees, whose roots are so interwoven, that walking on them in the summer, men come to two springs, almost a stone's throw asunder, where the water is clear and very deep; and from them the water gushes out two several ways into the lake, whence it runs under ground, yet so as its course may be discern'd by the green grass, gliding first to the eastward about a musket-shot, and then turns towards the north. About half

a league from the source, the water begins to appear upon the land in such quantity, as makes a considerable stream, and then presently is join'd by others; and having run about fifteen leagues, including all its windings, receives a river greater than itself call'd *Gema*, which there loses its name, and a little farther two others, call'd *Kelty* and *Branty*; and close by, is the first fall, or cataract. Thence it flows almost east, and at about twenty leagues in a strait line from its source, crosses the great lake of *Dambea*, without ever mixing their waters. Running hence, it almost encloses the kingdom of *Dambea*, like a snake turn'd round, and not closing, or rather like a horse-shoe. Many great rivers fall into it, as the *Gamarra*, the *Abea*, the *Bayxo*, the *Anquer*, and others. As soon as the *Nile* is out of the lake of *Dambea*, above mention'd, its stream runs almost directly south-east, passing by the kingdoms of *Begameder*, *Amabara* and *Oleca*, then turns toward the south, and again winds to the west, north-west, and north, piercing into the countries of the *Gangas* and *Cafres*, those of *Foscalo*, the *Ballous* and the *Funclos*, being the same as *Nubia*, and so glides on to *Egypt*.

Here is in a few words the exact account of those persons, who actually survey'd the *Nile*, and who confute the mistakes of others that had writ only upon hearsay, without any mention of a branch running from it to the westward; nay, so far from it, that these persons, writing upon the spot, do positively affirm there is no such river as the *Niger* any where near *Ethiopia*, much less flowing from the *Nile*, which they show by their map and description runs entire into *Egypt*. Thus we see all the notions of *Ludolfus* are frivolous, and therefore we shall leave him to seek for the source of the *Nile* upon better authority.

The most correct observations of our times place the springs of the *Niger* in the kingdom of *Medra*, near a town call'd *Median*, standing on the said river, in twenty-three degrees of east longitude, from the meridian of *London*, and in nine degrees of north latitude. The river there comes down from some mountains, about forty leagues to the eastward of *Median*, and said to abound in emeralds. They inform us, the *Niger* runs from *Median* westward, by the name of *Gambaru* or *Camodeou*, from its first rise to the lake of *Bornou*, in the kingdom of the same name; and at its coming out of that lake, takes the name of *Niger*; the city *Bornou*, the only one in that kingdom, standing on the banks of it, about twenty leagues west to the lake. Holding on its course from thence westward through the kingdoms of *Zanfara*, or *Pharan*,

True source
and course
of the
Niger.

Pbaran and *Ovangara*, a country on the south-side of it, abounding in gold, senna, and slaves; it again stagnates in the great lake of *Sigefmes*, or *Guarda*, in eight degrees, thirty minutes longitude, from the meridian of *London*, between the two towns of *Ghana*, built on either side of it, near the lake, and in twelve degrees, thirty minutes of north latitude. Having thus run through the lake, which, as has been before observ'd, is near one hundred leagues in length, from east to west, it continues its course to the westward, by the name of *Ica*, or *Senega*, as above.

It would not have been improper in this place, to have given an account of the manner how gold is taken out of the rivers or mines, since the *Niger* affords so much of that precious metal, and there are so many mines in the several countries it runs through; but that I reserve it, till I come to treat of that part of *Guinea*, call'd the *Gold Coast*. I shall therefore at present only say in general, that the gold is either dug out of the earth in many parts of this country which produce it, or else wash'd down by the prodigious heavy rains which fall, for three months, with little or no intermission, on the vast hills and mountains of *Nigritia*, on both sides of the *Niger*, where the excessive heat of the sun produces great plenty of gold. The smallest of it, call'd gold-dust, is carry'd down by the floods into the *Niger*, and there taken out of the channel among the sand.

A *Portuguese*, who had been a slave eighteen years among the *Moors* inhabiting a country near that river, has assur'd me, that gold is so common there, as to be put to the meanest uses, and not so much valued as iron, weight for weight. This makes good what *Sir Thomas More* says in his *Utopia*, that iron is preferable to gold, as more proper for all uses, *ut sine quo, non magis quam sine igne, atque aqua, vivere mortales queant*.

Gold trade.

About two hundred years ago, the famous place for the gold trade was *cape Verde*, and the adjacent parts; it being brought down thither by the *Moors* from

the countries on the south of the *Niger*, as *BARBOT*. *Mandinga*, &c. to trade with the *Europeans*: but ever since the *Portuguese* settled their chief place of trade at *Mina*, in *South Guinea*, the current is diverted that way, it being more convenient for the *Moors* to carry it towards the gold coast, as they have ever since continu'd to do, notwithstanding all the endeavours used by the *French* at *Senega* to bring it back that way as it was before, believing it would save them much trouble and charge; *Cabo Verde* being so much nearer to *France* than the gold coast.

To conclude with the description of the *Niger*: It is reported of the countries bordering on that river, that they breed an incredible number of elephants, as do *Abissinia*, *Monomotapa* and *Zanguebar*, where those creatures range about in mighty herds, doing much mischief to the woods and plantations; but supply them with such quantities of teeth, that they fence and pallisade their towns and villages with them, as the *Portuguese* slave above mentioned has affirmed; besides the considerable numbers of them the *Blacks* carry down to the sea-coasts of *Nigritia* and *South Guinea*, to traffick with the *Europeans*; but mostly at the first of those places, for ivory grows daily scarcer in *South Guinea*.

The elephants teeth are most of them *Elephants* pick'd up in the woods and forests, where *teeth*. those creatures usually keep; but many of them are also kill'd by the *Moors* and *Blacks*, for the sake of their teeth. However, the elephants either cast their teeth, as stags do their horns, or else they are found after they are dead, and their bodies consumed.

I have met with a person of learning, who thinks it a vulgar error to call them teeth; since it is beyond dispute, that they grow out from the skull of the beast, and not from the jaws, and that only the males have them, which do not serve to eat with; and therefore he thinks it would be proper to call them elephants horns, or weapons.

C H A P. XII.

The rest of the coast, as far as Sierra Leona; Rio das Pedras, and others. The islands dos Idolos, &c.

Coast only frequented by Portuguese.

I Left the description of the coast of *Nigritia* at *Rio Grande* and *Biguba*. The tract of land between this river and that of *Sierra Leona*, in ancient geography the *Sopbucaei Æthiopes*, affords little to be said

of it; being frequented by none but the *Portuguese* of *Cacbeo*, and other adjacent colonies of that nation in *Nigritia*, driving a coasting trade thither in sloop and barks, commencing at *Osnalus*, south of *Rio Grande*.

BARBOT. Thence they proceed to *Corva de Gaspar Lopez*; *Rio de Nunbo Tristao*; *Terra de Benar*, which is a large bay; *Cabo Verga*, *Os tres Morros*, *Rio das Pedras*, *Rio de Carpote*, at the entrance into which two rivers, there are some islands, and the two rivers meet at sea, being before separated only by a cape, *Rio de Caduche*, *Pougama*, and *Rio Caluma*. These three last lose themselves in a large bay, W S W. from which off at sea, lie the four islands called *Idolos*, *Ponta de Coaco*, *Mota de Tazao*, *Arafa*, *Rio Primeiro*; these four also falling into one bay, and serving for a good land-mark, coming from the N W. a long narrow island, lying with the coast, from *Mata de Tazao*, to the north point of this bay of *Barra de Bacre*. Next follows *Barra de Coin*, opposite to which also is a long narrow island off at sea; *Rio de Cafes*, or *Cafes*, with another river to the south-east, without a name, both of them running out into a deep bay; on the south point of which, lies the island *dos Papagayos*, or of parrots; and farther again to the southward, cape *Paulou*, which is the northern head of the bay of *Sierra Leona*, and the farthest extent southward of the coast of *Nigritia*.

The sea-coast from cape *Verga*, by the ancients called *Catharum Promontorium*, to *Sierra Leona*, lies S E by E. somewhat inclining to the east, as far as cape *Tagrin*, which is in eight degrees, thirty-six minutes of north latitude, cut by several rivers which fall into the ocean; the banks whereof are very agreeably shaded with orange and lemon-trees, besides being beset with villages and hamlets, all which renders the prospect very delightful. Most of the rivers are also deep and navigable, but their streams very rapid. The inland country is very mountainous.

Rio das Pedras, to the southward of cape *Verga*, glides down from a great way up the country, divided into several branches, forming divers islands in this land, which the natives call *Kagakais*, where the *Portuguese* have a colony, secured by a little fort, called *St. Pbilip*.

Rio das Cafas or *Caspar*, and *Rio Tombasine*, this the least of the two, flow from the mountains of *Macbamala*, which may be easily seen in clear weather, at some leagues distance from the coast, in sailing by, standing to the southward from cape *Ledo* or *Tagrin*.

It is reported, that on or about these mountains, stands a high rock of fine crystal of a pyramidal form, but consisting of several pyramids one above another, none of them touching the ground; which if lightly touched, do give a mighty sound.

This is some notion of those ignorant credulous people, scarce worth mentioning any otherwise, than as it shows what some men will believe.

The four islands, by the *Portuguese* called *Ilhas dos Idolos*, that is, of idols, from the many they found on them, by the natives *Veuf vitay*, and by others *Tamara*, are at a small distance from the continent, near cape *Camnekon*, or *Sagres*. They are scarce to be discern'd from the opposite continent at N E by E; but at N N E. they seem to be at a good distance, and all over wooded. They afford plenty of several sorts of provisions, and very good tobacco, which the *Portuguese* fetch in exchange for brandy and salt; both which commodities are highly valu'd by the islanders, who furnish for them, besides provisions, large elephants teeth, and gold-dust. The natives are crafty deceitful dealers, and will not suffer any *Dutch* to land on their islands, ever since that nation formerly kidnapp'd, or stole away some of their people.

The largest of these islands lies exactly in nine degrees, forty minutes of north-latitude, and is higher than any of the others; we sail'd by them at about five *English* miles distance, for cape *Tagrin*, sounding all the way, and struck fourteen, fifteen, and twenty fathom, uneven ground and ouzy, mix'd with small shells.

From the islands *dos Idolos*, to the afore-said cape *Tagrin*, the course is mostly south, a small matter inclining to east.

There is a tradition, that this tract of land, from cape *Verga*, to the north-side of *Sierra Leona* river, which is the utmost extent of *Nigritia* to the southward, was formerly subject to a king called *Faima*, residing up the inland, and ruling over several petty kings his vassals and tributaries; among whom were *Temfila*, *Teemserta* and one *Don Miguel*, converted to christianity, and baptized by a *Portuguese* jesuit missionary, called *Barreira*, about the year 1607.

The tide at sea, from cape *Verde*, to that of *Tagrin*, along the coast of *Nigritia*, sets N W. and S E. as in the *British* channel.

What I am to speak of, in the next place, relates to the kingdom of *Sierra Leona*, where *Guinea*, properly so called, commences some leagues to the northward of that river; and the name of the ocean is chang'd from that of *Atlantick* into that of *Ethiopic*, about cape *Tagrin*, according to the exactest modern geographers; which last name it retains as far as cape *Negro*, in sixteen degrees of south latitude.

What

Cape Verga at Furnado at N.N.E. 6 Leagues



The Isl.^{ts} of Tamara at Dolas at E $\frac{1}{2}$ NE. 2 Leagues. the ROCK, D, at S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. all over Woody wth Palmistes



The Same Isl.^{ts} the Biggest Isl.^{ts} C. at E $\frac{1}{2}$ NE and the ROCK D. at E. up 14 fathoms, Sand & mud, wth Small shells



The Same Isl.^{ts} having the 2 Rocks, at NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N. about 5 Leagues



The High Lands of SIERRA LIONA the Cape Tagrin, being at S.E. 4 Leagues. A. the Bay of Sierra Liona p. 97.



The Isl.^{ts} of TOTA at Plantin Isl.^{ts} at ENE abt 4 Leagues and the West Point of Serbera at N $\frac{1}{2}$ N.E. 25 Fathoms Mud & Sand



What I shall say of the product of the land, manners of the natives and religion profess'd in the country of *Sierra Leona*, may be applied in all those particulars to the territories and inhabitants of that part

of *Nigritia*, lying betwixt cape *Verga* and the BARBOT. river *Mitomba*, or of *Sierra Leona*, which shall conclude this book of the coasts of *North-Guinea*.

The END of the FIRST BOOK.



A
DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Coasts of *South-Guinea*,

OR

GUINEA, properly so called:

Commencing at *Sierra Leona* river, and ending
at *Rio de Fernan Vaz*, to the southward of
cape *Lope Gonzalez*.

With an account of the several islands in the gulph of *Guinea*,
by the *English* commonly called the *Bight*.

B O O K I I.

C H A P. I.

*Description of Sierra Leona; the several kingdoms. Mitomba river; European
factories. The natives, product, beasts, birds, fish, &c.*

SIERRA LEONA.

BARBOT.
Why so
call'd.

THE kingdom of *Sierra Leona*, whether it be taken for the whole country in general, or only for the south part of the bay or river of *Mitomba*, had this name given it by the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, from the roaring noise of waves beating in stormy weather upon the stony shores and rocks, running all the length of it, which at a distance is not unlike the roaring of lions; or else from the vast numbers of those fierce creatures living on the high mountains of *Bourre* and *Timna*, on the south-side of the river; *Sierra* in *Spanish* signifying a mountain, and *Leona* a lions; whence some call them the mountains of the lions.

Its extent. Nothing being more uncertain than the extent and dimensions of wild savage countries, where the natives are stupid, ignorant, and utter strangers to geography; I

cannot safely pretend to assign the limits of this country of *Sierra Leona*, as being altogether unknown to any *Europeans*. It will be sufficient to observe, that some modern geographers extend it to cape *Verga* before mentioned, northward, making it to border on the kingdom of *Melli* that way, and to depend on it; eastward to that of *Bitoun*, which joins on the NE. with that of *Mandinga*; southward to that of the *Quojas*, *Carrodobou*, *Dogo*, and *Conde*; and westward to the *Atlantick* and *Ethiopic* ocean.

However it is as to the limits, that *Inhabi-*
country is inhabited by two distinct nations, *tants*,
called the *Old-Capez* and the *Cumbas-Manez*:
the first of them reckoned the best and
most polite people of all *Nigritia*; the lat-
ter daring, restless, rude, and unpolished,
being man eaters, as the word *Manez*, de-
notes, in their language. The *Portuguese*
at

at *Congo* and *Angola*, reckon these to be of the same race with the barbarous *Fagos* and *Galas*, inhabiting the country E N E. from *Congo*, who have long been the terror of many negro-nations in *Africa*, having committed most unheard-of inhumanities from the beginning of the last century to this time; and all of them generally supposed to proceed from the nation of the *Galas Monou*, living far up the inland of the river *Sestro*.

Barbarous
Cumbas,
and civi-
lized Ca-
pez.

These two nations above mentioned, have been continually at war, like implacable enemies, since first the *Cumbas Manez* came down, about the year of our redemption 1505, from a very distant country up the land, and assaulted the *Capez*, then the natural ancient inhabitants, designing to plunder and destroy the country, and carry off the natives, to sell them to the *Portuguese*, then newly settled in those parts of *Africa*; and they actually did seize and sell great numbers of those poor people. Then observing the goodness and fertility of the country, they resolv'd to settle there; and the better to succeed in their design, continu'd to carry on a cruel and bloody war with the civilized *Capez*, every where persecuting and devouring many of those they took prisoners. The *Capez* seeing themselves reduced to such distress, took heart, and made such vigorous opposition, that their barbarous enemies have not yet been able to bring about their wicked designs. Thus both nations still keep footing in the country, and the war continues to this day, with the destruction of great numbers on both sides; especially of the *Capez*, many of whom, tired out with so many hardships and sufferings, chose rather voluntarily to sell themselves for slaves to the *Portuguese*, than to hazard falling sooner or later into the hands of those man-eaters. This enmity continu'd hot among them in the year 1678, when first I went into that river, and saw the preparations made by the *Cumbas Manez* to give their enemies a warm reception, as I shall observe hereafter; tho' I was inform'd the war was not carry'd on with such inhumanity as formerly, the *Cumbas* beginning to grow somewhat more civilized and peaceable than their forefathers, by trading with the *Europeans*, but still wild and brutish enough.

Both sub-
ject to
Quoja.

Both these nations are said to own some sort of subjection to the king of *Quoja*, who generally resides near cape *Monte*, having been formerly subdued by a king of that nation, call'd *Flansire*, whose successors still appoint a viceroy over them, by the name of *Dondagb*, whose brothers once resided at *Timna*; till falling at variance among them-

elves, they parted, and made war with one BARBOT. another. One *John Thomas*, a *Black* of about seventy years of age, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, at the time of my coming thither, was the youngest; and had for his patrimony the village *Tomby*, lying four leagues up the bay, by the *French* call'd *Baye de France*, and about a league above the village *Bagos*, near which there are several large tall trees. The *English*, for the most part, anchor before *Tomby*, which is on the south-side of the river, and nearest to their settlement.

There are other geographers, who will have the country and kingdom of *Sierra Leona* to commence at cape *Verga* aforesaid, and to extend no farther southward than cape *Sierra Tagrin*, and reckon it as part of the kingdom of *Melli*. Others again confine it between the river *Mitomba*, on the north, and that of *Serbera* on the south, placing a town they call *Concho* about the center of the inland country; but these controversies are not very material.

Various o-
pinions a-
bout the
extent of
Sierra
Leona.

The north parts of this river *Mitomba*, from the point of the bay or mouth westward, and up the bank; are subject to two petty kings, to him of *Bourre* on the south, and to him of *Boulm* to the north; this last in my time was call'd *Antonio Bombo*. The former commonly resides at the village *Bourre*, which consists of about three hundred huts or cabbins, and five hundred inhabitants, besides women and children. The *Portuguese* missionaries formerly made some converts at *Boulm*, among whom was the king; and they still continue to send missionaries thither, from time to time. The word *Boulm*, in the language of the country, signifies low-land; and others pronounce it *Bolem* and *Bouloun*. The coast, on the side of *Boulm*, is low and flat, in comparison of the opposite shore of *Bourre* or *Timna*; near which, are those famous mountains of *Sierra Leona*, being a long ridge, and reckon'd the highest of either *North* or *South-Guinea*, except those of *Ambofes*, in the gulph or bight. There are so many caves and dens about these mountains, that when a single gun is fired aboard a ship in the bay, the echo is so often and so distinctly repeated, as makes it sound, to persons at a distance, like the report of several guns, the clap being so loud and smart, which was often pleasant to me to hear; whereas, on the contrary, it was dreadful in thundering weather, the echo repeating each clap of thunder with as much force as the real; infomuch, that till us'd to it, not only I, but all the company aboard, did quake at the horrid rattling noise breaking forth from so many parts, thunder being

Great
echo.

BARBOT. here very frequent, and extraordinary fierce. Hence the *Portuguese* call them *Montes Claros*, that is, mountains that have a clear sound or echo.

Not far from these mountains, there runs out into the sea westward, a hilly point, much lower than those hills, forming almost a peninsula, over which the *Blacks* carry their canoes on their shoulders, when they design to launch out to sea, because it saves much trouble of rowing round from the bay thither.

Cape Ledo or Tagrin. This point is call'd *Cabo Ledo* or *Tagrin*, and by others *Tagaraim*, lying exactly in 8 deg. 30 min. of north latitude, according to our exact observation; contrary to all the *Dutch* maps, which are faulty in this particular of latitudes all along the coast of this part of *Guinea*, laying down all the coasts thirty degrees more northerly than they really are. These mistakes ought to be carefully observ'd by *Europeans* trading along the coast of *Nigritia*, and part of those of *Guinea* properly so call'd, accounting every port, cape, and river, half a degree nearer to the north than the *Dutch* maps represent it: for the over-shooting of any port or place there, is of great consequence, it being no easy matter to recover the same by plying to the windward.

Dutch mistakes.

I believe it will be acceptable to insert the following observations, which will be of use in navigation to those who go up the river of *Sierra Leona*. The flood sets in NE by E. and ENE. and the ebb runs out SW by W. and WSW. 2. At full moon, especially from *September* to *January*, the weather is very calm all the night, and till about noon, when a fresh gale comes up at SW. SSW. and WSW. which holds till about ten at night, and then the calm succeeds again. 3. Ships may anchor every where, both within and without the bay, in seven or eight fathom water, red sandy ground. 4. Ships sailing from the islands *dos Idolos* are to steer SE by S. and SSE. to avoid the banks on the north-side of *Sierra Leona*, and then shape their course due south, when they design for the bay, till they come to range with the breaking of the sea, which at all times appears to the westward of the bay. At the time of flood, any ships may run along the breaking, steering ENE. and continually sounding from six to fourteen fathom, muddy ground, which is the true channel. The nearer you come to the coast or side of *Bourre*, the deeper the water is; for the higher the land, the deeper the sea near it in all places. 5. If you must of necessity anchor without the bay, the safest, and most proper place is about three quarters of a league off cape *Tagrin*, to be clear of the violent

stream running out of the river and bay, to the NE. upon the breaking of the cape of *Boulm*, the rapidity whereof is very great, and no less discernible at low water. 6. This method observ'd in steering, will carry a ship safe up the river, to anchor before that they call the bay of *France*, in sixteen or eighteen fathom water, clayish ground; mooring as close to the shore as can be with convenience, to save the crew the trouble of going too far to fetch water and provisions. 7. The flood in the bay is of seven hours, and the ebb of five.

The river of SIERRA LEONA

RUNS down from a great way up the inland. A certain *Black* would needs persuade me, that the source of it is in *Barbary*; urging, that he had traded much that way along the river, the commodities being a sort of fruit call'd *Cola*, and slaves, which the *Barbarians* buy of the *Blacks* of *Sierra Leona*. It is to be supposed, that by the *Barbarians*, this man meant the *Moors* and *Arabs*, who trade into the kingdom of *Tombut*, which has commerce with *Morocco*, which kingdom has its gold from thence; the merchants going to and from, between those two nations or kingdoms, with the gold of *Gago* and *Mandinga*, where there are gold-mines. Besides, it is reasonable to suppose, that the river of *Sierra Leona* has a communication up the country with other rivers, or with some branches of the *Niger*, which passes by *Tombut*, and is there call'd *Ica* by the natives. All this is not improbable, the distance between those places not being very considerable, and there being a constant commerce at *Tombut*, betwixt the natives and the people of *Morocco*, *Fez*, and *Barbary*, resorting thither in caravans, thro' the desarts of *Zabara*, as I shall further observe in the supplement.

This river bears the name of *Mitomba* or *Bitomba* no farther than about twenty-five or thirty leagues from the mouth up the country; and, tho' reported to run very far down the inland, yet is no farther known to *Europeans*, and the natives can give no good account of its source.

On the south-side of it stands a town, As *Mago* called *As Magoas*, where none but the *Portuguese* are allowed to reside for trade; the natives coming down the river to barter with the *French* and *English*, when there are any ships of theirs in the bay.

The ancients call this river *Nia*; cape *Ledo*, or *Tagrin*, *Hesperic Cornu*; and the people inhabiting the countries about it, *Leuc-Æthiopes*, as also the mountain up the country *Rhyadius Mons*.



G. Kip. Sculp.

Pl. I. Plate E.

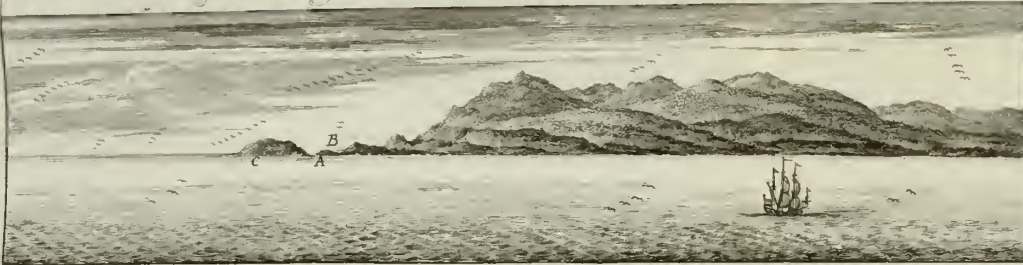
A The house of Cap^t In^o Thomas
B The place where we cut wood
C The Running fresh water place

A Prospect of the Road in the Bay of Sierra Lione at ab^t 2 Leagues distant from the Shore

D The Village of Sierra Lione
E Fishing Bay muddy F The Road
G Negro's canoes



The high Lands of Sierra Lione, on the South, the Cape Tagrain at E $\frac{1}{2}$ NE. about 8 Leagues } A Here is a passage for Ships
B Cape Tagrain. C an Et^l



J. Kip del.

English fort.

This river has several small islands and rocks at the entrance into the bay, which look like hay-reeks. The chief of them are the islands *Cogu*, *Taffo* and *Bences*; on the last whereof the *English* have erected a small fort, which has nothing considerable but the advantage of the situation, on a steep rock, of difficult access, which is only up a sort of stairs cut in the rock, and is a store-house for the royal *African* company. The fort is of lime and stone, the walls low, has a round flanker with five guns, a curtain with embrasures for four large guns, and a platform just before it with six guns, all of them well mounted. But there are no considerable buildings in it, the slave-booth being the best. The garrison generally consists of twenty white men, and thirty *Gromettos*, who are free *Blacks*, and have a small village under the shelter of the fort. The island is of little compass, and the soil barren.

About four leagues from the watering-place stands the village *Bagos*, close to a little wood; and to the eastward of it is *Tomby*, where is a curious prospect, and before it the *English* ships usually ride; the island *Taffo* appearing from thence at a great distance, and looking like firm land.

De Ruyter here.

The *English African* company had its factory formerly on the island *Taffo*; but the *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter*, at his return from the expedition to the gold-coast, where he restor'd to the *Dutch West-India* company most of the settlements, the *English*, under admiral *Holmes*, had taken from them the year before, in the name of the duke of *York*, and the royal *African* company of *England*, put into this river of *Sierra Leona*, destroy'd the said company's fort, and took away all the goods they had in it, amounting to a considerable value. The *English* company, after this expedition of *de Ruyter*, caused another fort to be erected, for the security of its trade, on the island *Cogu*; but the natives not approving of it, or being otherwise dissatisfy'd with the *English*, rose up in arms against them, and destroy'd it, obliging them to retire to another place.

Portuguese factories.

The *Portuguese* have several small settlements in this country, particularly one near *Dondermuck*, or *Domdomuck*; but very little correspondence with the *English* of *Bence* island, being jealous of them in point of trade.

Rivers falling into the Mitomba.

The river *Mitomba* in its course thro' several countries, receives many smaller waters, the chief whereof are *Rio Caracone*, flowing northward. The river *Bonda*, or *Tumba*, or *S. Miguel*, running S.E. navigable for ships of burden half way up its

channel, and dividing the *Capez* from the *BARBOT. Cumbas*. The country about it produces much santalum wood, or sanders, by the natives called *Bonda*, and thence the river has its name. The third, which is anonymous, runs towards the *Forna de S. Anna*, along the south shore, and loses itself in the bay near the king of *Bourre's* town. The *Portuguese* trade up these two last rivers, in their canoes and brigantines.

The country all along the sides of the river *Mitomba*, is well peopled, and has many hamlets and villages. On the north-side of the bay, being the coast of *Boulm*, are three villages; which are those of *Bingue*, *Tinguan*, and of *Younz Captain Lewis*. The soil is very fertile, and therefore the *Blacks* have added to the name of *Boulm*, signifying low-land, that of *Berre*, which imports good; and thus *Boulm Berre* denotes good low-land.

The king of *Boulm* favours the *English* more than either the *Portuguese*, *French*, or *Dutch*; though there are many of the first who live dispersed up and down his country.

The *Blacks* of *Timna* are much in the *French* interest. Some will have it, that the village of *Serborakata* lies in the level that is between cape *Tagrin*, and the mountains to the eastward of it; and that about two leagues farther up the country is a cruel and savage people, called *Semaura*, who are always at war with those of *Serborakata*.

The village of *John Thomas*, who is governor of that part of the country, stands in the wood, E.N.E. from the place by the *French* called *la Fontaine de la France*, consisting but of a few huts, built round, much like those described at *Gamboa*.

The bay of *France*, where this fountain, or spring of fresh water rises, is about six leagues up the river, from cape *Tagrin*, and easily known by the fine bright colour of the sandy shore, looking at a distance like a large-spread sail of a ship. The strand there is clear from rocks, which renders the access easy for boats and sloops to take in fresh water. At a few paces from the sea is that curious fountain, the best and easiest to come at of any in all *Guinea*, the source of it is in the very midst of the mountains of *Timna*, stretching out about fifteen leagues in a long ridge, and not to be come at without great danger, as well for the many tygers and lions living on them, as for the crocodiles resorting thither. Some persons who would have made a farther discovery of the country, could not go above two *English* miles, along the channel of one of the springs, not daring to venture

BARBOT. venture any farther, by reason of the dismal and dreadful prospect they saw before them. The fresh waters fall down from the high hills, making several cascades among the rocks, with a mighty noise, sounding the louder in that profound silence which reigns in the forest; then running into a sort of pond, overflow and spread about the sandy shore, where they gather again into a basin, or cavity, at the foot of the hills; which not being able to contain the vast quantity of water continually flowing in, it runs over upon the sands again, and thence at last mixes with the sea-water. This, in my opinion, is one of the most delightful places in all *Guinea*; the basin which receives this delicate fresh water being all encompass'd with tall ever-green trees, making a delightful shade in the most excessive heat of the day; and the very rocks standing about it, at a small distance from each other, do no less contribute to beautify that piece of landscape, and add to the pleasure of the place. I used, whilst there, to take the advantage of having my dinner and supper carried thither frequently. Here a large ship's crew may easily fill an hundred casks of water in a day.

Curious fountain.

Danger in water.

As sweet and fresh as this water is, it must be observed, that it has an ill effect upon the sailors, if taken in the beginning of the rainy season; but more especially in *April*, because the violent heats of the summer having corrupted the earth, and kill'd abundance of venomous creatures, the violent rains which ensue, occasion mighty floods; and these wash down all that poisonous matter into the springs and channels of this fountain, and consequently give a malignity to the water. This has been experimentally found by many to their cost; but it happens only in the winter, or rainy season. It is also requisite to be sparing in eating of the fruit of this country, and to avoid drinking of the water to excess, because it causes a sort of pestilential distemper, which is almost certain death, at least very few escape.

Duty for watering.

The duty for liberty of watering and wooding here, is not above the value of four *French* crowns, in several small wares and toys, paid to captain *John Thomas*, the chief commander there.

Wooding-place.

The wooding-place is about an hundred paces NE. from the fountain, or else to the eastward, as the black commander thinks fit. The felling of wood here is very laborious, the trees being close together, and link'd from top to bottom with a sort of creepers, by the *French* called *Lianes*; otherwise the wooding would be easy, the carriage to the water-side being short.

The *Blacks* of *Sierra Leona* are not so fine a shining black as those of cape *Verde*, nor have they such flat noses. They adorn their ears with abundance of toys, called there *Mazubas*, and make several small impressions on their faces, ears, and noses, with a red-hot iron, which they reckon very ornamental, wearing gold rings and bracelets. Both sexes go stark naked till about fifteen years of age, when most of them cover their privities with a clout, or piece of the bark of a tree; yet some there are who do not care to do it, tho' grown up men, having nothing but a narrow leather thong about their waist, to stick their knife in.

Blacks of Sierra Leona.

The *Blacks* of birth and quality, wear a short gown, or frock of striped callico, like the *Moors*. They are generally malicious and turbulent, which occasions frequent falling out among themselves, and more with the *Europeans*; who cannot be better reveng'd of them, than by burning their huts, and destroying their corn and roots.

Turbulens semper.

On the other hand, these *Blacks* are sober, and drink little brandy, for fear of being discomposed, and are, for the most part, more sensible and judicious than those of other parts of *Guinea*; particularly the *Capez*, who soon learn any thing that is taught them. They were formerly effeminate and luxurious, but are now become braver, by reason of the long wars they have had with the *Cumbas*.

Sobriety.

Every town or village has one publick house, to which all marry'd persons send their daughters, at a certain age, who are there taught for a year to sing, dance, and perform other exercises, by an old man of the prime family in the country; and when the year is expired, he leads them to the market-place, where they sing, dance, and show all they have learnt at their boarding-school, in the presence of all the inhabitants. If any of the young men, who are spectators, are disposed to marry, they make choice of those they like best, without regard to fortune or birth. When the man has thus declar'd his intention, they are look'd upon as actually married, provided the bridegroom can make some small presents to the bride's father and mother, and to the old man, who was her tutor, or master.

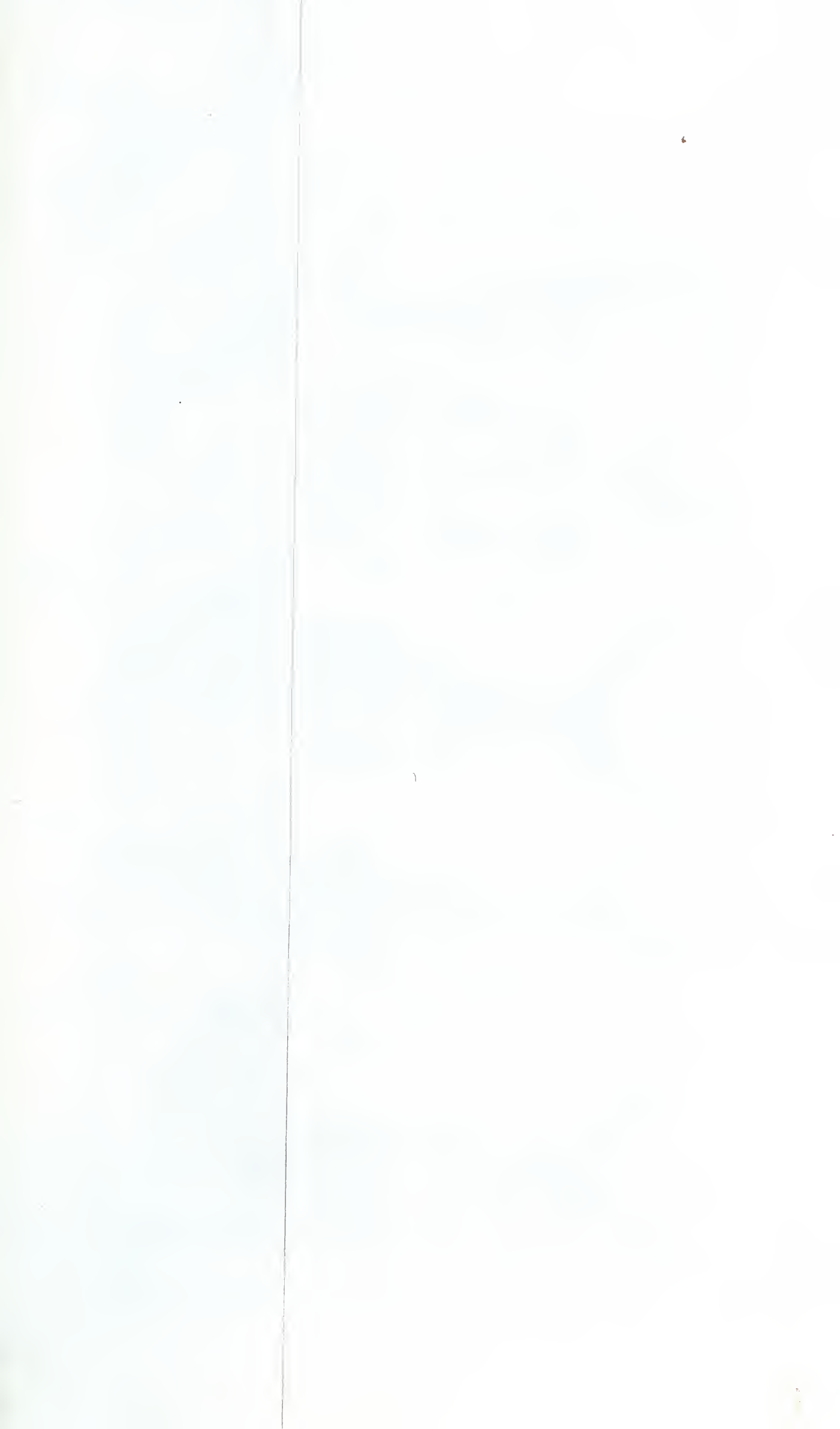
Education.

These people make very curious mats of rushes, and other weeds, and dye them of several colours, which are much valu'd by *Europeans*. On these mats the *Blacks* lie at night. It is question'd, whether the *Portuguese* taught them, or they the *Portuguese*, to make these mats.

Mats.

The country abounds in millet and rice, which are the principal food of the natives.

Diet The



the Parrott

Caranque

Bource

Jaquine

The Old Wife at Pizze

Banana

Unknown

The Monk

Trezaur

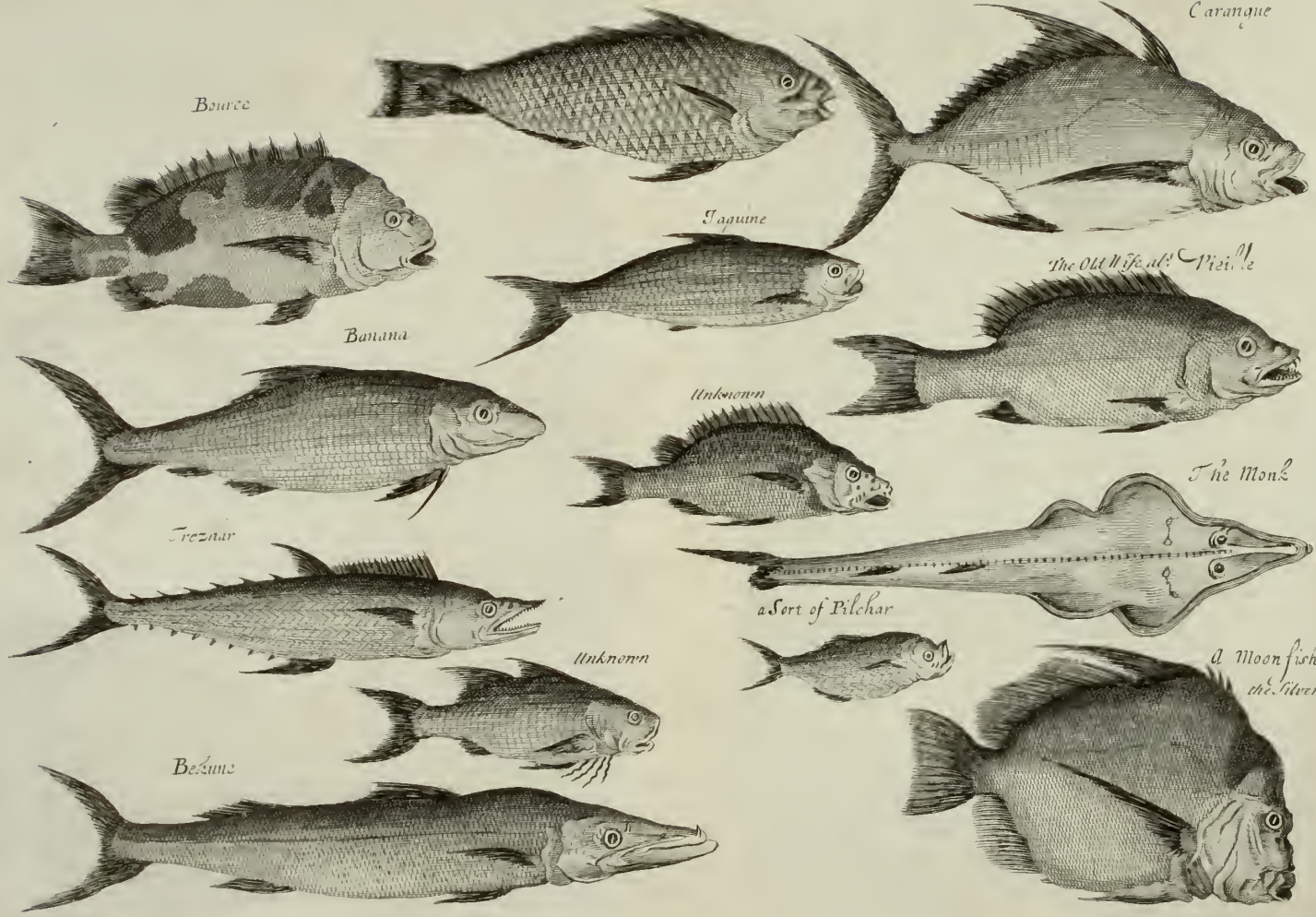
a Sort of Pilchar

Unknown

a Moon fish at the Silver Fish

Bezum

J. Kay fecit.



The women pound the rice in hollow stumps of trees, and then boil it into balls. Some of them wash their rice in sea-water, and so eat it.

Produç. Here are also lemmons, small juicy oranges, *Mangioca* or *Cassabi*, and *Guinea* pepper, but no great quantities of any of them. Their wild grapes are pretty good, and there are some *Bananas*, and three sorts of cardamom, or grains of paradise. But farther up the river, near the *English* settlement, is great plenty of oranges, lemmons, bananas, *Indian* figs, ananas, pompions, water-melons, ignames, potatoes, wild pears, white plumbs, several sorts of pulse; and *Cola*, of which I shall speak hereafter. All these provisions they usually carry out in large canoes to the ships in the road. Five or six men row standing, and use long paddles instead of oars, like the *Blacks* of cape *Lopez*.

They have great store of cocks and hens, wild goats, and swine, all which cost but little when bought for brandy or knives.

Wild beasts. The mountainous country swarms with elephants, lions, tygers, wild boars, fallow and red deer, roes, apes of several sorts, and serpents: some of these last, so monstrous big, if we may credit the natives, that they swallow a man whole. They have a sort of plant which never fails to cure the bite of serpents, which I suppose to be the same lately found in the island of *Martinico*; the inhabitants whereof are so pester'd with snakes, that many perish'd by being bit, till some *Blacks* accidentally found that plant, which is now of great use.

Monkeys. Apes, monkeys, and baboons, are so numerous, that they over-run the country in mighty flocks, destroying the plantations. There are three sorts of them, one of them called *Barrys*, of a monstrous size; which, when taken young, are taught to walk upright, and, by degrees, to pound *Indian* wheat, to fetch water in calabashes, or gourds, from the river or springs, on their heads, and to turn the spit.

Eat oysters. These creatures are such lovers of oysters, that at low water they go down to the shore, among the rocks, which breed very large oysters; and when the shells open with the violent heat of the sun, they clap a small stone between them, and so pull out the oyster: yet sometimes it happens, that the stone slips aside, or is too little, and then the shells closing, hold fast the monkeys; and thus they are taken, or kill'd by the *Blacks*, who reckon their flesh delicious food, as they do that of elephants.

Monkeys eaten. Being one day myself kept as an hostage for the *English* factor of *Bence* island, who was aboard our ship, at the house of captain *John Thomas*, about half a mile up in

the woods; I there saw an ape boiling in a *BARBOT.* pot, with which the said captain *John Thomas* offered to treat me at dinner: but I could not prevail with myself to eat of that unusual food, and yet several *Europeans* have told me it is good meat, having often eaten of it.

I have seen oysters here so large, that one of them would give a man a meal; but so tough, that they are scarce eatable, unless first well boil'd, and then fry'd in pieces.

The *Cola* is a sort of fruit somewhat resembling a large chestnut, as represented in the figure, which is of the natural bigness. The tree is very tall and large, on which this fruit grows, in clusters, ten or twelve of them together; the outside of it red, with some mixture of blue; and the inside, when cut, violet-colour and brown. It comes once a year, is of a harsh sharp taste, but quenches the thirst, and makes water relish so well, that most of the *Blacks* carry it about them, wherefoever they go, frequently chewing, and some eat it all day, but forbear at night, believing it hinders their sleeping. The whole country abounds in this *Cola*, which yields the natives considerable profit, selling it to their neighbours up the inland; who, as some *Blacks* told me, sell it again to a sort of white men, who repair to them at a certain time of the year, and take off great quantities of it. These white men are suppos'd to be of *Morocco* or *Barbary*; for the *English* of *Bence* island assur'd me, there was a great quantity carry'd yearly by land to *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, in *Barbary*.

The woods harbour infinite numbers of parrots, and ring-doves or queests, and many other sorts of birds; but the thickness of the woods hinders the sport of shooting. The best place, and of easiest access to ring-doves, is that where captain *John Thomas* resides, he having hew'd and grubb'd it, for about 2000 paces square, to make arable ground, for his own use, leaving only some trees standing here and there, at a distance from each other, where many of these birds come to perch.

The sea and rivers furnish the natives and travellers with abundance of fish, of all the sorts and sizes that are found at *Goeree* and cape *Verde*, besides others unknown to *Europeans*, as represented here in the cut, having been very exact in the draught.

This plenty of so many sorts of very large or middling fish, is of great benefit to sailors, while they stay here to water and wood, or to drive their traffick, if they be provided with proper nets and lines; for the *Negroes* are so lazy, that they take no manner of pains to weave nets to catch fish; and content themselves with the lesser trouble to seek

BARBOT. amongst the rocks for what fishes the ebb has there left dry; which often is so inconsiderable, it doth nothing near reward their attendance. I have seen some of captain *Thomas's* slaves catching upon the surface of the water amongst the rocks, by means of a piece of a ragged cloth, an incredible quantity of new-spawn'd fishes, the biggest not so large as an ordinary goose-quill; which being boiled in a large earthen pot together, tho' very full, are reduced to a sort of pap, and accounted a good dish among 'em.

The whole country is so over-run with

lofty trees, that it may be call'd one continu'd large forest, very thick and close together; amongst which, are abundance of palm-trees, and a sort of laurels, on the mountains. The sea-shore, and rivers, are border'd in many places with mangrove-trees.

The wood in general may be proper for building any sort of vessel or ship; but, it is very heavy and fluggish.

To the west, *John Thomas*, the commander of the bay, has another plantation of maiz and mangioca, of much greater extent than his other, whereof I have taken notice already.

C H A P. II.

Climate of Sierra Leona unwholesome. Government. Installing of kings. the coast, sands and shoals.

Commodities imported and exported. Religion. Course to be steer'd along

Unhealthy climate.

TH^{O'} the air of *Sierra Leona* is good or bad, according to the time and season of the year; the days of summer, being clear and bright in the open flat country, tho' very hot in the forenoons, for the south-west gales of the afternoon refresh the air very much; but in the high hilly countries it's on the contrary very bad, because of the woods and forests: However, it can be truly said in general to be altogether very unwholesome, for *Europeans*, as many *Englishmen* that have dwelt in the fort of the small *Bence* island, during the high season of the year, could witness, if they had not died there. For during six months it rains, thunders, and is so intolerably hot, especially in *June* and *July*, that men must of necessity keep close within their huts and cabbins, for a whole fortnight, to be free from the malignity of the rain-water, which falls in great abundance at that time, and breeds maggots in an instant; the air being quite corrupted by the lightning and horrid thunder, attended sometimes with dreadful tornados of tempestuous whirlwinds; the days dark and gloomy, which altogether destroy and alter the best constitution in men and beasts, and the goodness of the water and provisions: so that 'tis easy to conceive what a sort of melancholy and miserable life our *Europeans* must needs lead in such a dismal climate. But what will not the prospect of profit and gain prevail with men to undertake!

Goods at Sierra Leona.

This river of *Sierra Leona*, has been long frequented by all *European* nations, but more by the *English* and *French*, than any other, either for trade, or to take in refreshment in their way to the *Gold-Coast* or *Whidab*. The goods purchased here by way of trade are, elephants teeth, slaves,

fantalum-wood, a little gold, and much bees-wax, with some pearls, crystal, ambergris, long-pepper, &c.

The elephants teeth are esteemed the best of all *Guinea*, being very white and large. I have had some weighing eighty and a hundred pound, at a very modest rate; eighty pound of ivory for the value of five livres *French* money, in coarse knives and such other toys: but the *Portuguese* spoil this trade as much as they can, and do considerable damage to the *English* company's agents residing here; especially in point of slaves, which they are now forced to fetch a great way up the country.

The gold purchased here, is brought from *Mandinga* and other remote countries, towards the *Niger*; or from *South-Guinea*, by the river *Mitomba*.

The goods carried thither by the *Euro-Goods carry'd thither.*

peans for trade, are,
French brandy and rum.
 Iron bars.
 White callicoes.
 Sleyfiger linnen.
 Brass kettles.
 Earthen cans.
 All sorts of glass buttons.
 Brass rings or bracelets.
 Bugles and glass beads, of sundry colours.
 Brass medals.
 Ear-rings.
 Dutch knives, (call'd *Bosmans*) first and second size.
 Hedging-bills and axes.
 Coarse laces.
 Crystal beads.
 Painted callicoes (red) call'd chintz.
 Oil of olive.
 Small duffels.

Ordinary

Ordinary guns, muskets, and fuzils.

Gun-powder.

Musket-balls and shot.

Old sheets.

Paper.

Red caps.

Men's shirts.

All sorts of counterfeit pearls.

Red cotton.

Narrow bands of silk stuffs, or worsted, about half-yard broad, for women, used about their waists.

Languages
spoken
there.

Most of the *Blacks* about the bay speak either *Portuguese*, or *Lingua Franca*, which is a great convenience to the *Europeans* who come hither, and some also understand a little *English* or *Dutch*. The common language of the country, is the dialect of *Boulm*, a hard, unpleasing tongue to strangers, very difficult to be described. I had, however, collected some of the ordinary common words and phrases, but have since mislaid it.

Note of the
author's
method.

It is to be observ'd, that I do not exactly follow the order of description; I take here and there, as it comes to mind, such remarks or observations of things, as seem to me the most singular and useful, and which are not taken notice of in other places, already described. For tho' all the *Blacks* of *Nigritia* and of *Guinea* may be look'd upon as one and the same people, in general, and have great affinity and resemblance among themselves, as to their manners and customs; yet each nation or people has its particular way, in one thing or other, which I study to relate, as it occurs in the description of each respective country one after the other; referring other things, I do not set down in it, to what I have said already of those of *Senega* and *Gambia*, to avoid disagreeable repetitions, and save the readers and my self a trouble. For example, I have said nothing here of the way of dressing their rice and maiz, referring it to what I have observed of the manner of doing this in other *Negro* countries already described, or which I shall describe hereafter. And according to this rule, I am now to relate some singular ways and customs in point of government and religion, which are particular to the people of *Sierra Leona*, and not observ'd by other *Negroes* elsewhere.

Admini-
stration of
justice.

The *Capez* and *Cumbas*, the two forts of people, as I said before, who possess or inhabit the kingdom of *Sierra Leona*, have each of them a peculiar king or commander in chief, who administer justice, according to their maxims and constitution, and judge of all controversies and debates arising between private persons: To this effect, and upon occasion of causes, either extraordinary in their nature, or otherwise of impor-

tance; they hold their court in a *Funkos*, or *BARBOT*. fort of a gallery erected round their dwelling-place; which is nothing but a heap of round cabbins, or huts built together. There the king sits on a sort of throne somewhat raised from the ground, cover'd with very fine mats, his counsellors sitting about him on a sort of long chairs; these counsellors being the ablest persons of the country, whom they call *Solatesquis*.

The contending parties are call'd in, with their counsel or advocates; men who understand and study the constitutions of the country, and plead their cause, either civil or criminal: which being heard, the king takes the opinion of his *Solatesquis*, and accordingly pronounces the sentence definitively, which he orders to be executed in his own presence. In case of crimes, tho' ever so small, the convicted criminal is banish'd the country.

One thing very singular in this court, is, that the *Troens*, or advocates, cannot plead any cause before the king, without being mask'd, having snappers in their hands, small brass bells at their legs, and a sort of frock on their bodies, adorned with variety of birds feathers, which makes them look more like buffoons and merry andrews, than men of law.

The ceremony of creating and installing a *Solatesquis*, is no less ridiculous than the former account given of the dress of a *Troen*, or advocate.

The king being seated in his *Funkos*, sends for the person design'd; he is order'd to sit in a wooden chair, adorned after their manner. The king strikes him several times on the face with the bloody pluck of a goat, kill'd for that ceremony, and rubs the face all over with meal of *Indian* corn; which done, he puts a red hat on his head, pronouncing the word *Solatesquis*. After which, he is carry'd three times about the place of the ceremony, in the chair; and for three days together this new counsellor feasts all the people of the village. The entertainment consists of eating, drinking, dancing, fire-works and salvo's of small artillery; which being over, a bullock is kill'd, and divided amongst all the guests.

The royal dignity was hereditary before the *Quajas* subdued this country. The youngest son of the deceased king generally succeeded; and for want of sons, the nearest relation was install'd in the dignity after this manner.

Abundance of people having repaired to his house, to visit him as a private person, he was thence brought to the deceased king's house, being tied fast, every body scoffing at him by the way, and even beating him with rods. Being come to the king's house,

he

BARBOT. he was clad in the kingly ornaments, and thus led to the *Funkos*, where the *Solatesquis* and prime men of the country were before, expecting him: then the eldest of the counsellors, made a speech to the people there present, of the necessity of creating a king; and then proceeded to a kind of panegyrick of the person to be invested with that dignity. This being over, he presented him with an ax, putting it into his hand, to signify that a good king ought to punish malefactors; after which, the king was proclaim'd by the unanimous consent of all the assistants, and every one paid his homage to him according to their custom.

The deceased kings are buried in the highways leading to their villages; alledging for this custom, that those who have been so much distinguish'd above other persons by their rank and quality, are also to be separated from them after their death.

The ceremonial part in burying their kings is much the same as has been already mention'd in other countries before described; putting into their graves all their best goods, erecting a roof over the same, or covering it with some sheets, or other cloth. This custom is likewise used at the burials of private persons; the corps being always attended from the moment of the person's decease, whether king or subject, but more or less according to his quality, by several mourners and weepers, paid for that purpose, who howl and cry more or less according to the reward or salary they receive.

RELIGION.

THE *Portuguese* missionaries about the beginning of the last *Century* had made many converts in this country, the people following the example of their king *Fatima*, and of some *grandees* of the land, whom the jesuit *Barreira* baptized about the year 1607. But both the king and his followers relapsed into their idolatry, and gross *Paganism*.

The *Negroes* here wear *Grigri*, or spells and charms, at their necks, arms and elbows, breasts and legs; consisting of toys, and forbid things, for which they set apart every time they eat or drink a small portion, and will never go to sea, or on rivers in their long canoes, without such store of this trash about 'em, as they fancy will preserve them from all manner of accidents; being very observant in praying to them, but especially to the *Grigri*, or charm, which they suppose has a particular authority upon the sea. Neither will they omit to mumble over some words when the voyage is ended, to thank the *Grigri* for the care it has had of 'em.

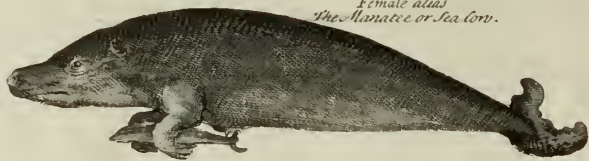
PLATE 7. I have drawn in the cut here annex'd the

figure of a *Fetiche*, *Grigri*, or idol, I once saw in that wood, as I was going from the fountain, to the village westward of it; representing, as well as they are able to make it with clay, a man's head set upon a pedestal, of the same clay, under a small hut, to cover it from the weather. They have many of these idols, as I was told, upon the roads about the countries of *Boulm* and *Timna*, and near their houses, to preserve and honour the memory of their deceased relations and friends. I have been also told here, that sometimes the *Negroes* mutter in their devotions to these idols, the names of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*.

If there be any *Mabometans* in this kingdom, 'tis more than I ever heard of, and they must dwell far off, towards the *Niger*. However, a late author affirms, that all the people of *Boulm*, *Timna*, *Cilm*, as well as those of *Hondo*, *Quoja*, *Folgia*, *Gala*, and *Monou*, to the southward, are circumcised after the *Mabometan* manner; that they own but one God, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things therein contain'd; that they do not worship creatures, not even the sun or the moon. That they never represent the deity, nor the spirits, by corporeal figures of men or of beasts, calling the supreme god *Canou*, whom they look upon as the revenger of crimes: taking him for witness of the sincerity of their words, being persuaded he takes notice of all things, and will judge all men; holding this opinion, very firmly, that a time will come, when all wicked men shall be punish'd according to their works. But they believe that all deceased persons become pure spirits, knowing all things, and concerning themselves with all that passes in their families: thence it is, they consult them in all their doubts, and invoke them in their adversities, supposing they will help them in a spiritual manner; and when they are going to hunt elephants, or boufflers, or to any other perillous exercise, they offer sacrifice to the souls of their kindred, and lay wine or rice on their graves, &c. But of this more hereafter.

The course to bring ships out of the river, for the south, is this. If 'tis a gale from N E. or N. weigh anchor at young ebb, that you may go through; if the wind slackens, come to anchor again till the next tide of ebb, which will drive the ship athwart, the head at N. with the fore-sail; for 'tis always a fresh gale in the afternoons, to carry the ship thus a league an hour, always founding. If forced to cast anchor, do it before the point, about an *English* mile from cape *Ledo* or *Taerin*, in fifteen fathom water. When you weigh anchor again, at proper time, keep to, the

The Lamentyn
Female alia
the Manate or Sea Cow.



Borocets of
Cayanna



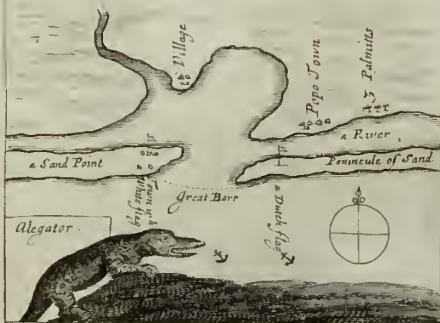
The Chitote of Island of Anjiana.

Sapajous of
Cayanna



Popò's Bay at Tury

Marshy Grounds



1 2 3 other Sorts of Fetissos





the head at W. and WNW. as near the wind as possible, following the channel in ten, nine, and eight fathom water, without fearing the banks, or *Baixos de St. Anna*, to the SW. of the cape, which are easily known by the breaking of the sea; and thus insensibly you'll come from ten into fifteen fathom muddy sand, and again into twelve, eleven, ten, or nine fathom, same ground. Next you'll steer NW. and NNW. in nine, ten, eleven, twelve and thirteen fathom, coarse ground; then tack about, the head at S. and SSE. in thirteen and fourteen fathom, till you come into nine or ten; here you'll be directly on the *Baixos de St. Anna*; therefore tack again to NW. till you be in fourteen or fifteen fathom, muddy sand and yellow; and keep thus playing to and fro, making a good watch, so you'll reach the west of the *Baixos*, or shoals, and being come into thirty five and forty fathom, yellow muddy ground, there order the course SE. coasting the said *Baixos*, or shoals. At this rate, being bound to the southward, you'll get sight either of *Sherbro* island, or of *Rio das Galinhas*.

In my last voyage, we got sight of this river, by reason we had kept too wide from the *Baixos*, or shoals, in coming from cape *Verde*; the tides of the *Bissagos* driving us from the *Drogant*, in the calm. It was a very tedious tiresome navigation, and the heats so excessive and intolerable, that it craz'd the brain of some of our crew, and all in general had violent pains in the head.

Baixos de St. Anna.

Take heed not to intangle your self among the *Baixos de St. Anna*, for they are dangerous shoals, and you may be drove on the small islands by dead calms, which are frequent here. Small ships, who coming out from *Sierra Leona*, and bound to the south, easily pass over the *Baixos*, or shoals, where there is generally five or six fathom water, and good anchoring every where. At my last trip, I spoke with a master of an *English* vessel, in sight of *Rio das Galinhas*, who had pass'd over the *Baixos* in ten

days time, and another *English* master I ^{BARBOT.} met afterwards at *Rio Sestro*, told me, he had spent five weeks in passing over them. Wherefore I think it not very prudent to carry a large ship over, nor to sail it at too great a distance from them; whether you come directly from *Europe*, or only from cape *Verde*, or from the river of *Sierra Leona*, but range the said shoals, as near as you can guess practicable: for tho' it should happen you were carried on them, you might easily get from them again with a little labour and loss of time, either by anchoring on 'em, when the wind fails, or by towing the ship with the boats, if the tide be not too strong; observing when you sail over, to have the pinnace rowing a-head of the ship, and sounding continually.

I repeat it again, avoid sailing too far out at sea from the shoals, for fear of rendring the passage very long and tedious; it being generally observed, that the calms are much greater, and dead at sea, than they are on or near them.

If coming from the northward, and bound to the southward, you put in at *Sierra Leona* in the high season, 'twill be a very difficult task to pass the *Baixos de St. Anna*, and proceed on your voyage, because of the frequent heavy tornados from S. and SSW. and the high winds, which will certainly keep you back a long time, if not totally obstruct it; some having spent three or four months before they could weather the said *Baixos*, and 'tis much properer to stay at *Sierra Leona* during that bad season, in expectation of the return of good weather, to proceed then to the southward without danger or great toils and fatigues; or not to depart from *Europe* till the beginning of *October*, to enjoy the whole summer season in *Guinea*, which renders the voyage easy and pleasant: for then a ship may anchor any where without the least danger, all along the coast, and prevent shipwreck, which has been the fate of many who happen'd to be on the coast in the boisterous season.

CHAP. III.

St. Anne's bay; *rivers* Banque, Gamboas, Cerbera, das Galinhas, Sherbro, Plyzoge, Mavah, Aguada, S. Paolo, Arvoredo, Corfo, &c. *English fort and factory*; *industrious Blacks*; *cape* Mesurado; *Petit Dieppe*. *Product and trade, from cape Tagrin to Rio Sestro.*

Bay of St. Anne.

THE coast from cape *Tagrin* to the island *Sherbro* or *Cerbera*, is encompassed by the *Baixos de St. Anna*, and runs SE by S. forming the large bay or *Angra St. Anna*,

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which reaches almost to *Rio de Gamboas*. On the north-side of this bay, are the islands *Bravas* or *Bannanas*, the largest of which is also the highest land, supplying the sailors

E e with

BABROT. with wood and excellent fresh water, and with all sorts of plants and animals that are found in the opposite main land.

The five islands *Sombreres* are on the south of the same bay of *St. Anne*, producing abundance of oranges, lemons, palm-wine, and sugar-canes growing wild, which is a demonstration that the soil is proper for sugar-plantations; besides, that there are many brooks and springs which would turn the mills at a cheap rate: here are also banana's, great quantities of bees-wax, red wood call'd *Cam-wood*, much better than *Brazil*, for it will serve seven times successively, as I have been told in *Europe*.

Soap. The natives make soap with palm-oil and palm-tree ashes, so highly valu'd by the *Portuguese* residing in those parts, that they will not suffer it to be exported to any parts of *Portugal*, lest it should undo the soap-boilers in that kingdom.

Here is a sort of timber call'd *Angelin*, very plenty, and proper to build ships.

Pepper. The *Pimento del Cola* or *de Rabo*, is also very plenty, long, and taily, and better valued than right pepper of *Borneo*, and for that reason prohibited in *Spain*, lest it should spoil the *East-India* trade.

The *Portuguese* carry it to the *Gold Coast*, where they mix it with *Guinea-pepper*.

The islanders make very good matches of the bark of the *Maniguette-tree*. They pretend to have gold and iron mines in their little islands, and say they were separated from the continent, as they now appear, by an earthquake.

Banque river. The depth of water in the bay or *Angra de St. Anna*, is five, six, seven, eight fathoms mud. The *Portuguese* word *Forno* signifies *Gulph*. Here are four rivers running out into the sea, one of which, the *Rio Banque*, is navigable for large ships; the three others are not much frequented, the country about being a vast thick forest, which harbours abundance of elephants, buffaloes, wild boars, foxes, tortoises, and crocodiles near the water-side. The banks of these rivers are all hemm'd in with mangrove-trees, on which stick abundance of oysters. There are also some lemons in the woods.

Gamboas river. The *Rio Gamboas* is two leagues to the southward of these *Sombreres*, having a bar at the mouth or entrance. The town *Concho* is fifteen leagues further up the river, whose water is deep enough to carry small craft and sloops so high, for there is some little traffick drove at this *Concho*.

Sherbro river. From *Rio de Gamboas* to *Rio Sherbro* or *Cerbera*, the coasts lies S.E. and N.W. having the islands *Tota* between both rivers.

These islands lie N.W. from *Sherbro*, all three on a line, low flat land, with rocks and shoals on the N.E. side. They have

much the same plants and product as on the continent; but especially plantains, and thence call'd the *Plantain Islands* by the *English*.

The tides of *Tota* and of *Sherbro* point, drive somewhat to the south.

The island *Cerbera* extends E.N.E. and W.N.W. about ten leagues, its north point reaching very near the isles of *Tota*, and is every where flat land, lying over against *Sherbro* river, that is to say, to the eastward of it.

The *English* call it *Sherbro*; the *Dutch*, *St. Anna* or *Massa-quoja*; the *Portuguese*, *Farulba* and *Farelloens*; and the *French*, *Cerbera*.

The country abounds in rice, maiz, ig-names, bananas, potatoes, *Indian-figs*, ananas, citrons, oranges, pompions, water-melons, and the fruit *Cola*, by the *English* call'd *Col*, poultry in plenty, and breedeth great numbers of elephants, who often repair to the villages.

The oysters here produce very fine pearls; but it is very dangerous taking of them, because of the infinite number of sharks lying about the island, amongst the shoals and rocks.

The islanders are gross pagans, said to worship *Demons* more than any other *B'acks* in *Nigritia*, and yet circumcise themselves; tho' I did not hear of any *Mabometians* amongst them.

The royal *African* company has a small *English* fort below the river, lately built on the *fort*. the island *York*; which is close to *Sherbro* island, on the north-side of the east point of it, and near to the king's village, for the security of the trade in those parts. 'Tis built square; having three round flankers, and a square one, with eleven guns; and about twenty paces from the fort on the sea-beach, two large round flankers with five good guns in each, all built with stone and lime, and defended by about twenty-five white men, and between fifty and sixty *Gromettoes*, all in the company's pay.

There was another lodge of the company, on the main land, opposite to the east point of *Cerbera* island, before this new fort was built.

RIO CERBERA or SHERBRO

IS a large river coming from very far up the inland to the sea, through the country of *Its several names.* *Boulm-Monou*, a land full of morasses and swampy grounds, and loseth itself in the ocean near *Cerbera* island: some call it *Madre-Bombe*; others, *Rio Selbobe*; others, *Rio das Palmas*, from the *Portuguese*; from whom, perhaps, may have been derived the other name of *Cerbera*, given it by some.

This river is very large, and navigable for ships of burden for twenty leagues up to the town

Rio Galinas from the NE abt 1 1/2 League

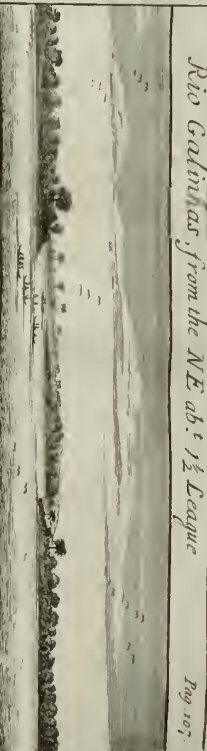


The left shell of natural bivalve



The same cut or open

Plat. 101



Sight of Cape Mont the Ticon Tree Z being at E 1/4 NE abt 1 1/2 League at Sea Day 108

Peahire

Where the Peahire
dies in 1792

A

Z

A

Cape Mont A continued

Mount

B

Sight of Cape Mesurado from the Sea at one League distance the Point B being at S E 1/4 S and C E 1/4 E

Cape Mesurado A continued

C a River

Galinas

A

B

Cape Mesurado at E 1/4 NE at 7 Leagues

Rio Junck at East abt 1 1/2 League

Rio Nodl at a League distance

Rio Corso at: CORS the Tree A at N 1/2 League

A

town of *Baga*, belonging to the prince of *Boulm*; and for brigantines and floops of seventy or eighty tuns, drawing but seven foot and an half water, to thirty miles above *Kedbam* or *Kidbam*, which is up the river two hundred and fifty *English* miles, tho' very difficult to sail up, for the prodigious thickness of rushes, with which the banks are cover'd; being in some places so very narrow, that the channel is choak'd up with them on either side, and must of necessity be founded all along with poles; and still grows shallower and shallower upwards, there being scarce ten, or nine foot water in many places in *April* and *May*, the fittest time for the voyage up the river to trade for *Cam-wood*, which is there extraordinary plentiful and cheap. But in *August* and *September*, after the rains are fallen, the banks are all overflowed; and in the channel of the river, there is fifteen or sixteen foot water, where there was but nine or ten before; so that it is much easier for floops to come down, and yet troublesome enough, because of the many heavy tornadoes, attended with horrid thunder at this time, which, when they are seen coming, must be yielded to by casting anchor, and mooring the vessel larboard and starboard, or making it fast, with cables, to some large trees near the river-side, where there are many.

It is well inhabited all along the banks, and the natives are very civil people.

This river receiveth into it, near the sea, two other larger ones, viz. *Rio Torro* at N W. and *Rio de St. Anna* at S E. *Torro* overflows the country twice a year, being shallow, and choak'd with small islands and shoals, so that the tide cannot go very high up; yet it is navigable for small barks and brigantines.

Rio Sberbro breeds abundance of crocodiles, and water-elephants, a wild dangerous sort of animal.

English
factory.

The *English* have a factory at *Bagos* or *Baga*, about twenty leagues up the river on the north side of it.

The lands of *Cilm-Monou* are fifteen or sixteen leagues further up again; and the town of *Quana-Mora*, thirty or thirty-two leagues above *Cilm-Monou*, a very populous town, but the inhabitants not so kind or good-natured, and very difficult to be treated with.

The country is very fertile in rice, and abounds in all the same kinds of plants and animals I mention'd to be in the island *Cerbera* and adjacent places, and is also very populous. The *Blacks* commonly wear a frock of striped callico, as do also those in *Cerbera* island, having all the same customs and manners. The town is behind a large wood, and cannot be seen from the road; but the inhabitants come out in canoes aboard ships riding there, and bring plantains, palm-

wine, honey, rice, chickens, and sugar-canes. BARBOT. The town is very large and populous, but the houses very mean and low, except a great one standing in the middle of the town, where the principal negroes make their assemblies and receive strangers.

The inundations of this river, at the proper seasons, contribute very much to fertilize the soil.

The proper goods to purchase the *Cam-wood* and elephants teeth in *Sberbro* river, are chiefly these;

- Brafs basons and kettles,
- Pewter basons and tankards,
- Iron bars,
- Bugles,
- Painted callicoes,
- Guinea stuffs or cloths,
- Holland linnen or cloth,
- Muskets, powder, and ball.

A ship may in two months time, out and home, purchase here fifty tun of *Cam-wood*, and four tun of elephants teeth, or more.

The *Cam-wood* is a much better sort of red wood, for dyer's use, than the *Brazil*, and accounted the best in all *Guinea*. It will serve seven times over, and the last time is still effectual.

From the south point of *Rio Cerbera* to that of *Galinbas*, the coast stretches E S E. eleven leagues, flat, low, swampy, and marshy land, all over cover'd with trees, and inhabited. Galinbas river.

Rio de Galinbas, by the natives call'd *Maqualbary*, has its source in the lands of *Hondo*, running through the countries of *Boulm-Monou*, and *Quilliga-Monou* to the sea: it receiv'd that name from the *Portuguese*, for the poultry they found in the country, which is here very plentiful, as it is all along the coast to *Rio Sestro*, and further to the E S E. and at *Quaqua* coast. This river has two islands in the mouth or entrance of it.

The *Europeans* trade in it, and carry thence dry hides and elephants teeth, which are brought down the river from *Hondo* and *Karoodoboe-Monou*. This last country is about forty-five leagues from the sea-coast, a crafty bold nation, perpetually at war with their neighbours at the east, the *Hondos*; and both depend on the king of *Quoja*, who resides at *Cape Monte*.

I have drawn the prospect of the entrance of *Rio das Galinbas* very exactly. PLATE 5.

The tide runs very swift to N E. along this coast, where it blows, for the most part, a very fresh gale from the SW. but much more at the time of the high season; so that it is very difficult to ply at windward, especially about cape *Monte*, because of the shoals, or bar, that stretches thence out into the sea, which breaks upon it in such manner, that it is very troublesome and hazardous for boats to land there. In

BARBOT. the summer-season, it is not so bad, nor difficult; for then there are two sorts of winds, one of the land, from midnight, till about ten in the morning; the other of the sea, from ten in the morning, to midnight.

The winter-season at this coast, from *Sierra Leona* to cape *das Palmas*, begins in *May*, and ends in *October*; during which time, there are frequent heavy tornados from the NW. with perpetual terrible thunder, and high winds, especially in *June* and *July*, when the sun is in the *Zenith*, with dark gloomy days, inspiring horror and dread.

Rio Maguiba, next to *Rio das Galinbas*, has a bar athwart the mouth, which makes it impracticable for large ships. The *Portuguese* call it *Rio Nunnes*, or *Rio Novo*, and traded in it formerly with brigantines, as did the *French*; but now the *English* have the most trade there, in elephants teeth, sailing it up to the village *Dova Rouja*, where the river is very wide; but farther up 'tis choak'd with rocks and falls; it then winds to the east.

The coast from *Galinbas* to cape *Monte* extends ESE. is furnish'd with sundry villages, and is low and flat. The river *Mavab*, or *Maffab*, having its source in the mountains, about thirty leagues inland, near the country of the people *Galvy*; and running in a large and deep channel through *Dauwala* country, about a league on the north-side of cape *Monte*, is so choak'd with sands, that it never enters the sea above once a year, at the time of its overflowing, by reason of the great rains of the high season, near to cape *Monte*, at W.

Before the conquest of the *Folgas*, this river was inhabited along the sides by the *Puymonou* people, their king *Flambourre* commonly residing at the village *Jeg Wonga*, on the west-side, and about a league and a half from the sea, after he had quitted the town of *Tomwoy*, at cape *Monte*, to the *Quojas*: but at present this king of the *Folgas* lives on the inland island, in the lake of *Plyzoge*, the better to secure himself from the insults of the *Dogos*, which are at war with him.

The town *Fochoo* is on the other side the river, opposite to *Jeg Wonga*, where *Flambourre* also liv'd for a time, when threatned to be attack'd by the *Folgas*. Two leagues farther up, on the same side, is the village *Figgia*, formerly the residence of one *Figgi*, a brother to *Flambourre*. Two leagues above *Figgia*, on the south-side, is that of *Kammagoeja*, and that of *Ferboefaja*; another league beyond this last, the residence of a notable man of the *Quojas*, who then lorded the country about, before it was subject to the *Folgas*.

King *Flambourre* had also another village over-against that of *Ferboefaja*. From this there is a road through the woods to *Jera Ballisa*, at three leagues distance, towards the sea-side, belonging to the eldest of the king's sons.

The coast between *Rio Mavab*, and *Rio Maguiba*, is beset with sundry villages and hamlets, where the *Negroes* make abundance of salt, from sea-water.

CAPE MONTE,

AS the draught shews very exactly, is PLATE 5. a head of many hills, or rather mountains, set one upon the other, all cover'd with trees, running out to sea between the river *Mavab* at west, and *Rio Plyzoge* at east, under seven degrees, six minutes north latitude. A very proper place for ships that come from *Europe* directly, for *South-Guinea*, to make land, it being so remarkable, and seen from eight or ten leagues at sea. The name of *Cabo Monte* was given by the *Portuguese*, from the mountains it is formed of. The *Negroes* call it *Wash Congo*. It is seen at several leagues distance from sea, shewing itself like an island, in the form of a saddle; the coast at west and east of it being very flat and low, in respect of that of the cape. The best road for large ships is to the west of the cape, in twelve fathom water, sandy ground, and at about two *English* miles from the shore, over-against the three small villages, at some distance inland, each of about ten or twelve hutts, well peopled. The inhabitants flock to the shore as soon as they hear of any strangers landing, to make them welcome, at their houses or hutts, with palm-wine, and other things. The *Negroes* here are very courteous, some understanding a little *Portuguese*; of which nation, some trade there now and then for elephants teeth, in the good season, tho' the *Holland* and *Zeeland* interlopers have the greatest share of it.

The access to the strand here is pretty easy for pinnaces or canoes; and being come ashore, you enter upon a plain, every where beset with green bushes, the leaves of them resembling our bay-tree; and with some palm-trees scatter'd here and there, which looks very pleasant. The prospect on the south is limited by the mountainous cape, and on the north, by a river, in which is a well-shaded island, and a large wood. On the east you have large meadows, and pasture-grounds, as far as can be seen, in which they keep their horses, goats, and sheep; but have no cows, nor kine, nor hogs, nor much poultry; and what few chickens they have, are very good and sweet, altho' not much bigger than tame pigeons here. These low grounds are cut through

through by fundry small rivulets, by means whereof the natives of the cape have a free communication with those of the inland country; so that it may well be said, the landkip hereabouts is extremely pleasant and delightful.

Industrious Blacks. The Blacks here are very industrious; some employ themselves in fishing with nets in the lake, and rivers, which abound in good fish of fundry species, as well as the sea-coast; others apply themselves to trading, planting rice, &c. and all of them in general in boiling salt for their king, whose slaves they account themselves.

Trade decay'd. Formerly this was a place of good trade for elephants teeth, the upland country being richly stored with elephants; but in process of time has been so much exhausted, that very often there are few or none at all, so great has been the concourse of Europeans to traffick here. In those days, when the elephants teeth were so plenty, it was a rule among the Negroes, as soon as they spy'd a sail coming from the west, to make a smoke on land, to signify they had large parcels of teeth ready at hand. But now-a-days, tho' they often use the same signal, it frequently proves to be only the inclination they have to see white men there, in hopes to get some small token or other of them, if they can prevail.

I shall not here describe their apparel, manners, customs, &c. referring it to the description hereafter to be made of the inland countries from *Cerbera* to *Rio Sestro*; my business being at present to describe the sea-coasts, as far as *Sestro*, to avoid confusion: besides, that it is much the same sort of people, and undoubtedly the customs, and manners alike every where. I shall only observe, that the king of *Monte* is said to have several hundred wives and concubines, by whom he has many sons and daughters. That the product of the land consists in abundance of rice, and a small quantity of *jammes*, *potatos*, *maiz*, (or *Indian corn*) *bananas*, *ananas*, and another fruit call'd *paquovers*.

Product here.

Plyzoge and Mavah rivers. The river *Plyzoge*, to the eastward of this cape, has its source in the territories of *Quilliga*, and after some windings runs into the lake *Mavah*; thence it comes out again, running through the land of *Tomvy*, to the coast, but never enters the sea, except at the time it overflows, like the river *Mavah*, which runs into the same lake: and thus both the rivers, and the lake, make an island of the lands about cape *Monte*. In the lake is an island, which was formerly inhabited by *Fia-bourre*. The lake is all round beset with palm-trees, affording a curious prospect in such a country.

Rio d'Aquada. *Rio d'Aquada*, or *Rio Menoch*, is distant

from *Cabo Monte*, about eight leagues ESE. *PARBOT.* flowing from the land of *Hordos*, its native country, and winding downwards to the sea, in a very fine channel; but so full of falls and shoals, and so choak'd by the bar at the mouth, that it's quite impracticable for the smallest vessels.

It produces abundance of cam-wood all along the sides. On a branch of this river are the two large villages of *Flamy Hamaja*, and *Flamy Legaja*, two leagues distant from each other; which, with the ruins of some other villages, to be seen in the country of *Tomvy*, and in that about cape *Monte*, induces me to believe it was formerly very well inhabited, the country every where being so pleasant and so very fertile.

The coast from *Cabo Monte*, to *Rio S. Paolo*, stretches SE by E. flat, low, and all over woody. From *Rio Paolo* to cape *Mesurado*, it bends in such a manner, that from a certain distance at sea, the cape shews like a high island in the ocean.

Little ships anchor here at about half a league from the small river *Duro*, in sixteen fathom; and tall ships at three quarters of a league out, sandy ground.

Cape *Mesurado* is about ten or eleven leagues distant from cape *Monte*, but not so very high land, tho' it's a lofty promontory, running much farther out to sea southward than *Monte*. It had this name from the Portuguese, and, as some pretend, on occasion of a ship of that nation cast away near the little river *Duro*, which has a ridge of shoals out at sea: the men of that ship swimming ashore, were assaulted by the Negroes, which made the Portuguese cry for quarter, using the word *Misericordia*, from which, by corruption, *Mesurado*.

Cape Mesurado.

PLATE 5.

The Blacks here are not so tractable as those of cape *Monte*; and 'tis the surest way to be always upon one's guard with them, and not to go ashore, but in armed boats. Their uncivil behaviour towards strangers has, from time to time, put some Europeans upon ravaging the country, destroying their canoes, and carrying off some of their people into captivity, which has occasioned ill blood in them; and instead of changing their rough manners, does rather render them more peevish, and ill-natur'd, and make them shy of coming aboard ship: however, it is not always so with these Blacks, but they are glad to see strangers come to buy teeth, of which sometimes there is a small quantity to be had, and at other times none. About two leagues to the westward of the cape are some villages, of about twenty or twenty-five houses each, much like the *Combets* of the Blacks at *Rio Fresco*, (near cape *Verde*) each house having three or four combets or apartments, and neatly built; the tops or roofs being as at *Rio Fresco*,

BARBOT. round like hay-reeks ; and each of these houses containing forty, fifty, or sixty persons, men, women, and children living together after a confused manner.

Blacks not so bad as represented. What I have said of their ill-nature towards *Europeans*, must not, however, be understood to extend to all foreigners, but only to those of the same nation from whom they have been injured ; for to others who have had no broils with them, they are civil and kind enough.

To this purpose I cannot but observe, that if the *Negroes* be generally crafty and treacherous, it may well be said, the *Europeans* have not dealt with them as becomes *Christians*: for it is too well known, that many of the *European nations*, trading amongst these people, have very unjustly and inhumanly, without any provocation, stolen away, from time to time, an abundance of the people, not only on this coast, but almost every where in *Guinea*, when they came aboard their ships in a harmless and confiding manner, carried great numbers away to the plantations, and there sold them with the other slaves they had purchased for their goods.

Neither ought we so much to admire, that those who live ashore should be revengeful, or jealous of such *Europeans* as never did, nor intend to practise such unjust baseness, the innocent being sometimes subject to suffer for the guilty : for bating such accidents, these *Blacks* are civil enough to strangers, especially the women, who are here handsome, very complaisant, and ready to prostitute themselves for a very slender gain. The men are lazy, contenting themselves with a little trade, and leave all the rest to their wives to do.

The country affords much the same sorts of plants, fruits, cattle, and animals, as that of cape *Monte* ; and particularly abounds in excellent palm-wine, with which they often make themselves very merry and drunk.

The river *Paolo*, which I have already said enters the sea north-west, about two leagues from cape *Mesurado*, after having run some miles to the northward, turns thence eastward to *Rio Junk*. The *Blacks* say they pass daily in their canoes to *Rio Sestro*, along the said rivers, carrying several things of the product of their lands, especially elephants teeth, when they have no trade for them at home ; *Sestro* being a place to which a much greater number of ships resorts to wood and water, as well as to trade, than any other on this coast.

Rio Paolo. This river is navigable for boats and canoes only in the rainy times, having five or six foot water at the mouth : for at other times, in the good season, it remains almost dry, the true channel of the river being scarce eighteen or twenty foot wide. I

have been told, that boats are sometimes long detained before they can get out over the bar, the river opening with a flat low island ; and that there is a great quantity of the carangues fish, which they usually catch with drag-nets.

The tallest ships may with safety sail round cape *Mesurado*, at one league distance from shore. The tide athwart of the cape runs south south-west and south ; and east and east south-east when you are past the cape, half a league an hour without fails.

The coast from cape *Mesurado*, to *Rio Junk*, stretches east about twelve leagues, the land sometimes low, and sometimes high, all woody. The best mark to know the entrance of *Junk*, is three high hills, appearing at some distance up the land ; the last of which is a little to the eastward, when you have the river at north. Another mark, is three high trees at the point, which appear above all the woods, spreading the whole coast over, the lands within shewing flat, and doubled, except the three hills above mentioned.

About a league to the eastward of *Rio Junk*, are two large white cliffs, showing at a pretty distance westerly, like sails, serving also as a mark to find out the river's mouth, which is pretty wide, but shallow water ; the ground two leagues from shore is muddy, with twenty-two fathom water. The tide sets, between *Mesurado* and *Junk*, sometimes north, sometimes at west, and at other times south-east.

The coast about the mouth of the *Junk* is garnish'd with *palm*, *orange*, and *lemmon-trees* ; and the banks on either side are also adorned with fine pleasant woods, which renders the prospect delightful.

It abounds in palm-wine, chickens, and cam-wood. The *English* have near all the trade of this river to themselves. The village of the *Negroes* is about half a league up it. The *Europeans*, paying a small custom of brandy and mercery wares, to the commander, are allow'd to set up lodges in the wood, with sails, or planks, or boughs, to serve as a warehouse to trade in. Some of the natives speak broken *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*. They talk loud and hastily, and are generally rough and wildish in their manners. They are clothed like the other *Negroes* of this country, but wear a flat bonnet, or cap, like that used by the *Highlanders* of *Scotland* ; and never step out of their houses without their assagaia's, or javelins, scymeters, bows and arrows. Every one of them that trades with *Europeans* will always have his *Dassy*, or present, before he buys the least thing ; which is no small charge and inconveniency. The *Portuguese* say, there is gold in this river.

Arvoredo river. Some few leagues within *Rio Junk*, is another river, call'd by the *Portuguese Rio do Arvoredo*, coming from the north-east country; which difembogues itself into the bay, or entrance, of *Junk*.

Some leagues to the eastward of the *Junk*, I have taken notice of a river, which I call *Noel*, because we lay before it at anchor, a league from shore, on *Christmas-day 1681*; and I did not find any name it had in all the charts that were aboard. Having all conveniency to take the prospect, I did it as in the cut. The tide here drives towards land, from *Rio Noel*, to that of *Tabou da Grou*, and *Corso* or *Corras*, two rivers which meet, and fall into the ocean at one mouth; the coast points at E by N. The small island which lies just at the point between the two rivers, about the latter end of the thirteenth century, served the *French* merchants of *Dieppe*, for a place of shelter, the better to carry on their trade with the *Negroes*; who therefore gave it the name of *Petit Dieppe*.

River Corso. This *Rio Corso* is easily known by the great number of rocks, which are along the shore, as it is at *Junk* and *Sestro*, on which the sea beats continually in a violent manner. Here the tide sets south-east and east towards the land, and returns west and south-west with great force. It is very dif-

cernible from sea, by the point that runs east, having some rocks about it, extending to the south and south south-east; as also by a flat rock, distant from the shore near three quarters of a league, which may be approached without any danger: but for the better information of sailors, besides the marks already given, I have subjoined the prospect thereof from sea, in the cut.

To the south-east of *Rio Corso*, is *Rio de S. Pedro*, and next to it, *Rio de S. Juan*, receiving near to its entrance into the sea another, called *Barfay*; and thus both together make but one opening in the coast, about three leagues west from *Rio Sestro*, having abundance of small rocks, and the sea breaking violently along the shore, which makes it impracticable for sloops or boats to land there, and is difficult enough to be done with canoes; which is the occasion that it is not frequented by the *Europeans*, as well as some of the former rivers described above.

Thence to *Rio Sestro*, the coast is cover'd with rocks and cliffs, lying near the shore: the tide sets sometimes S E. and E. at other times at E N E. and then turns again to SW. and W S W.

In the ancient geography, this part of *Guinea propria* from *Sierra Leona*, to cape *das Palmas*, was call'd the *Leuc-Æthiopes*.

CHAP. IV.

The country of Quoja. Trees, animals, birds, and insects.

HAVING thus describ'd the sea-coasts from *Sierra Leona*, to *Rio Sestro*, I am now to say something of the inland countries between both, in general; as to what is reported of the different people, or nations, which inhabit it, and the product of those several parts.

The lands of *Boulm Berre*, *Boulm Cilm*, *Timna*, *Semaurea*, *Capez*, *Cumbas*, *Vy-berkoma*, *Quoja-berkoma*, *Galvis*, *Hondo*, and *Gebbe*, with their dependencies, pay a subjection to the *Folgias*, by way of homage, since the conquest they made thereof, assisted by the *Karoeus*.

The *Folgias*, with the *Vy-galas*, depend or hold their countries from the emperor of *Monou* or *Monoë*, residing between *Rio Junk*, and *Rio do Arvoredo*.

I have before described the lands of *Boulm Berre*, and those adjacent to them in the kingdom of *Sierra Leona*, and am now to continue the description of the others above named.

QUOJA COUNTRY.

Vy-berkoma people. THE country of *Quoja* is about cape *Monte*, consisting of two distinct people, *Vy-berkoma* and *Quoja-berkoma*, who

were both subdu'd by the *Karoeus* or *Carous*. The *Vy-berkoma* are the remains of the ancient inhabitants of the river *Mavab*, and cape *Monte*, a populous and warlike nation, extending as far as *Monou*; but by the vicissitude of times, reduced now to a handful of men: they were called *Vy*, because, in their language, that signifies half, and they are but half a nation.

Quoja-berkoma, which signifies land of *Quoja-berkoma*, extends to the territory of *Tomvy*, bordering on the north and east, with the *Galas*, *Vy-Galas*, *Hondo*, *Konde-Quojas*, *Manou*, *Folgias*, and *Carous*.

The *Gala-vy* are descended from the *Gala-vy*, but driven out of that part of the country by the *Hondos*, and are separated from the true *Galas*, by a vast forest. The head of the *Galas* is called *Galla-Fally*.

The territory of *Hondo* is somewhat to the north of *Gala-vy*, comprehending that of *Dongo*.

The *Konde-Quojas*, that is to say, high *Konde-Quojas*, are neighbours to the *Hondo-Mo-Quojas*; the language is different from that of the low *Quojas*.

BARBOT. The *Folgi* and *Monou* countries are water'd by the rivers *Junk* and *Arvored*, which in their course down to the ocean, separate the *Folgi* from the *Carou Monou*, though the king of the *Carou* resides in the country of the *Folgi*.

It might be comfortable and delightful living in these countries, from *Sierra Leona* to *Sestro*, and farther eastward, were it not for the intemperature of the weather, in the high season: for besides the various fine landships, the ever-green woods and pasture-grounds, the brooks and rivers, adorned with curious trees, &c. it abounds every where with sundry sorts of plants, provisions, and beasts of divers kinds, which I shall now particularly describe.

As to the great variety of trees, I will make choice of the following sorts.

T R E E S.

Bonde tree.

THAT which the natives call *Bonde*, is commonly very big and lofty, and seven or eight fathom about; the bark is thornish, and the wood soft, which, for that reason, they use most to make canoes of several sizes. The ashes of this wood are very proper to make soap, boil'd with palm-oil: the boughs being set in the ground, soon bud and take root.

Biffy tree.

The *Biffy* tree is commonly sixteen to eighteen foot big, the bark of a brown red, used for dying cloth or wool, as also to make their small canoes.

Kaey tree.

The *Kaey* is lofty, and hard wood, the bark and leaves are medicinal; they make also canoes of this tree to play in the rivers, the wood being so hard, that it is almost proof against the worms.

Billagob tree.

The *Billagob* is also lofty, and harder than the former. Its leaves are purging.

Boffy tree.

The *Boffy* is soft, the ashes made of the bark serve to boil soap, the fruit it bears resemble a long yellow prune, tasting sour, but wholesome to eat.

Mille tree.

The *Mille* is large, tough, and soft, the roots like that of the *Bonde*, spreading round, mostly above ground. The natives use this tree in their conjurations.

Burrow tree.

The *Burrow* is of an uncommon loftiness, though but about six foot big; the bark all over full of thick crooked thorns. The wood is fit for no other use but fuel. From the bark and the leaves distils a yellow sap or juice, which purges above all other drugs whatsoever.

Mamo tree.

The *Mamo* is lofty, and crown'd with round tops, producing a fruit much of the figure of the cola of *Sierra Leona*; within white, of a sharp taste, and laxative, and can be preserved for a whole year under ground.

Quamy tree.

The *Quamy* is likewise very lofty, and crown'd with a-top; the wood is very hard,

and serves the natives to make mortars to pound the rice, and millet, because it never splits. They use of the bark of this tree to compose their draught, which they administer to such as have the sovah or souha; and poison the point of arrows with a juice that comes from the small bushes, that commonly grow about the trunk of this *Quamy*.

The *Hoquella* is also very lofty, bearing a fruit sixteen to eighteen inches long, in a husk; the stone of which is bigger than a bean: the bark and leaves are purgative, the ashes clean and whiten linnen by way of buck.

The *Domboch* produces a fruit like the *Domboch* forb-apple, much used by the *Blacks*; the bark soak'd in water, and drank, causes vomiting. The wood is almost red, and proper to make canoes.

The *Kolach* is very high, its fruit resembling a plum, good to eat. The bark is purging.

The *Duy*, lofty and headed, bears a fruit of the bigness of a common apple, which the natives eat; and use the infusion of its bark in wine or water to strengthen them.

The *Bongia* is likewise lofty and headed, the bark purging.

The bark of the *Naukony*, at cutting of it, tastes like pepper, and is here accounted of extraordinary virtue in purgatives.

The *Quan* or *Tongoo*, being the palm, is very common in this country, produces a sort of palm-wine call'd *Mignol*, which is extracted in the same manner as on the *Gold Coast*; but besides the wine, it yields that excellent palm-oil, so commendable for its peculiar properties.

The oil is made of the nuts of this tree, which grow in a cluster of two or three hundred nuts together, the cluster growing out of the trunk of the tree, about a man's height from the ground. The nut is about the bigness of a pigeon's egg, and the stone as big and as hard as that of a peach; and each tree commonly produces five or six such clusters. The oil drawn from the nuts is of the saffron-colour, smelling strong; at first extracting, it looks like oil of olives, as to its consistence, which, growing old, turns thick and lumpy like butter, and may be transported every where, and kept twenty years in some proper vessel. This oil is much recommended throughout all *Europe* for obstructions, fractures, windy and cold humours. The natives use it much, with almost every thing they eat, as we do butter; and most days rub and anoint their bodies with it, to render the skin softer and shining, and the body stronger. At most times of the day, they gnaw the stone of the nut.

As this tree grows up gradually, it has the fewer leaves, till it comes to its common height of forty or fifty foot high, and then it has only a small top of leaves. It lasts many years, and from the very first gives wine, and a sort of flax out of its stem or trunk, of which they make a sort of cloth and yarn for their nets.

The other sort of palm, in these parts, which produces wine, is call'd *Makenfy*, whose leaves are commonly three foot long, and half a foot broad; and, like the *Quaan*, yields flax at its stem, and the leaves serve the *Blacks* to make bags, cloths, and fine mats. The stalk of the leaves, which is as hard as any wood, and almost round, serves to make roofs and floors to their houses, besides many other sorts of uses: nay, at some places they pallisade their villages round with it, to defend the entrance against lions, panthers, tygers, and elephants, as I have seen it at *Sestro*.

Dongah tree. The tree *Dongah* is very common all along this coast, and produces a fruit like the acorn of our oak-trees in *Europe*.

Bondou tree. The *Bondou* is likewise very common, its leaves thin and shining; the wood is yellow in the tree, but when cut down, turns red.

Jaaja tree. The *Jaaja* is very plenty in all marshy swampy grounds, and lakes or rivers. It's that which the *Hollanders* call *Mangelaer*, and the *French*, *Palestuvier*; common in most marshy grounds in *America*, where'tis accounted not a little sport to creep amongst the boughs overspreading in the water, to which oysters grow in great multitude: for the boughs of the tree commonly bending into the water, by the moisture, bud out upwards again to infinity, intermixing the one with the other so close and thick, and turning again into the water, and shooting other branches again *ad infinitum*; which renders it impossible to find out the trunk: and thus propagating from space to space, it may be well said of it, that one trunk of this *Jaaja* will extend many furlongs along the banks of a river or the sea. For which reason it is, that oysters breed on the boughs in great abundance, and that it is a good diversion to eat these oysters on the spot, for the under-boughs are supporters on the surface of the water, to walk on from one place to another. Others are fit and proper seats, and the upper boughs ever green, do shelter men from the injuries of the weather. The oysters commonly stick very close to the lower branches of the *Mangelaer* in such manner, as 'tis almost impossible to pull them off without a hatchet or chizel, or by cutting off the bough. The oysters are very flat, and about the breadth of a man's hand, and of a sharp taste, but are well liked here for want of better.

The *Toglow*, which produces the famous

fruit *Cola*, is of an indifferent height, the trunk about five or six foot in circumference. The *Cola* is a chestnut, as I have said before, three or four growing together in a kind, each divided from the other by a thin skin. The natives use it much in their sacrifices or offerings to their idols, and in their conjurations; and have perpetually some in their mouth, either walking or sitting, to relish water the better, reckoning it very wholesome, as I have said before. The *Portuguese* drive a great trade with it up the country.

The *Fondy-kong* is the cotton tree, very common in this country, of the wool whereof the *Blacks* spin and weave cloth, like those of cape *Verde*.

The lime trees abound every where, being smaller and rounder than lemons, and have grown here time out of mind.

The orange, bananas, and fig-tree, otherwise called plantains and *Baccoven*, are also very common throughout these lands; the oranges are very sour and small.

Ignames are here very plentiful and large, generally weighing eight or ten pound, white and dry on the palate; used instead of bread by these *Africans*, being boiled.

The potatoes are also plentiful and large, and of a luscious delicate taste.

This part affords no store of sugar-canes, tobacco, plants, or ananas; the most they have, being brought from *Sierra Leona*.

For herbs, the *Blacks* make use of a sort they call *Quelle-togue*, of a small leaf, but very sweet and well tasted, which is commonly boil'd with meat: as they do also another sort call'd *Quantiab*, growing lofty, the leaves very large.

There are several other sorts of pulse, or herbs, unknown to *Europeans*, and very proper for the pot.

Rice is very common in all this country, not maiz, or *Indian* corn, named here *Magni-Jonglo*. There is another sort of maiz which they call *Jonglo* singly, a much smaller grain than the other, and better valued by them, tho' they seldom use it, but when rice is scarce in the country.

The *Guinea-pepper*, or *Manquette*, is very plenty; besides which, they have also two sorts of *Pimento* in abundance, of the long sort, and of that of *Benin*.

ANIMALS.

THE country about cape *Monte* is well stor'd with elephants, which the natives call *Kaumach*, and with multitudes of apes and monkeys.

That about *Rio Maguiba* abounds in water-elephants, there call'd *Ker-Kamonou*, commonly of the bigness of a horse, but thicker. About *Rio Mavab* they have sea-cows, water-elephants, and crocodiles, and

BARBOT. an animal about the bigness of a horse, with white streaks, a long neck, short body, and thin small legs, of a dark brown colour, and with horns like a bullock, which serve the priest, and conjurers to sound, when they conjure, or proclaim any thing to the people, and are extremely valu'd by them; which shows that this animal is not common. It is also very swift and nimble, skipping like a roebuck.

Cilla Vandoch. The *Cilla Vandoch* is an animal of the size of a hart, of a yellowish colour, banded with white streaks, the horns about twelve inches long, each horn having a hole through which the animal breathes. It is swifter than any hart or deer.

Here are also a great number of buffalo's, by the natives call'd *Si*, who spoil the fields, and do much mischief about the land.

Woey, or Gazello. The *Woey* of the *Blacks*, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Gazello do Mato*, of the size of an ordinary dog, which tho' short-legg'd, is very swift. They catch 'em commonly with a net, as they do another animal call'd *Tebbe*, of a brown colour, and of the size of a large lamb.

Quulma. The *Quulma*, another animal, is much of the form of the last, but of a reddish colour.

Swine. They have two sorts of swine, one of a burnt brown colour, call'd here *Kouja*; the other quite black, named *Quouja-Quinta*, which is much like a wild-boar, being as savage, and arm'd with such sharp tusks, that it cuts any thing that opposes it.

Porcupines. The *Porcupines*, here call'd *Queen-ja*, are of two sorts, large and small; the first are commonly of the bigness of a hog, arm'd all over with very thick long hard points or quills, streak'd at equal distances, white and black, which the animal can shoot with such violence at man or beast when provok'd, that if it happen to hit, it is very dangerous, and will stick in a board. The animal bites so sharp, that no wooden-stick or board can resist it; and if put into a wooden cage or barrel, will eat its way through. It is so bold and daring, that it will attempt the most dangerous snake. I have brought home some such quills as big as a large goose-quill; 'tis exactly the same as the *Zaeta* of *Barbary*, the flesh is reckoned good food by the *Blacks*.

Here is a kind of roe-bucks so tame, that they feed in the very towns or villages.

Cameleon. The *cameleons*, call'd *Dontfoe*, are much esteem'd; the natives will not allow them to be kill'd, being of opinion that they preface good or bad luck, according to the time they happen to meet them on the road. This animal is no bigger than a large frog, generally of a pale mouse-colour, the skin almost transparent, and therefore it easily receives the impression of colours set about it: which has given occasion to report it

changes colour every moment. It feeds on flies, which it dexterously catches with its long sharp tongue; and lays eggs like the lizards, snakes, tortoises, and snails, not covered with a shell, but with a thick soft fleshy matter.

The *Kquoggelo* is an amphibious animal, *Kquog-* about six foot long, much of the shape of *gelo.* a crocodile, which by means of its very large tongue, feeds upon pismires, haunting about their nests; and, like the crocodile, its body is all over cover'd with large hard scales, impenetrable to any weapon. It defends it self from other voracious beasts, and especially from the leopard, by setting up its scales, which are pointed sharp at the end.

The civet-cat is here very common. This *Civet-cat.* animal is accounted of the species of cats, but I think it may be rather reckon'd among that of wolves; being almost of the same form and shape, and having like the wolf a bone on each side of its ribs, which hinders it from turning short, as it is with the wolf. It has a long pointed muzzle like the fox, short ears, sharp nose, and pointed teeth, the hair of a grey colour, spotted black every where, as well as its long tail, the hair of which is as brushy round about it; the nails or claws black, thick, short, and but a little bent, the legs somewhat short in proportion to its body. This animal is voracious, feeding on carrion, raw flesh, as also maiz boil'd; and I often observed, in one I brought over to *Europe*, that it would always lean or lay down a minute or two on the meat I gave it, before he eat it. That which I brought over, having had no meat for a whole day, through the carelessness of my man, at *Guadalupe*, found means to gnaw a passage through the rails of the cage I kept it in, came into my room, as I was sitting there writing in the morning, and staring about with fierce sparkling eyes, leap'd five or six foot high, at a very fine talking parrot, of the country of the *Amazons*, which I had brought from *Cayenne*, then perching on a pin in the wall; and before I could come to its relief, the civet-cat had catch'd it by the head, and snapt it off with its teeth. I also observ'd in this animal, that it never eas'd nature, but in the remotest corner of its cage.

The best food for the civet-cat, is raw flesh and entrails of poultry, birds, and animals, especially for such as are kept for the pleasing odour they produce, generally call'd civet; which is lodg'd in a bag between its pizzle and the genitals, having a wide mouth or opening like a matrix, border'd with thick lips; which being open'd with the fingers, you find two holes, or nostrils, in the concavity of which is room enough to lodge an almond. There the civet is contain'd,

tain'd, and is drawn out by means of very small lead or tin spoons, for all other metals would hurt the beast, this being a very tender part. The males produce more civet than the females, and both must be very much vex'd and irritated with a stick often pointed at them, before you go to draw out the sweet; for this irritation in the animal causes an increase of that precious matter, in the concavities of the bag wherein it is contained.

Quojas-Morrou or Worrou, or baboon.

The *Quojas-Morrou* or *Worrou*, and by the *Portuguese* call'd *Salvage*, or the savage, is a large baboon, very ugly, some five foot long, with a big head, thick body and arms; and is easily taught, not only to walk upright on its two hinder legs, but also to carry a pail of water on its head, and other such like labour. This brute is so strong and mischievous, that it will attack the strongest man, and overpower him, either clawing out his eyes, or doing him some other mischief, if not hindered. Most of the natives firmly believe that these creatures will not speak, for fear they should be fet to work. They also fight among themselves; and are so strong, that they will tear in pieces the strongest nets, and can only be caught when very young. They are commonly as tall as a child of three or four years of age; the face looks like a man's at a glimpse, but the nose is flat and crooked; the ears like a man's; and the females have full paps, and a belly with the navel sunk in. The elbows have also their proper joints and ligaments; and the feet, beyond the heel-bone, plump and brawny; and will often go upright, and lift heavy weights, and carry them from one place to another.

Tigers and leopards.

The country is full of tygers, leopards, and other ravenous beasts, which are perpetually fighting; but the tygers have generally the better: and for that reason, 'tis thought the leopard drags its tail, when hunted or pursued by the tyger, to wipe away the impresson of its feet on the sandy ground, that the tyger may not find which way it fled. The *Blacks* call the tyger *Quelly-qua*, that is, master of the woods; and the leopard, *Quelly*, the king; this last being very mischievous to men, and the other only to beasts. And for that reason, there is great feasting, sporting, and musick in the village, when a leopard is kill'd; and the person that does it, is much applauded and honoured with this compliment by the multitude, *We see your toil and labour, and are convinced that you are a man to be depended on when there is occasion*. After which, they take off the skin of the animal, which is given, with its teeth, to the king or chief of the place, and the flesh to the people there gathered, to feast on it: but the king is not allow'd to eat of it, alledging, that the leopard being king of the woods, it is not rea-

sonable that their king should eat of another king like himself. BARBOT.

The *Blacks* kill so many leopards every year, that their kings have large stores of skins and teeth of these beasts; which they are forc'd to sell to strangers, because for the same reason which does not permit them to eat of the flesh, they are not to make use of the skin, either to lie on, or to adorn themselves with it: nay, the *Bollis* or priests have so infatuated them with this notion, and threatned them with such mighty miseries from their idols, if they offend therein, that they will not eat of any of the beasts which the leopard commonly preys on. But the teeth the king usually bestows on his wives and concubines, which they wear at their necklaces of beads or bugles, and account them a great ornament.

The dogs here never bark, but howl, Dogs. and are reckon'd delicate food, being valued above any cattle to eat, and the young ones commonly sold at good rates. These dogs are generally very ugly creatures, having no hair on the skin, their ears long and stiff, like those of foxes.

INSECTS.

THE country swarms with sundry species of them.

The vipers call'd *Tombe* are above two Vipers. foot long, their skin finely colour'd on the back; they are not mischievous till provoked, but when so, they bite a man or beast, and it's mortal in less than three hours.

Amongst the several species of *Serpents*, Minia, vast serpent. that which they call here *Minia*, grows to such a monstrous bigness and length, that it swallows a goat or hind at once.

It's reported of this creature, that having got hold of its prey, either hind, deer, or other beast, it usually feeds on, it drags the same to some by-place, and there winds itself two or three times about the body of the animal it has caught, with such force, that it is soon suffocated; and then searches it all over, and if any pismires or ants happen to stick to it, the serpent will presently run away, abandoning the prey; but if it spies none, it then swallows the beast whole, and lies still on the ground till it is digested.

This serpent dreads pismires or ants to such a degree, as to run away at the sight of a single one; and 'tis said, that if it should swallow but one, the serpent would certainly die. The *Blacks* eat the flesh of this monster.

BIRDS.

THERE are four sorts of eagles: 1. that Eagles. which they here call *Cquolantja*, is very large and big, haunting the woods more than the sea-cliffs, and there perching on the tops of the loftiest trees, especially on the *Bonda*,
of

BARBOT. of which I have already spoken, and preys much on apes for its nourishment.

2. The *Cquolantja-clou*, which keeps most in morasses and ponds, where it feeds on fish, as they swim on the surface of water. Its claws are very crooked.

3. The *Simby*, a kind of eagle which feeds on all sorts of birds and feather'd creatures, except its own species.

4. The *Poy*, keeping commonly about the sea-coasts, and feeding on crabs, and such-like fish: and has very crooked claws.

Parrots.

Here are abundance of blue parrots with red tails, call'd *Wofaey-y*, commonly sitting on palm and coco-trees.

Komma bird.

The bird *Komma* is very fine, has a green neck, red wings, a black tail, a hooked bill, and its claws like those of parrots.

Clofy-fou-kgbossi bird.

The *Clofy-fou-kgbossi* is about the bigness of a sparrow-hawk, and black feather'd, reckon'd a bird of presage by the *Blacks*, who tell abundance of superstitious nonsensical stories of it; and are so possess'd with that opinion, that according to the place where they chance to meet or see this bird, or to hear it sing, they will proceed or not proceed on an intended journey, or conclude on good or bad success, &c. And when any person dies suddenly or accidentally, they are apt to say *kgbossi* has kill'd him, by singing over him. This bird feeds mostly on pismires.

Fanton bird.

The *Fanton*, being about the size of our larks, is another presaging bird to the *Blacks*, who are abroad hunting of buffalos, elephants, tygers, serpents, or any other game. This little creature usually sitting on a tree near the covert or place where the animal is hid, sings loud; which the hunters hearing, they utter these words to it, *Ton-ton-kerre, ton-ton-kerre*, that is, *Wee'll follow you*: then presently the bird taketh his flight very swiftly to the place where the game lies, and points right.

Lele-Atterenna bird.

The *Lele-Atterenna* is the swallow, the name signifying swallow of the light; and *Lele-Sirena*, that of the night, which is the bat or flutter-mouse; it is of the species of bats, that which is call'd *Tonga*, is as large as a turtle-dove, and eaten as a dainty. There are such multitudes of this sort, and they hang in the day-time so heavy and so numerous on the boughs of trees, that they break them with their weight.

Here is also a little bird, about the size of a sparrow, which commonly makes a hole with its bill, by little and little, in the trunks of trees, there to nest and breed; which gives occasion to the *Blacks* to believe that these little creatures, having formerly complained to *Canou* their deity, that men always stole their young ones from their nests, which they used to build on the boughs of trees, and petition'd him to cause

the heavens to fall on mankind and crush them; *Canou* very readily granted their request, provided they should first pull down all the trees in the country: in order to which, they now hollow the trunks of trees, and there build their nests.

The *Qfonfoo* is a kind of raven, black all over the body, but the neck all white, and builds its nest on trees, with bulrushes and clay. The hens, as the natives report, pull off all their own feathers, when they are ready to hatch their eggs, in order to cover their brood; the cock, at that time, taking care to feed them all, till the young ones are fit to shift for themselves.

The woods harbour a multitude of turtles, which they call *Papoo*, and are of three different sorts; the first, call'd *Bollendo*, which are cople-crown'd; the second, *Kambyge*, having bald heads without any feathers; and the third, *Duedeu*, the feathers of their body black, speckled white, and all white about the neck.

Here are cranes call'd *Tigua*; and at *Cabo Verde, Aqua-Piaffo*.

The *Dorro* is a very large bird, haunting the morasses and rivers, where it feeds on fish.

The *Jouwa* is of the size of a lark, and generally lays its eggs on paths and roads, which none of the *Colga Blacks* will destroy; being possess'd with this opinion, that who-soever crushes or breaks the eggs of this bird, his children will not live long. If they happen to break them by chance, they are ready to run distracted; and when come to themselves, they vow never to eat of any birds; and will give the name of *Jouwa* to the child that happens to be born next, after this accident.

They have two sorts of herons, one white, the other blue.

The *Blacks* eat of all the birds above-mention'd, except the *Jouwa*, *Fanton*, and the *kgbossi*, which are sacred among them.

WING'D INSECTS.

THIS country is very rich in *Kommokoffe* or honey-bees, which hive in the cavities of trees; and honey is so plenty, that abundance of it is never gather'd.

The *Quom-Bokeffy*, or drone-bees, hurt nobody unless provok'd, and then their sting causes great and dangerous inflammations. These insects commonly hive about the houses, but never give honey.

There is another sort of honey-bees, call'd *Qbollicq-bolly*, which, as the former, hive in the cavities of trees; but their honey is very brown, and the wax black.

Men are here very much troubled with gnats, night and day; being common in all woody and morassy lands between the two tropicks.

Flies.

At the time of the rains, here is a multitude of flies, by the natives call'd *Getleb*, thick, broad-headed, and mouthless, much bigger than those the *French* call *Cigales*, which commonly sit on trees, and sing, after a shrieking manner, both day and night,

living only on the dew of heaven, which they draw in, by certain tongues like prickles, placed on their breasts: they are in both hot and cold countries, but by what name call'd in *England*, I know not. These flies the *Blacks* eat, and say they live by the air.

BARBOT.

C H A P. V.

Marriages of these Blacks; polygamy; naming of children; habit and employments; towns and houses; language; sorcerers and poisoners; funerals and succession.

WIVES and CHILDREN.

Marriages.

THE *Blacks* marry as many wives as they can maintain; and some of the kings of the country have three or four hundred wives and concubines, who are kept in several villages. The same is done by private persons; but the *makilmah*, or first wife, is the most regarded, not only by the husband, but by all his other wives. They live seemingly contented with all their wives, and little or nothing concerned at their number; for the keeping of them is not very expensive, neither are they much concerned if they lie with other men.

They observe very little ceremony in marrying, but so very different, according to the several customs of countries, that it would be very tedious to describe, being but little different from what is practised in other parts of *Nigritia*: Only it must not be omitted, that the bridegroom is to make his bride three distinct presents; the first call'd *Togloe* or *Cola*, consists of a little coral and bugles; the second is *Jafing*, a few pagnos or cloth; the third, *Lefing*, which is a trunk or chest to put up her things; or a brass kettle or basin; and some others, a slave: and the father of the bride sends a present of one or two slaves, two frocks, a quiver furnish'd with arrows, a scymeter with its belt, and three or four baskets of rice.

The husband takes care to maintain the boys, and the women the girls.

They scruple not to marry women that have lost their virginity; nay, they account it a labour saved, but covet much such as have good portions.

These *Blacks*, as well as those of *Gamboa*, abstain from their wives as soon as they appear to be with child. Nor do the women in that condition allow it, for fear of corrupting their milk; and both men and women account it a great crime and infamy to transgress this custom.

Naming of boys.

They usually give names to their children ten days after they are born. The day fixed for the solemnity of giving the name to a boy, is remarkable; on that day the father comes very early out of his house, attended by his domesticks, armed with

their bows and arrows, and walks all about the town, howling, singing, &c. which the other inhabitants hearing, come out also, to join with him; and thus the greater the company grows, the greater the noise is, by joining to it their musical instruments. And this being over, the person appointed for the ceremony takes the child from the mother's arms, lays it down on a kind of shield or buckler in the midst of all the company, and puts a bow, made on purpose, in the child's hand. Then he turns about to the people, makes a long discourse on the subject; and that ended, turns about again to the child, wishing he may soon be like his father, industrious, a good builder, and good husbandman, to get rice, to entertain such as will come to visit him; that he may not covet his neighbour's wife, nor be a drunkard, nor glutton, and much such morality: then he taketh the child up again, gives him a name, and delivers him up again to his mother or nurse. After which, all the company withdraw, the men go a hunting, or to get palm-wine, and in the afternoon they meet again all together at the town, and there the child's mother boils the game they have brought, with rice; and thus they feast till night.

The ceremonial of naming the girls, is not so considerable. That day the mother or nurse brings the child, where the best part of the people of the village are assembled; there it is laid down on a mat on the ground, with a little staff in one hand, exhorting the child to be a good housewife, to be chaste, to keep herself cleanly, to be a good cook, a dutiful wife; when once married, to mind her husband, that he may love her above all his other wives, to attend him at hunting, and other such like wishes; which being over, the name is given her, &c.

Naming of girls.

H A B I T.

THE habit of most of the *Negroes* in this country is commonly a frock, like a shirt, with wide long sleeves hanging down to the knees. Some of the prime men, as kings or chiefs, wear besides also some-

H h times

BARBOT times either a cloak or coat, if they have it from some *European*, and seem to be very proud of that dress. They also wear a woollen cap on their head, and go all bare-foot.

The women. The women commonly wear a narrow cloth about their middles, and tucked in at their sides to fasten it, to save the charge or trouble of a girdle. Some go now and then shamelessly naked, without any concern.

DISEASES.

MEN and beasts are here afflicted with many sorts of distempers and infirmities, several of which are not known in *Europe*. I shall mention the chiefest of them.

Ibatheba disease. The *Ibatheba* kills a multitude of elephants, buffalos, wild boars, and dogs; but not so many men or women.

Meazles. The *Meazles* kill abundance, and formerly in the land of *Hondo*, swept away the best part of the people. They think this distemper was brought in by some *Europeans*, at the beginning of this century, who had spent some time at *Sierra Leona*.

Small-Pox. The *Small-Pox* also ravages this country very much, and kills very many of the natives, old and young.

Head-ach. The *Head-ach*, call'd *Honde-Doengb*, is very violent, as well as the tooth-ach, which is named *Jy-Doengb*.

Bloody-flux. The *Bloody-flux* is also common, and sweeps away multitudes of the *Blacks* after they have lost all their blood. They fancy this distemper is given by witches and forcerers, call'd here *Sovab-Monou*.

The *Quojas Negroes* affirm, they never knew of the bloody-flux till it was brought from *Sierra Leona*, in the year 1626, eight months after the *Dutch* admiral *Laun* had left that place.

Cankers. They are also much afflicted with *Cankers*, swelling out at the nose, lips, arms, and legs; which perhaps may be occasioned by their extraordinary luxurioufness with women and common harlots.

Here is another elsewhere unknown and foul distemper, the *Blacks* are subject to, throughout all the country about *Sierra Leona*, and in *Quoja*; i. e. a wonderful swelling of, or in, the *Scrotum*; mostly occasioned by the excessive drinking of palm-wine, which causes violent pains, and hinders their cohabiting with women. The people of *Folgias* and *Hondo* are not so much troubled with it.

EMPLOYMENTS.

Trade. **T**HE chief business of the *Blacks* is tillage, for they do not mind trade near so much, seeming to be contented with what is simply necessary for life; I mean for the generality, or perhaps the country does not

afford so much opportunity of trading with *Europeans*, in elephants teeth, bees-wax, and some cam-wood: for they have but few or no slaves to dispose of that way; and the great number of *European* ships yearly passing along their coast, soon exhausts their commodities.

As to tillage, they commonly begin in *Tillage*. *January* to prepare their lowmarshy grounds to sow rice, their substantial food; every one chusing what he liketh, that is not prepossessed by others. They sow rice much the same way as our husbandmen do corn in *France* or *England*, being followed by some person, who turneth the ground lightly over the seed, with a little hooked tool fitted for such business.

The rice shoots up three days after 'tis *Crops of rice.* sown; and then they enclose the field with a palisado or hedge, about two foot high, to defend it from elephants or buffalos, which are great lovers of this grain; keeping always a watch about it of boys of their own, or slaves, who also preserve it from being spoil'd by the multitudes of birds that are about the lands. And towards the beginning of *May* they cut it down, and immediately make a second tillage, to sow rice again in other higher grounds, for they can sow rice at three different times of the year; the first in marshy grounds, the second in hard level grounds, which is cut the beginning of *July*, and the third on high rising grounds, cut the beginning of *November*, alternatively the one after the other. The continual rains they have here from *April* to *September*, much facilitating the tillage of hard and high lands, which is every where done by hand.

They never cultivate the same ground, but at two or three years distance, to give it time to recover itself; nor will they appropriate to themselves the grounds of others, unless by mutual consent, especially hard or high grounds, knowing what toil and labour it has cost the proprietor to grub and rid them of large trees or bushes.

The women have a great share in cultivation *What the women do.* of the lands. In some places 'tis their task to weed, and in others, to sow the rice; and more especially 'tis generally the business of all women to dress and beat it in long deep mortars, made of a hollow trunk of a large tree; and, in fine, to boil it for their families use.

The *Blacks* spend much time in getting in the rice, to dry it well on the fallows or ground it grew on, and to bind it in sheaves, and pay the tythe to their kings.

The countries of the *Hondos*, *Galas*, and *Gebbe Monou*, do chiefly abound in that grain, at all times; their lands producing more, and better, than any other country about them, which is a great advantage to those,

those, who either for want of a good crop or good husbandry at home, repair thither with cloths, brags, or copper basins, and other things, to purchase it: but generally they are very careful to manage their store well, and to have no want of their neighbours.

Fishing
and hunt-
ing.

The *Quojas Blacks* employ their time in fishing, during the intervals of their different harvest-times, or in hunting, or building, as occasion requires. Tho' every one here has a sort of liberty to employ himself as he thinks fit, yet the hunting of water-elephants, or buffalos, is solely the privilege of such as the king has appointed, who are to give him the moiety of the buffalos they can catch, and a third part of all other game whatever. But the water-elephants appertain wholly to the king or chief of the land, and the hunters must be satisfied with what portion he is pleas'd to return them.

The fishermen are also to give a portion of the fish they catch, to the priests of *Belly*, for the jannanen; that is, the souls of their deceased relations in the other life.

TOWNS and HOUSES.

THE houses of the *Quojas* are all built round, as at *Ruffico*, and their villages also in a circular form, surrounded with trees planted very thick, or near one another. But the fortified towns they have in this country, have four *Koberes*, a sort of bastions, through which they come out, or get into the village, at a gate so narrow and low, that only one man can pass at a time. Each of these *Koberes*, or bastions, has a small centinel's box over the gate, made of the branches of a tree, call'd *Tomboe Bangoela*. The watch or centinel is commonly one of the most courageous of the place. These towns are besides inclos'd with curtains, of these *Tomboe* staves, or of those of the palm-wine trees, both being long, thick and very hard wood, fasten'd to the trees that are planted all round the place, in such manner, that nothing can be seen through this enclosure; but at certain distances there are narrow lights or loop-holes, with shutters, to make use of their muskets if need be.

Fortifica-
tions.

The lanes or streets through the towns lead from one *Kobere* to the other, cross-wise, and forming a sort of market-place in the centre.

Such fortified towns they call *San-siab*, into which the country people retire in case of an irruption from an enemy; every one of the open country and villages call'd *Fonserab*, having a house in the *San-siab*, for a time of need.

RIVERS and BRIDGES.

THE rivers in the country of the *Quojas* being so shallow, and choak'd with falls and sands, there is no occasion for canoes,

but for the convenience of travellers. They ^{BARBOT} have here and there a sort of bridges, made with staves of *Tomboe*, tied close together; and over them, on each side, about three foot high, a long rope made of certain roots twisted, to preserve the travellers from falling into the river. These bridges are fastened at each end, on the land, with the same sort of ropes, made very strong, and fix'd to trees.

TEMPER and INCLINATIONS.

I Have before observ'd, that the *Blacks* in general are very luxurious, which not only occasions many diseases, but also shortens their lives.

The women are no less intemperate in *Leudness*. that respect, and use certain liquors made of herbs and barks, to excite their natural desire.

Both sexes are extremely fond of strong *Drunken-* liquors, and especially of brandy, when 'tis *ness*. offer'd them; for 'tis very seldom they will buy any of the *Europeans*.

These *Blacks* live all together in great *Charity*. union and friendship among themselves, being at all times ready to help and assist such as come to want clothing or provisions, and that in as effectual a manner as they are able to do it, or making presents to one another, sometimes of clothes, at other times of slaves, or other valuable things. A if any one dies, and has not left enough to pay the charge of his burial, his friends do it at their own expence.

No person can be admitted to the king's presence, whether white or black, but he must carry a present, according to times and occasions.

The *Blacks* here are not much addicted to steal or pilfer from one another, but make no scruple of taking what they can from strangers.

Their LANGUAGE.

THE common language of the *Blacks* here is the dialect of the *Quojas*, besides some which are peculiar; as those of *Tim*, *Hondo*, *Mendo*, *Folgias*, *Gala* and *Gebbe*. That of the *Folgias* is the most elegant, and therefore call'd *Mendisko*, that is, the lord's language, in honour of the king of *Folgia*, to whom they are subject by homage. Those of *Gala* and *Gebbe* differ a little from the *Folgian* tongue; and there is much the same difference in that of the *Conde-Quojas*, towards the frontiers of *Hondo*, as there is between *Highb* and *Low-Dutch*.

The *Blacks* of fashion use some sort of *Eloquence*. eloquence in their discourse, and frequently make use of allegories, well apply'd, and to the purpose, much after the manner that we read in *Judges* ix. 8. *Jotham* the son of

BARBOT. of *Gideon*, deliver'd himself to the lords of *Sichem*.

No distinction of hours. They do not divide the day into hours, but only know when it is midnight by the five stars; which, besides the *Pleiades*, appear on the head of *Taurus*, which they call *Monja-Dmg*, the lord's son.

Good nature'd Blacks. The *Blacks* in these parts are generally well temper'd, civil, and tractable, and not addicted to spill human blood, unless very much provok'd, or at the funerals of very great persons, as shall soon be observ'd.

SORCERERS and POISONERS.

Mischievous persons. THEY say they have many magicians and forcerers among them, as also a peculiar sort of men, whom they call *Sovab Mounoufin*, that is, poisoners and blood-suckers; and these they fancy will suck the blood out of any man or beast, or at least corrupt it in such manner, as to occasion lingering and painful diseases. There are others, called *Pilly*, who, by their enchantments, they believe can hinder the rice from sprouting out of the ground, or from coming to maturity, when grown up. Both those sorts of men, they tell us, are inclin'd to commit such barbarities by the *Sovab*, that is, the devil, who they believe possesses such as are overwhelm'd with melancholy, or grown desperate through misfortunes, and therefore withdraw themselves from the company of other men, and live wild in the woods and forests; where the *Sovab* teaches them, shows them what herbs and roots are to be used in their enchantments, as also the gestures, words, and grimaces, proper for those hellish practices. These men, when taken, are put to death, to deliver the country from their mischiefs. The *Blacks* will seldom travel through the woods without company, for fear of meeting with such men, as also because of the wild beasts which swarm there; and carry with them a composition of several ingredients, which they fancy preserves them against the malicious *Sovab*.

It would be too tedious to relate the many stories they tell of these forcerers and *Sovab*; as also the particular ceremonies of their funerals and burials of deceased persons: it shall suffice to observe some few, which are not used among the other nations I have already described; for, in the main, they are the same, and no less inhuman.

FUNERALS.

WHEN the corps is well wash'd, they trim the hair of its head into locks, and set it up, cloth'd in all the best apparel the person wore whilst living, or what has been given since dead, as is usual; supporting it with props behind and before, and under the

arms, with a bow in one hand, and an arrow in the other.

Then the nearest relations or friends make a sort of skirmish between themselves, with their arrows, which lasts a considerable while: and that ended, they kneel round the corps, with their backs towards it, as if much provok'd; and thus shoot their arrows round the world, as they call it, to signify they are ready to revenge the deceased against any person that shall offer to speak ill of him, or that may have been instrumental to his death. After which, they strangle some slaves belonging to the deceased, to attend him in the other world; who, the better to prepare them for their exit, have been feasted with all the delicacies the country can afford.

During this time the women of the village, who had the most familiarity with the person deceased, keep about his wife, and throwing themselves at her feet, utter these words, from time to time, *Bgune, Bgune*, that is to say, be comforted, or wipe off your tears.

After this, they take the corps and lay it down on a board, or a small ladder, which two men carry thus upon their shoulders to the grave, casting into it the strangled women and slaves, mats, kettles, basons, bugles, and other odd things belonging to the deceased; and covering all with a mat, and hanging his armour on an iron rod, set up in the ground at one end of the roof, which they erect over the grave to keep off the rain from it: and for a long while every day they leave eatables and liquors about it, for him to feed on in the other world. If a woman is buried, they set up at the iron pole or rod, her basons and *Dutch* mugs, in lieu of armour.

They observe to bury a whole family successively as they come to die, in the same place as near as 'tis possible, tho' the persons die at ever so great a distance. The burying-places are commonly in some forsaken, or ruin'd villages, which they call *Tombouroi*; and there are many of them on the river *Plyzoge*, and in the island *Massab*, behind cape *Monte*.

The reason they give for strangling such persons as are put to death, in order to be buried, in the graves of men of note, is, because their blood is too precious to be spilt and wasted on any account. They strangle them with a string put about the neck, which they twist and turn behind the back of the wretched victims, as is practised by the mutes appointed for such offices at the *Ottoman Porte*. They also burn in their presence the remaining victuals that had been prepared to feast them before their exit, adjudging it to be sacred.

This barbarous custom of sacrificing the living to honour the dead, begins now to lose ground; for here, and at other places already described, where it is practised, most of the people hide their daughters or children as soon as the king's sickness is thought to be mortal; which those who wait on the dying king, use all precautions to conceal as much as they can, that none of those who are to be thus slaughtered may get away or abscond. And when those who have thus kept themselves out of the way at that time, return to their dwellings, they are severely reproach'd with their want of courage, which among them is the greatest affront, and told how unreasonable it is they should have eaten the bread of their lord or husband, and be afraid to die with him: with many more no less ridiculous reproaches.

Fasting at funerals.

It is also customary here for the nearest relations, or friends of a deceased person, to keep a fast of ten days after the funeral of one of the common sort, which is call'd *Bolly Guwe*; and thirty days for a king or considerable person. Such as keep this fast make a vow, lifting up both their hands, not to eat rice during that time, nor to drink any liquor but what is kept in a hole made for that purpose in the ground, as also to abstain from the company of women; and the women who engage to keep the said fast, vow they will not clothe themselves during that time, with any other garments whatsoever, but with white or black rags, with their hair loose and dishevell'd, and to lie on the bare ground at night.

Presents to those that fast.

The fast being over, the penitents lift up both their hands again, to denote they have very punctually accomplish'd it: after which, the men go a hunting, the women dress what they kill, and all together feast on it; and then those who have kept the fast, are dismissed with each of them a present of a basin, or a kettle, or a cloth; others with a basket of salt, or an iron bar, &c.

Superstitious trial.

There is another custom, when a person is suspected to have died an untimely death; which is not to wash the corps, till a strict enquiry be made of it. To this effect they make a bundle of some pieces of the dead person's garments, the parings of his nails, and clippings of his hair, on which they blow the scrapings of the wood *Mammon*, or of *Cam-wood*; fastening the bundle

to the pestle, which two *Blacks* carry about BARBOT. the place, preceded by the priests, who beat with two hatchets, one against the other, and ask the dead corps in what place, at what time, and by whom he was thus deprived of life; and whether *Canou* their deity has taken him into his protection. And when the spirit, as they pretend, moving the heads of the bearers of the corps, after a certain manner, gives them to understand the *Sovah-Monouffin* has done it; they ask him again, whether the forcerer is male or female, and where he lives: which the spirit also declaring, in the same manner, and leading them to the place where the forcerer abides; they seize and put him in chains, to be examined on the charge the spirit has laid on him. If he persists to deny it, he is compell'd to take the *Kquony*, a horrid bitter drink; and if after drinking three full *Calabashes* of it he vomits it up, he is absolved: whereas if it only foams out about his mouth, he dies immediately; his corps is burnt on the spot, and the ashes are thrown into the river, or the sea, be he ever so great a man.

This drink is composed of the bark of a certain tree, beaten in a wooden mortar, and infused in water: 'tis a very sharp dangerous liquor, and commonly administered to the prisoner in the morning, in case of suspicion of high crimes; during which time, they invoke the *Kquony*, praying that the prisoner may vomit up the drink if he be innocent; but if guilty, that he may die on the spot.

Many more such absurdities might be related of these people, as to the administering of this draught, which are not worth mentioning.

The eldest son of the deceased inherits all Provision for children. his goods, wives, and concubines; and he dying without issue, all falls to his younger brother, if he has any. The other children are generally provided for by their father, that they be not reduced to poverty after his death.

But if a man dies without issue male, the son of his brother is his next heir, tho' he should leave several daughters; and if there is never a male left of a family, then the king becomes the sole heir, but is to maintain and subsist all the daughters that are left behind.

BARBOT.

C H A P. VI.

Government of the Quojas. Reception of ambassadors. Favour to Europeans. Superstitions about souls departed. Circumcision. New-moon. Society of men called Belly; another of women, called Nefloge. Punishment of malefactors. Of Rio Seftro. The author visits that king; his reception, &c. Habit of men and women. Product, birds, and beasts. Funerals. Religion, and physick.

GOVERNMENT.

Policy of the Quojas.

THE authority of the *Quojas Berkoma*, over the countries of *Cilm*, *Boulm*, and *Boulm-Berre*, tho' of a greater extent, and more populous, is due to their politick government, compos'd of very judicious wise men; who, to keep their vassals and neighbours in ignorance of the smallness of the country, and of the inconsiderable number of its inhabitants, do not permit any of those of the north countries to travel to the east, thro' their lands, nor those in the east to pass thro' to the westward: by which means they also have much greater share in the trade, from one part to another. The *Quojas* serve as factors, or brokers to their neighbours; and convey thro' their small country the goods which the western *Negroes* send to the eastern, or the eastern to the western: for the same reason, those to the northward of these *Quojas*, do not allow them to pass thro' their territories to the other nations still northward of them, unless on occasion of the *Quojas* marrying some women among them.

Subject to the Folgias.

The *Quojas Berkoma* are subject to the king of *Folgia*, as has been said before; yet that prince has given their king the title of *Dondagh*, which he takes himself; and this king of the *Quojas* gives the same title to him of *Boulm-Berre*, without doing any homage to the *Folgias*, but only to himself.

Title how given.

The title of *Dondagh* is given to the king of the *Quojas*, by him of *Folgia*, in this manner. The *Quoja* prince lies down on the ground on his stomach, the *Folgias* throw some earth on his back, and ask him what name he likes best; which he having declared, they proclaim it aloud, adding to it the word *Dondagh*, with the name of its country. Then the new *Dondagh* is order'd to rise from the ground, and standing up, is presented with a quiver full of arrows, which is hung on his back, and a bow put into his hand, to signify he is now bound to defend the country with all his might. After which, the *Quoja* prince does homage to the king of *Folgia*, and makes a considerable present of linnen, sheets, brass-kettles, basons, &c.

Quojaking absolute.

This king of *Quoja* is absolute and arbitrary in his dominions, very jealous of his authority and prerogatives, and keeps a great number of women, most of them brought

down to him from *Gala*, *Bondo*, *Folgia*, and other countries.

When he appears in publick, he sits or stands on a *Koreda*, or *Buckler*, to denote, he is the defender of the country, the leader at war, and the protector of good men oppressed.

If any person sent for by him being accused of any misdemeanor, does not attend him immediately, he sends him his *Koreda* How he summons' criminals. by two drummers, who are not to cease beating their drums till that person comes along with them to the king; carrying in one hand the *Koreda*, and his customary presents in the other. And being come into the king's presence, he prostrates himself on the ground, throwing earth over his head, begging his crime may be pardoned, and acknowledging himself unworthy to sit on the *Koreda*. The king's design in sending the *Koreda*, is to signify to the person it is sent to, by way of reproach, for his not coming upon the first message; that he should then come and take his place in the government, and execute the power himself, since he is so refractory to his commands.

When any person of note is to wait on this king, he first delivers his present to the chief of his wives, who carries it to the prince, begging such a man may be admitted to his presence, to throw earth on himself. If the king grants the petition, the present is accepted, and the person admitted to come and pay his respects; but if it is not granted, the present is privately restored to the owner: who, however, dares not return home till he has made his peace with the king, through the mediation of some friends in favour with him; and is afterwards admitted to an audience, and the present accepted, if his fault is not considerable; for if it be, the king is not easily moved to forgive it.

The person so pardoned and admitted to see the king, is to walk towards him, bowing to the chair in which he sits, on a fine mat; bending one knee, and stooping so low, as to rest his head on his right arm laid on the ground, pronouncing the word *Dondagh*; to which the king answers *Namady*, I thank you. After which, he bids him sit on a little wooden stool at a distance, or on a mat, if he be of the highest rank, or a foreign envoy.

EMBAS-

EMBASSADORS, HOW RECEIVED.

Noise at their reception.

AN envoy or ambassador from a neighbouring king, being arrived on the frontiers of the *Quojas*, sends to the king to notify his arrival there; who sendeth an officer to bring him to a village near the court, where he stays till all things are ready for his audience. On the day appointed, he is brought from that village, attended by a great number of officers and attendants, arm'd with bows and quivers, making a great noise of their sort of musick, and all skipping and dancing by the way, accoutred in their best clothes. This procession being come to the palace, the *Blacks* make a lane in the place of arms, thro' which the ambassador is brought to the council-chamber; and if it be a *Folgian* ambassador, he is allowed to have his own attendants to dance in this place of arms; but no other nation has that liberty. The dance being over, he is conducted to his audience, and being near to the king's *Simmanoe*, or chair, turns his back to him, with one knee to the ground; and in that posture draws his bow as stiff as he can, to signify to the king he would esteem himself very happy if he had the opportunity to use it against his enemies. During this formality, the envoys retinue sing and recite aloud such verses as have been made in praise of the king; in return for such like praises sung and recited as loud by the king's attendants, in honour of his master and of himself: a ceremony used on such occasions, which they call *Polo*, *Polo*, *Sammab*; and amongst many flattering expressions, these following are often repeated and accounted the most acceptable, *Comme*, *Bolle-Machang*, that is, there is no body can imitate the works of his hands. *Doogo Folmaa*, *Hando-moo*; he is the destroyer of the *Doogo Folmaa*. *Sulle Tomba Quarryasch*, I stick like greese, pitch, or sulphur, to the back of such as dare resist me.

Singing.

Other ceremonies.

The panegyricks ended, the ambassador causes one of his officers, who is almost naked, to advance, and throw earth on his own body before the king; being himself excused from so doing by his character. And during that ceremony, all the assistants about the *Simmanoe* dance, making several motions and gestures with their bows and arrows; after which, the ambassador desires silence to be order'd, and then he makes his speech; and the *Silly*, or king's interpreter, who usually stands up next to the king's *Simmanoe*, with a bow in one hand, interprets word by word: and if it concerns matters of state, the answer is defer'd till debated in council; otherwise it is given on the spot. Then the ambassador is conducted to his quarters, after which the presents he brought are laid before the

king, and the reasons given for making *BARBOT* such or such a present.

At night, the king sends his slaves to watch the body of the ambassador; next his own wives, in their best dress, with several dishes of meat and rice, according to the number of his retinue: and after sapper, the palm-wine, and his own presents, some brass kettles, or basons, or the like. If any *European* is admitted to see the king, and brings his presents, he is allowed to eat with the king, and of his own meat. What is left of the ambassador's supper, is for the king's wives.

No people among the *Blacks* are so formal and so ceremonious as these; and to use them after that manner, is a means to do any thing with them to satisfaction.

Of the *FOLGIAS*, and *HONDOS*, and *QUABEE-MONOUS*.

THE *Folgias*, as I have said before, have a dependance on the emperor of *Monou* or *Manoë*, as the *Quojas* depend on them. This *Monou* emperor extending his empire over several neighbouring countries, which all pay homage and tributes to him yearly, in slaves, iron bars, bugle, cloth, &c. each of which, in token of his goodwill, he also presents with *Qua-Qua* cloths; which the *Folgias* again present to the *Quojas*, when they pay their homage; and the *Quojas* give them again to the kings of *Boulm* and *Hondo*, when these come to make their acknowledgments to them: all these nations being very free in making presents to one another, as has been observ'd in another place.

The *Folgias* call the subjects of this emperor *Mendi-Monou*, (that is, lords;) the *Quojas*, *Mendi-Monou*, (i.e.) people of the lord; and the *Boulm* and *Cilm* call them the same, which is done to honour themselves the more, as being his tributaries: though each of these petty kings has an absolute authority in his own districts, and can make war or peace, without the consent or approbation of this emperor, or of any other of whom they hold.

It is wonderful, that such a small country, and so thinly peopled, as is that of *Monou*, should have subdued so many other countries, and still preserve their authority over them all, and especially the *Folgias*, who are so numerous. But it must be supposed, that the policy of the *Monou*, together with the situation of the other countries which are separated from one another, has been as instrumental in that conquest, as force of arms.

The country of *Hondo* is divided into four principalities, *Massillagh*, *Dedowaeb*, *Dangoerro*, and *Dandi*; the chiefs whereof are named by the king of *Quoja*, their lord: each

BARBOT each having equal authority, and paying a yearly acknowledgment to him, by their envoys, in presents of brass kettles, basons, *Qua-qua* cloths, red cloth, and salt, made of the sea-water.

Quabee-Monous. The *Quabee-Monous* live about the river *Sestro*. They were formerly subdu'd by *Flansire*, king of the *Folgias*, after an obstinate bloody fight, near the *Sestro*; but have since recover'd their former independency and sovereignty, and own none but *Monou* for their emperor, and now hold of him.

RELIGION.

Belief of a God. **THEY** acknowledge a supreme being, creator of the world, and of all things visible and invisible; but they cannot form a good idea of that sovereign being: but the *Blacks* of *Boulm* and *Timna* make strange figures of it.

His attributes. They call that being *Canou* or *Kanuo*, attributing to him an infinite power, universal knowledge, and to be present in all places, believing that all good is from him, but not that he is eternal; and that another light, or being, is to come to punish the wicked, and reward the vertuous.

A lake worshipp'd. The *Karou-Monous*, when they possess'd the country about the rivers *Junk* and *Arworedo*, in the kingdom of the *Folgias*, paid religious adoration to a lake or pool there, on a mountain; and used to offer to that lake all the booty they took from the *Folgias*, their mortal enemies, whom they had often defeated, being led by a *Carou* general of great renown, call'd *Sokwalla*.

Policy of the Folgias. The *Folgias* having been often worsted by the *Karou-Monous*, and considering they were not able to withstand such a warlike enemy by open force, contriv'd how to destroy, or weaken them by policy. They had recourse to a forcerer, or magician, of the country; who advis'd them to cast into the above mentioned lake of the *Karous*, a quantity of fish boil'd, with the scales on: the *Karous* superstitiously looking upon it as a great pollution to eat fish that was not scaled. This advice follow'd, had its intended effect; for the *Karous* being inform'd of what had been done, look'd upon the lake as defiled and profaned; and thereupon fell at variance among themselves, to such a degree, that a civil war ensu'd; by which they were so weakned, that the *Folgias*, who lay in wait to improve all opportunities, attacking them, slew their brave general *Sokwalla* on the spot, and his son *Flonikerri* was oblig'd to surrender himself prisoner, with the best of his subjects. The *Folgias*, fearing to exasperate that nation, thought fit to conclude a solid peace with them; which succeeded so well, that the king of the *Folgias* call'd *Flansire*, mar-

ried the sister of the *Karou* prince, and restor'd him to his dominions.

This story somewhat resembles the advice which *Balaam*, the false prophet, gave to *Balak*, king of *Moab*; which prov'd so fatal to the *Israelites*, as we read *Numb.* xxiv. 14. and in *Josepbus*, lib. 4. chap. 6.

These people believe, that the dead be-^{Opinion of} come spirits, which they call *Jannack* or *Jananeen*; that is, patrons or defenders, their business being to protect and assist their former relations and kindred: and therefore they put such questions to their dead, as I have before observ'd. Thus, if a man hunting of wild beasts in the woods, happens to escape some imminent danger, he says, he has been deliver'd by the soul of such of his deceas'd kindred, as he lov'd best; and as soon as return'd home, sacrifices at his grave an heifer, rice, and palm-wine, as an acknowledgment of his deliverance, in the presence of the relations of the deceased, who dance and sing at the feast.

They believe those spirits, or souls, reside in the woods; and when any man has receiv'd some notable injury, he repairs to the woods, and there howls and cries, intreating *Canou*, and the *Jananeen*, to chastise the malice of such a person, naming him by his name.

He who finds himself in some difficulty or danger, conjures the soul of his best relation to keep him out of it, to satisfaction.

Others consult them, and take their advice on future events; as for instance, whether any *European* ship will soon come, and bring goods to traffick, or the like.

In short, they have all a very great respect and veneration for the spirits of deceased persons, and rely on them as their tutelar gods. They never drink water or palm-wine, without first spilling a little of it for the *Jananeen*: and to assert the truth of any thing, they swear by the souls of their deceased parents. The kings themselves do the same: and tho' they seem to have a great veneration for *Canou*, that is, God; yet all their religious worship seems to be directed to these souls, each village having a proper place appointed, in the nearest wood, to invoke them.

Thus the native *Indians* of *Virginia* believe in many gods, whom they call *Kewasowock*, inferiors to another, great and puissant, who is from all eternity, whom they call *Kewas*. They have temples, wherein they make offerings to those deities, sing and pray for the dead, and believe the immortality of souls, &c.

The *Chinese* hold, that all deceased persons are turned into air; and therefore, all their religious duties terminate in the air that environs them.

These

These *Blacks*, at three several times of the year, carry abundance of provisions for the subsistence of the *Jananeen*, into the woods and forests, where they firmly believe those spirits reside, in a peculiar manner. And thither afflicted persons repair in their extremity, to implore the assistance of *Canou*, and the *Jananeen*, with loud cries.

It is a sacrilege for women, maids, or children, to enter those sacred woods; and therefore are they made believe, from their infancy, that the *Jananeen* would immediately kill them.

Circum-
cision.

All these nations circumcise their children at the age of six months, and believe it is appointed by God, saying it has been practised time out of mind among them. Yet some mothers, through fondness, will not let their children be circumcised till they are three years old, that they may bear the painful operation with greater ease and safety to them. They heal the wound with the juice of certain herbs, best known to them.

Here are two other strange ceremonies much regarded and observed by all the *Negroes* of *Hondo*, *Manou*, *Folgi*, *Galas*, *Gebbe*, *Sesbro*, *Boulm-Cilm*, and even in *Sierra Leona*; which, though very different from what is properly call'd the circumcission, are nevertheless both of them very painful and ridiculous; of both which, I shall soon speak at large.

New moon
honour'd.

Though the *Blacks* have not been yet observed to adore the sun or the moon, yet 'tis remarkable, that at every new moon, both in the villages and open country, they abstain from all manner of work, and do not allow any strangers to stay amongst them at that time; alledging, for their reason, that if they should do otherwise, their maiz and rice would grow red, the day of the new moon being a day of blood, as they express it; and therefore they commonly go all a hunting that day.

The lower *Ethiopians* in *Angoy*, and near *Congo*, pay the like veneration to the new moon.

Belly so-
ciety.

The fellowship or sect of the *Belly*, as near as it can be well described, is properly a school, or college, establish'd every twenty or twenty-five years, by order of the king, who is the chief or head of it, for training up young men and boys to dance, to skirmish, to plant, to fish, and to sing often, in a noisy manner, what they call the *Belly-Dong*, the praises of the *Belly*; which are no other but a confus'd repetition of leud filthy expressions, accompanied with many immodest gestures and motions of the body: all which things, when duly perform'd, entitle the fellows of that school, to the name of the marked of

the *Belly*, and renders them capable of all BARBOT. sorts of offices and employments about the king; and of enjoying certain prerogatives of the country, from which the *Quolga*, idiots, that is, such as never were educated after that manner, are wholly excluded.

The king having order'd proper barracks, or huts, to be built together, in a space of ground mark'd out, eight or nine miles in circumference, in the midst of a large wood, or forest, where palm-trees thrive well, and the ground being fitted for planting of eatables, to subsist the scholars; and all such *Blacks* as desire to prefer their sons, being ready to send them to it: proclamation is made for all of the female sex, great or small, not to approach the sacred wood, much less to enter it, during the continuance of the school, which sometimes is four, and other times five years, for fear of polluting it; lest they incur the wrath of the *Belly*, who, they are made to believe, from their infancy, would kill such as should presume to transgress.

The *Soggono*es or elders marked of the *Belly* sect, whom the king has appointed to rule the school, having taken their places, proclaim the laws of it to the fellows, forbidding them to stir out of the limits thereof, or converse with any person but such as has been marked of the *Belly*: and then they prepare every one of their scholars to receive that mark, which is done by cutting certain strings which run from the neck to the shoulder-bone; a painful operation, but cured in a few days, by proper vulnerary simples; the scars whereof, when cured, look at first sight like nails imprinted in the flesh: and then a new name is given to every one, to denote a new birth.

Being thus prepared and fitted, and stark naked all the while they live there, the *Soggono*es daily teach them the several things above mention'd, till the four or five years of their continuance at school are near spent; during which, they are subsisted by the *Soggono*es, and by their parents, who send them, from time to time, rice, bananas, and other eatables.

The day being appointed for breaking up, they are removed to other lodgings, erected on purpose at some miles distance from the former; where they are visited by their relations, men or women indifferently, and by them taught to wash their bodies, to anoint them with palm-oil, and to behave themselves handsomely among people: for by reason of their long confinement in such a retired place, they know little or nothing of the behaviour of other people, but rather look like so many savages.

After some few days spent in this manner, the parents dress and adorn them with clouts at their waist; strings of bugle at the

BARBOT. neck, intermixt with leopards teeth at distances; the legs loaded with brass bells and brass rings; a deep osier cap on the head, which almost blinds them; and the body accoutred with abundance of feathers of several colours. And in this equipage, they are conducted to the publick place in the king's town, and there in the presence of a multitude of people, especially of women gather'd from all parts of the country, the fellows pull off their caps, and let their hair loose, one after another, shewing what improvement they have made in dancing the *Belly*: and if any one happens to be out, he is mock'd by the women, who cry out, *He has spent his time in eating of rice.*

When the dancing is over, the *Soggonoes* call every fellow in his turn, by the name that was given him at his admission into the school, and present him to his father, mother, or relations.

Belly,
what it is. To say something of the *Belly* itself, it is a thing made by the *Belly-Mo* or chief priest, by the order of the king, of a matter kneaded or wrought like dough, sometimes of one figure, and sometimes of another, as is judg'd convenient, according to occurrences; which he afterwards bakes, and, as I suppose, it is eaten. A politick invention of the king and priests, to keep the people in greater subjection, by the many dreadful punishments they industriously give out it can inflict on men, with the king's consent, without which, it can have no force. It cannot be imagined what impression this makes on the people of all these countries, every one accounting it sacred and venerable. Even the very kings and priests themselves, tho' they know well what this *Belly* is made of, and for what end; yet, by the prevailing force of superstition and ancient practice, from one generation to another, are so far deluded, as well as the generality of the people, that the king values himself much upon being the head of that brotherhood or sect.

Nessoge,
fellowship of women. The other fellowship of the *Nessoge*, concerns the female sex, and distinguishes such as profess it, from other women who do not; as that of the *Belly* does its followers among other men that are not of the same stamp.

This fellowship of women was at first invented in the country of *Goulla*, and thence followed and practis'd by all the other nations. It is perform'd in this manner.

At a certain time appointed by the king, a number of huts or cabins is built in the midst of a wood, to receive all such maidens or women, as are willing to be of the society; who being all gather'd together, at the place prepared, the *Sogg-Willy* of *Goulla*, the ancientest woman of the profession, who is sent for by the king, being come down

to rule and govern the school, begins to execute her office, by a treat the old matron gives to her new disciples, call'd amongst them *Sandy-Latee*, the alliance or confederacy of the hen, (of which, more hereafter) exhorting them to be easy and pleas'd in their confinement of four months, which is the usual time it lasts. Then she shaves their heads, orders every one to strip herself of her clothes, and having carried them all to a proper brook in the holy wood, washes them all over, and circumcises every one in the private parts; a very painful operation, yet cured by her in twelve days, by means of proper herbs. After which, she teaches them all daily the dances of the country, and to recite the verses of *Sandy*; which is a perpetual chanting of abundance of leud, loose expressions, accompanied with many indecent ridiculous gestures and motions of the body, all naked, as they are constantly during the four months of their schooling. And if they be visited, during that time, by any other women or maidens from abroad, the visitors are not to be admitted to the scholars, unless they also be stark-naked, leaving their clothes in a proper place of the wood.

The time being come to break up school, the parents send the scholars red ruff-clouts, bugle-strings, brass-bells, and large brass rings for the legs, to dress and adorn themselves. And thus, the old matron *Sogg-Willy*, being at the head of them, they are conducted to the village, whither a croud of people resort from all parts to see them. There the *Sogg-Willy* being set down, these *Sandy-Simodiuno*, daughters of the *Sandy*, for so these scholars are call'd, dance, one after another, to the beat of a little drum; and the dancing being over, they are dismiss'd, each to her own quarters.

PUNISHMENTS of MALEFACTORS.

A Woman accused of adultery, is to take the oath on the *Belly Paaro*, which is in substance, that she wishes and consents the spirit may make her away, if she is guilty of that crime; if afterwards convicted of perjury, she is in the evening carried to the publick market-place of the village by her own husband, where the council is sitting. They first invoke the *Jananeen*; then they cover her eyes, that she may not see the spirits that are to carry her away; after which, follows a very severe reprimand on her disorderly life, with dreadful threats, if she does not amend it: and so she is discharg'd by the *Jananeen*, after a confused noise of voices heard, expressing, that tho' such crimes ought to be punish'd, yet since it is the first offence, it is forgiven, upon her observing some fasts, and macerating herself; it being expected, that those who are forgiven should

should live so chaste, as not to admit any boys, tho' ever so young, into their arms, nor so much as to touch any man's clothes. If after this, she happens to relapse, and is again duly convicted, the *Belly-Mo*, or some of the *Soggonoes*, accompanied on such occasions by persons making a noise, with a certain tool like a scraper, come in the morning to the criminal's house, take her away into the publick place of the town, where after having obliged her to walk three turns about it, still making a great noise, that all who are of the brotherhood of *Belly*, may see what is doing, and take warning; such as are not of it, not daring so much as to look out, for fear the *Fannanen* would carry 'em away: they convey the adulterous woman to the holy wood of *Belly*; and from that time forward she is never heard of any more. The *Blacks* fancy the spirits of the woods carry such women away; but it is likely they are there put to death, to appease the indignation of *Belly*, according to their notion.

Theft, murder, or perjury, how punished.

If a man is charged with theft, murder, or perjury, and the evidence is not clear enough, or that he is only suspected of this or that crime, he is to take the trial of *Belly*; a composition made by the *Belly-Mo*, or priest, with the bark of a tree and herbs, which is laid on the person's hand. If he is guilty of the indictment, the *Blacks* say it will presently burn the skin; but will do no manner of damage, if innocent.

Trials by drinking.

Sometimes the *Belly-Mo* causes a person to drink a large draught of liquor, composed of two sorts of a thick bark of the *Nelle* and *Quony* trees, which they reckon a perfect poison. If he be innocent, he will vomit it up immediately; but if guilty, 'twill foam about his mouth, and thereby prove him guilty, and punishable with death.

I cannot here forbear making this observation, which in my opinion may be acceptable; and is, that this drink administered here to women, suspected of adultery, may be derived and used, in imitation of the water, called by the *Jews*, of *Jealousy*, *Numb.* 5. 17. and there named *Holy-water*, composed of half a log of the water of the pool that stood in the porch of the temple, into which the priests did put of the dust of the floor of the tabernacle; which composition was named the *bitter water*, perhaps from the effect it had on the belly of the accused woman, by a particular dispensation of heaven; for otherwise there was no bitterness naturally in it.

It is indeed reported, that the priests did add to it wormwood, or gall, or some such bitter drug; but the law doth not mention it, only that they pronounced on that liquor terrible maledictions and imprecations as the law mentions.

If the woman was really guilty, the *Jews* ^{BARBOT.} say, her face turn'd yellow and pale, her eyes look'd dead, and then she was carried out of the porch of the women; her belly swelled, her thighs fell, and she expired, and at the same moment her paramour died.

If she was innocent, her face appear'd very serene, her eyes bright; and if troubled with any natural illness, she was presently cured of it. It also made her capable of conception, and if before she brought forth her children with very great pain and hard labour; after this trial, she was always deliver'd very easily: in fine, if before she had had only girls, after this she was sure to have boys.

If her belly did not swell, and she did not die on the spot, her husband was obliged to take her again, and the spirit of jealousy which before was come upon him, was to retire. *ibid.* ver. 14.

These *Gentiles* may have deriv'd from the *Jewish* law, this sort of trial of innocence or guilt in women suspected of adultery; but have alter'd the composition thereof, as before recited.

They usually execute criminals thus convicted in some remote by-place, or in a wood at a great distance from their village; there the criminal kneels down, holding his head, bowing towards the ground. In this posture, the executioner thrusts his body thro' with a small javelin, which being fallen on the ground, he cuts the head off with an ax or knife, and quarters it, delivering the quarters to the wives of the persons executed, who commonly assist him at the execution; and they are to cast them on some dunghills about the country, to be devour'd by wild beasts, or ravenous birds. The criminal's friends boil his head, and drink the broth, nailing up the jaws in their house of worship.

It is the custom in these countries, when any of the princes, especially in *Folgia*, have concluded an alliance with some neighbouring potentate, as also amongst private persons, to cause some pullets to be dress'd and eat them together; after each treating party has been mark'd with some drops of the blood of those sacred animals. They also carefully preserve the bones of them; because, if one of the parties is willing to break the treaty, those bones are produced for him to shew cause for the breach thereof.

The mark of submission here is to appear before a greater person, with a hat on the head; and so the *Veis*, after being subdued by the *Folgias*, appeared before their king *Flonikerri*.

Alliances how made.

Of

BARBOT.



Of RIO SESTRO, &c.

FOR the better finding of *Rio Sestro*, I think it may not be amiss to add this instruction.

Land-marks.

1. It may be easily known coming from west, by two large rocks appearing above-water, about a league to the north-west of that river, distant about half a league from the shoal.

2. Another mark is, two hills or little mountains seen at a good distance up the country, one of them much bigger than the other, and appears like a half globe right against the river's mouth; as also by a ridge of several small rocks and cliffs, appearing above water to the southward of the point of the cape, call'd *Cabo das Baixas*, and running out above a league into the sea; one of them is call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Ilba da Palma*, the others *Ilbas Brancas*.

Trade here.

Rio Sestro is a place of trade for elephants teeth, rice, and *Guinea-pepper*, and very convenient for wooding and watering, and consequently much frequented by all *European* nations that every year pass by, bound to the gold coast, *Ardra*, and the *Bight* or gulf of *Guinea*. The *Negroes* of *Sestro* commonly come out of the river in canoes to meet the ships they spy to the westward, to show them the roads, or bring them into the river.

The best place for great ships to anchor, is in six or seven fathoms oozy ground, somewhat above half a league from the bar of the river, where there is good hold, if the ship be well moor'd; and 'tis much easier for the crew to carry water and wood. Whereas anchoring, as most do, in eight or nine fathom, about a league from shore, is very toilsome and hazardous, the ground being there all rocky and hard sand; the anchors have no hold, and the cables very often, in few days, by the continual motions of the waves, are either quite cut in the rocky grounds, or at least much worn and shatter'd, unless the anchors be removed almost every day; which is a very great fatigue, and many anchors have been broke in working of them up.

Best anchoring.

Mouth of the river.

This river, at its mouth, bulges out a little to the south-west, and has a bar quite athwart the entrance of cliffs and rocks, some few above water, others six or eight foot under it at low water, which in their intervals leave a way for sloops and brigantines to pass thro' without any hazard; but the surges of the sea are great, and somewhat dangerous in the winter season. When once got in, you are to range the greatest rock as near as possible, and steer or row directly to the beach, on your larboard-side, where the village stands, taking heed of two small cliffs that are in the way; to avoid

the which, you may steer for a while somewhat towards the starboard.

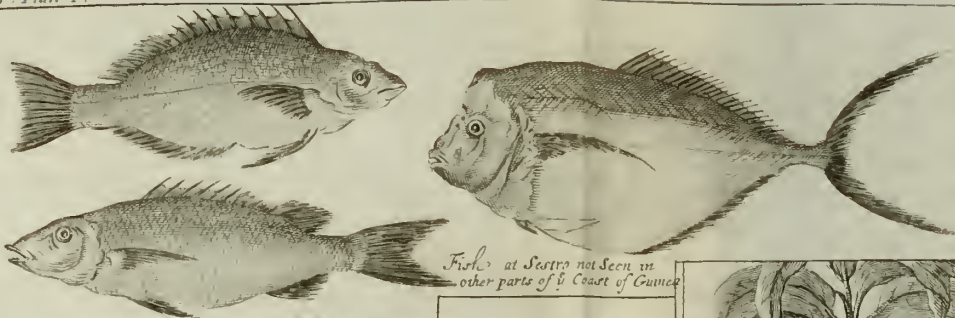
The village above-mention'd is within the river, close to the beaches, containing fifty or sixty houses neatly built on timber, raised two or three foot from the ground; each house being commonly of two or three small low stories, and therefore somewhat lofty, and consequently easily seen out at sea over the point; and the trees that surround it on the land side, are mostly *Banana* and *Maniguette* trees, intermix'd at distances with palms, which afford a pretty prospect, and shelter the town from the high south-west breezes at sea. The prospect from the village on the river is also very pleasant, the river being large, and the banks cover'd with lofty fine trees, and some low ones without discontinuation.

The access to the beach and the landing, are very convenient for boats and pinnaces. There is a large house in the village, for the reception of strangers, whither the captain of the *Blacks*, one *Jacob*, and his attendants, commonly conduct, and there make them welcome with palm-wine, and such other things as the country affords. It is like all the common houses raised upon timber, and there is a small ladder to get up into it. There strangers discourse the *Blacks* about the occasion that brings them; but nothing is concluded before the king of the country is inform'd: and to this effect, they are carried by water to his village, which is seated about a league up a rivulet, near the mouth of the *Sestro*.

THE AUTHOR VISITS THE KING.

THE first time I visited this king, *Bar-saw* or *Peter*, for 'tis customary with the *Blacks* of note on this coast to take an *European* name; I went up in my pinnace, attended by captain *Jacob*, the priest, and two other *Blacks* of the village below the river: some of the king's canoes which were sent down to shew me the way, and paddled by his own sons, going before.

I was received at landing, by some of the king's officers, who conducted me to a pretty large half-round building, cover'd somewhat loftily, in form of a sugar-loaf, and about six fathom in compass, standing some few paces from the enclosure of his village, and raised on timber, being in the nature of a common hall to receive strangers, and deliberate on the affairs of the country, and is by them call'd the house of *the white*; getting up into it by means of a small ladder. I found king *Bar-saw*, an elderly man, with silver hair, sitting on his heels on a fine mat, as the *Blacks* usually do, clad in a white cotton *Morisko* frock, inbroider'd here and there with some comical figures of worsted of divers



Fish at Sestro not seen in other parts of the Coast of Guinea



The Sestro Pheasant because it tastes like a Pheasant

a Monkey

a Figure of Natural History

a Worm



The Banano Tree

The Figbunch

The maniquetta

or Guinea Pepper Tree



The Rice Plant

a Sestro Sheep

Sestro Houses



B

C

D



vers colours, holding a very long pipe to his mouth, the bowl end resting on the floor. He had on his head a long osier cap, like a *Mitre*, beset with a few goats-horns, porcupines tails, and *Grigris*; and about his neck a string or necklace of knotted rushes, to which hung two kids horns, as low as the stomach; his hair twisted in parcels like small horns, here and there; and attended by twenty or twenty-two of his counsellors, sitting in a semicircle on the right and left of him on fine mats, and clad in *Moorish* frocks, but all bare-headed. Before the king stood two large pots of palm-wine, two empty calabashes or half-gourds near it, and a round wooden stool, about a foot high. When I was come within his reach, he held out his hand, and made me a sign to sit on the stool just facing him; and to my attendants, to sit down on the mats that lay by. Then my present was laid down before him, *viz.* two bars of iron, two flasks of brandy, one bundle of bugles, and some knives; which when he had eyed, he ordered his present to be laid down behind me, being a basket of rice and two hens; which I ordered immediately to be killed and roasted, and they were eaten by all the company in token of mutual friendship. Meanwhile the interpreter, who understood a little *Lingua Franca* or broken *Portuguese*, interpreted to the good old man what I said to him; being to this effect, that I was come into the river to take in water and wood, for a large ship, and at the same time to trade with himself and his people, for elephants teeth, rice, maniguette, and provisions; desiring, he would appoint the properest place to cut wood, and permit me to erect a small lodge at the village down the river, for the convenience of trade, during my stay: as also to give his subjects notice thereof, and encourage them to bring down what teeth and other things they would dispose of, with as much speed as possible, because I designed to make but a very short stay. To all which, he caused this answer to be given me by the interpreter just as I took my leave of him, that he would come down himself very speedily to open the trade with me; which he did accordingly the next day, and I had some small dealings with him, in the lodge I had caused to be erected near the beach, with banana-trees, and boughs of palm-trees, which made a comfortable shelter, by their freshness and lovely greens, against the scorching heat of the sun. But all I could get in eight days, was only five or six hundred weight of elephants-teeth, the king himself being present most of the time; he returning home to his village, every night, and I aboard ship with my goods, except one night that I was forced back by a *Tornado*,

and obliged to lie ashore with the best part ^{BARBOT.} of my crew in the forge-house of the village, as the most convenient place. Tho' all the *Blacks* of the village shewed a great deal of civility, every one offering his house to lodge us; yet I found it impossible to stay one single quarter of an hour in any of them, they are generally so stifling hot and smoky, ^{Smoky houses.} by reason they keep a constant small fire in the night-time, sleeping with their feet near to it, which they account very wholesome, tho' they are thus almost drowned in their own sweat. This way of making coal-fires, as these and most of the *Blacks* in *Guinea* do, seems to have been practised by the *Israelites*, who had no chimneys in their houses, it being customary in hot countries to have none: for we read in the xxxvith of *Jeremiab*, ver. 23. that when king *Jeboiakim* burnt the roll of the law, written by God's order, he sat in the winter-house, where was a fire of charcoal in the hearth, burning before him.

I have seen many such hearths in the middle of the *Portuguese* houses in *Prince's* island, where they dress their meat. But I suppose this keeping a smoky fire in the cabins of the *Blacks* in the night-time, is chiefly to drive away the gnats, which are here very numerous and troublesome; the village lying betwixt the river in front, and a sort of a thicket of shrubs and wood behind it. For the *Savages* of the *River Mississippi* in *North-America*, contrive their houses, driving into the ground big poles, as the *Blacks* do here, very near one another, which support a large hurdle, serving them instead of a floor; and under it they make their fire, the smoke whereof drives away the gnats.

It was just after sun-set when I parted from king *Barfaw*, when I paid him the first visit at his village, and a most sweet lovely evening, in the month of *December*. We ran down ^{Pleasant river.} the river, carried only by the tide, very slowly, between the banks which are magnificently adorned and shaded with ever-green trees, of many different sorts and forms, most of which stretch their boughs far out over the river, in the figure of an amphitheatre. This, with the profound silence on the water, and the various notes of a multitude of many sorts of birds lodged in the woods, with the shrieking and chattering of a vast number of monkeys and apes skipping and jumping from bough to bough over our heads; and the sweet gentle noise of the *Blacks* paddling the several *Canoes* which accompanied us; made our journey very delightful and charming, and gave me an inclination to row up the river a league or more every evening during my stay, to enjoy so pleasant a diversion, and to shoot at monkeys and birds; besides the sport we had in fishing with drag-nets in a small

BARBOT. small sandy bay, somewhat distant from another village on the same continent. We there got abundance of good large mullets, and some other sorts of fish.

The place where we had the liberty of felling our wood, was almost half way up the river, to the king's village, on the NW. side: there our people, who were washing their clothes, by degrees burnt down a very fine tree much like a fir-tree, of a prodigious length, very straight, and without any boughs, but only at the top a tuft, as if made by art, with all the skill imaginable.

We got our water from the fresh of the river, about an *English* mile above the king's village, the tide hardly running up so high; and yet a brigantine may sail up twelve leagues, tho' the channel grows narrow the farther you go up.

The *Portuguese* have given this river the name of *Rio dos Cestos*, from the vast quantity of *Guinea* pepper the country affords, which they call *Cestos*, and thence by corruption *Sestro* by other *Europeans*. It runs up far into the land, and takes in several smaller rivers or springs in its course; that which the king's village is built on, runs north-west.

The king's village.

This village contains about thirty little houses, built of clay, and enclosed with a mud wall, about five foot high, and stands on a rising ground, just at the mouth of a little river; and the country about it full of banana and palm trees: every house has an upper floor, and some two, neatly whiten'd within, twelve or fifteen inches above the ground, where the wall is black or red, indifferently, as a band round about it; but the stories are so low, that people must sit or lie down. The floors, instead of boards, are made of round sticks, or boughs of palm-tree, close fasten'd together, which is again another great inconvenience to walk on: such is also the floor of the council-house, the roof whereof, like that of the houses, is made of the same palm-tree sticks, adjusted close together, covered over with large *Banana* and palm-tree leaves.

In this house I observed a piece of square timber, about three foot long; on which was carved, in half-relieve, the figure of a woman, and a child by her, but of an odd sort of work; and two square holes cut in pretty deep, at each end of the timber: which I judged to be a sort of idol, and the holes in it to hold meat and drink for its use; that being the place where they administer an oath, or swear to the performance of contracts or agreements made among themselves.

The king, his wives and children.

King *Peter* lives constantly at this village, with thirty of his wives, and their issue, and none other. He is a good, courteous, a-

greeable man, but very simple and innocent: I had all the conveniency of knowing him, because he stayed with me most of the time I kept the lodge at the village of captain *Jacob*, as has been already observed. Of those thirty wives of the king's, I could see but five or six, attending on the chief of them, who is among the others like a sultana: she was somewhat advanced in years, but a very comely woman, having large figures cut or imprinted on the flesh in several parts of her body, arms and legs, but especially about her middle. I cannot say how those figures are made on the flesh; for at a small distance they look like half-relieve, cut out of it; but was told they did it with hot irons. I saw some other women thus cut and adorned from head to foot, which is accounted a great ornament among them.

The king's sons, or his sons-in-law, wear a long osier cap, like that I mentioned of their father, which is the only thing that distinguish them from the common sort, and is peculiar to such only as are of the blood-royal; but in all other things, they toil and work like slaves, when occasion requires it. I have seen several paddling in their *Canoes* to attend me up and down the river, whenever I had occasion to go to and fro, by water.

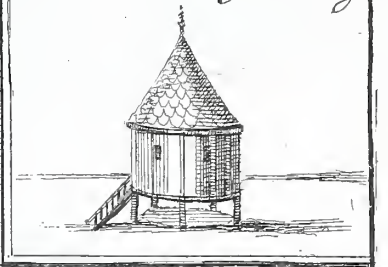
These *Blacks*, both men and women, are good-natured, and very civil to strangers who do not use them ill; living very friendly together amongst themselves. While I was there, news being brought that a *Dutch* ship was come into the road, every man of captain *Jacob's* village laid hold of his bow, javelin, and knife. I asking some of the chief of them the reason; they told me, they would oppose the landing of the *Hollanders*, if they should attempt it, because not long since, a ship of that nation had stolen away thirteen of their *Blacks* at *Sangwin*. I sent word to the *Hollander* in the road, to warn him, not to come ashore, who pretended, that it was an *English* pirate, who had done it, under *Dutch* colours; but being in no great want of any thing from shore, he proceeded to the eastward.

There used to be formerly a pretty good trade in *Sestro*, for elephants teeth; of which the *English* and *Dutch* had the best share, but the vast number of ships; now trading on the coast of *Guinea*, has so exhausted it, that the *English* have been obliged to abandon the residence they had about three leagues up the river, the better to carry on their trade in the country along it; which is very populous, and has abundance of villages and hamlets on its banks.

However, I might have had a better trade of teeth, whilst I was there, but that most

- A The King of Sestro
- B The Kings Councillours
- C My Self
- D My Assistants
- E My Presents to y King
- F The Kings Presents
- G The Idol of y King
- H The Hearth

The outside of the Lodge



most of the people were then busy sowing their rice.

Extent of the lands of Sestro.

The lands of *Sestro* extend from the river of *St. John* or *Bersay*, to *Croe*, being about thirty-five leagues in a line, along the coast, and much farther up the country, NE by E. if we may believe some of that king's officers.

The good old king is much respected by all his subjects; and he is very affectionate towards them, living like a careful father of a large family.

The *Blacks* here generally speak through the nose, and very hastily. Their dialect is the *Quabee*, of which I had learnt some words, but lost them and some draughts I took there. A few of the natives, here and there, on the coast, have got some *English* and *Dutch* expressions.

HABIT of MEN and WOMEN, &c.

The men.

THE men are generally tall, lusty, and well-shaped, but not of a shining black; and seem to live contented with their condition. They go almost naked, wearing only a single clout about their waist, tuck'd about their thighs; but persons of distinction wear abundance of toys, as bugles, brass bells, &c. about their necks, waists, and legs. I saw some, who had iron rings about their legs, which weigh'd above three pounds each; but more of the bells, and other sounding ornaments, which please them at their publick festivals; as is also done by the *Quaquis*, of whom more hereafter: and these they delight in, because they make a noise as they walk, and much more in dancing.

This custom of wearing jingling ornaments, may be deriv'd from the ancient *Jews*, as may be seen in *Isaiab*, chap. iii. ver. 16, 18. where the prophet reproaches the daughters of *Sion*, for that they took a pride in tinkling ornaments, and threatens, that they shall be taken away.

The women.

The habit of the women is much the same. They are very tender of their children, whom they carry about wherefoever they go, as long as they suck, in a sort of leather basket, in which they sit, and are made fast to their mothers backs, that they may not fall. When the women meet on the road, or elsewhere, they embrace and shake hands, standing a few moments in that posture; and they say, *Macro, Macro*, or *Aqui-o, Aqui-o*; that is, a good day to you.

EMPLOYMENTS of the BLACKS.

THEY are very industrious and constant at their employments, particularly at sowing of rice; others at fishing in their canoes two or three leagues out at

sea, setting out early in the morning, and returning home, with their fish, about noon, by the help of the sea-breeze.

The chief of them drive a trade with the *Europeans*, exchanging rice, maniguettes, and elephants teeth, for *European* commodities.

- Beads, of several sorts,
- Bugles, white and blue,
- Brass kettles and basons,
- Iron bars,
- Brass and iron rings,
- Annabas,
- Linnen,
- Dutch* knives,
- Brandy, in whole and half anchors,
- Cotton,
- Cowris, or shells,
- Pagnos*, or short cloths,
- Small hedging-bills,
- Ordinary knives,
- Dutch* mugs,
- Fishing hooks,
- Pewter tankards,
- Pewter dishes,
- White and blue large beads.

European commodities.

These *Sestro Blacks* are very importunate at begging their *Dassy*, or present, before they will strike a bargain; and it is no easy matter to avoid giving them something.

It is the custom of the *Blacks* to do little or no business in the afternoon; for they are at play, or smoking, or lying down at their cabin doors, in their wives laps, to have their heads comb'd, and their hair trimm'd, after the same manner as those at cape *Monte* do it.

About noon, the women dress their meat, and in the summer boil salt before their doors, on the ground, and in the winter within doors. They boil rice with mutton, goat's flesh, chickens, monkeys, and fish, which are their common food. Their common drink is water, and some palm-wine. They eat after a very slovenly manner, as all the other *Blacks* do in other places, rolling the rice in their hands into a ball, which serves instead of bread, a thing quite unknown to them here.

Manner of eating.

The women never eat with their husbands, nor the children with their parents; but the man eats first, then the wife, and lastly, the children. Every man has as many wives as he can maintain, and all keep them very quiet and submissive; inasmuch, that they dare not so much as smile on a stranger, in the presence of their husbands, who are naturally jealous; and cause their wives to retire into the house, if an *European* is talking to them without.

Polygamy.

Whilst king *Peter* was with me, at my lodge, or hut, intelligence was brought him, that a *Black* had forc'd one of his wives;

BARBOT. wives; but whether there was any compliance on her side, I know not. The good old man left me on a sudden, and went away to his village, and return'd the next day, but told me nothing of the occasion of his journey: however, the day after, another inform'd me, he had caus'd that *Black's* head to be struck off by his eldest son. The old man seem'd to be out of countenance when I spoke to him of it; and did all he could to persuade me to tell him, which of his people had reveal'd that secret to me, which I would not do, for fear it might bring the *Black* into danger.

Clyster, how administer'd. The women have a very extraordinary way of administering a clyster, through a bulrush, made fit for that purpose, blowing the composition out of their mouths.

Many of the *Blacks* here take *European* names, as *John, Peter, Anthony, Dominick, James, &c.* to shew their affection to strangers. They often desir'd me to persuade the company to set up a factory on the river; but I made them sensible it would not be worth while, the trade of ivory there being so small.

PRODUCT.

Rice. **T**HE country of *Sestro* abounds in rice, which yields such a prodigious increase, that a large ship may be soon loaded, at a very cheap rate; but it is not so large, white, or sweet, as that of *Milan* or *Verona*. I believe it might be bought for about a half-penny a pound.

Guinea pepper. The *Maniguette*, or *Guinea* pepper, is also very plentiful and cheap. The *Blacks* of *Sestro* call it *Waizanzag*, and those about cape *das Palmas*, *Emaneguetta*. That which grows on the river *Sestro*, is the largest of all this part of the pepper-coast. It is a sort of shrub, the leaves broad, thick, and pretty long, much like those of the nutmeg tree. The bushes grow so close together, that in some places at *Sestro*, they look, at a distance, like thickets, or small coppices. The fruit is almost oval, but pointed at the end; being a thin husk, first green, and when dry, of a fine scarlet, about the size of a fig, and soft, as not fill'd with any pulp; but within it is the *Maniguette*, growing in four or five rows, and cover'd with a white film, which also separates each grain, or seed; and these are white, very sharp, biting beyond the hottest pepper. These grains, before they ripen, are red, and of a grateful taste. The best are of a chestnut-colour, large, ponderous, and very smooth; the black are the smallest. They take their colour as they lie aboard the ship, being put up green. The seed is neither so large or round as the *Indian* pepper, but has several angles. The stalks of it taste somewhat like

cloves. There is another sort of *Maniguette*, growing like large-leav'd grass, That which is bought, from the middle of *November* till *March*, is certainly a year old, for the new begins to bud in *January*.

The *Dutch* used formerly to export a great quantity of it yearly, loading whole ships; but it is now less sought after. I had three hundred weight of it at *Sestro* for one bar of iron, worth five shillings.

Here is great plenty of hens, and chickens, *Poultry.* and so cheap, that I bought a couple of them for the value of a penny, in trifling commodities, as little ordinary knives, fish-hooks, pins, small looking-glasses, and beads; but they are small, and not so well tasted as in *Europe*. An hundred couple may be had in a week; and they eat well, boil'd with rice, and a piece of bacon.

There are several sorts of the same trees *Trees.* I describ'd before, speaking of the country of the *Quojas*; which make a delightful prospect every way, being naturally intermixt with the coco and palm-trees.

As to plants, it affords much the same *Plants.* as the country of the *Quojas*; but particularly abounds in *Yams* or *Ignames*, whereof the women make a sort of pap, almost as white as ours, to feed their little children. There is also great store of *Cola*, beans, ananas, bananas, plantans, potatos, coconuts, and small oranges and lemons, very full of juice, and all extraordinary cheap.

There is no less variety of birds, *great Birds.* and small, especially abundance of ring-doves, which are excellent meat. There are peacocks up the country, near the river-side; but it is difficult coming at the places where they keep, for want of roads; nor are they easily found when shot, by reason of the thickness of the woods and briers on the ground.

We now and then, in the woods, about a mile from the king's village, kill'd a bird, about as big as a turkey, perching on the trees, and having a very shrill cry; but they are very plump and sweet, not inferior to our pheasants. The best time for this sport is about the evening, when they go to roost, perching on a particular sort of trees, on which a small sort of birds build their nests. These birds are no larger than sparrows, but of a gay curious plumage, and always build their nests on the very tops of the loftiest trees, and at the extremities of the smallest boughs. Near captain *Jacob's* village, down the river, I saw above a thousand such nests upon one *Curious* tree. The ablest artist could not imitate *nests.* the work of these little creatures, in the curious and solid twisting and interweaving of the bulrushes, their nests are made of, being

being very thick and firm, with a small round hole, or opening for themselves to go in and out at.

Monkeys.

The apes and monkeys, who always keep in and about the woods, sitting on the trees, are either grey and white, speckled at the muzzle, or nose; or spotted grey, black, and red, with a black face, the extremity of it white, with a pointed sharp beard at the end of the chin. There is also another sort very ugly and frightful to behold. The *Blacks* eat, and reckon them good meat, either boil'd with rice, as I have observ'd before, or dry'd and smoak'd like bacon, or neats tongues; but the very sight of them so dry'd, is enough to turn'd an *European's* stomach.

Swallows.

The swallow is here very small, having a flat head, and a very small beak.

*Dogs,
swine,
sheep.*

The dogs are as in other parts of *Guinea*, but not very common, and eaten by the *Blacks* as good meat. There are but few swine, and the sheep differ much from ours in *Europe*; they are not so large, and have no wool, but hair, like goats, with a sort of mane, like a lion's, on the neck, and so on the rump, and a brush at the end of the tail. They are very indifferent meat, but serve there, for want of better, being sold for a bar of iron each.

If I may believe some of my men, who were cutting wood in the forest, near the king's palace, they saw five lions together about sun-setting; but I am more apt to believe they were tygers, which are very numerous in this country: and on their account the *Blacks* raise their houses three foot above the ground, on poles, and enclose their villages with mud walls, those creatures sometimes resorting to the villages in the night; tho' I did not hear they did any harm to men, but only devoured dogs and poultry.

*Gnats and
flies.*

The woods are pester'd with gnats, as well as the swamps, or morasses; as also with a sort of green flies, as big as hornets, whose sting draws blood almost like a lancet.

Pismires.

The ants or pismires are large, having two long horns, and their bite causes painful swellings in the flesh.

*Cat-
pillers.*

I also took notice of several sorts of caterpillers, some as long as a man's hand, and very hideous.

*Strange
men.*

I accidentally saw two strange men in this country. The one was a native, who had a milk-white skin, but all over mottled with small black spots, like a tyger's skin; he was a tall lusty man. The other was an old *Black*, whom I saw in a little hamlet, near the place where we hew'd wood; and who, the natives told me, sate most of his life in the very place where I found him, having a monstrous scrotum, feeling like a vast

lump of dough, very round, all over white, with black specks, and the rest of his body perfectly black: they shew'd me a small opening in the scrotum, thro' which he made water. He sate smoking tobacco very heartily; but a very odd object to behold. This painful and tedious distemper is common among aged men in *Quoja*, and thought to proceed from the excessive use of palm-wine and women, which occasion the testicles to swell prodigiously in the scrotum, rendering them incapable of walking or acting.

There being many lepers in this country, I could not but suspect that those two men might be of that number, and therefore I was afraid to examine them nicely. The *Blacks* have no manner of communication with such persons.

The people of *Sestro* live in perfect peace with their neighbours, having put an end to the wars they had with them, by selling all the prisoners they could take, for slaves. Formerly their country used to be often ravaged and burnt.

FUNERALS.

THEY are very ceremonious at the funerals of persons of note. In the first place, all the people of the village meet, the men running round the house of the deceased, in a distracted manner, howling dismally; and the women sitting about the body, each holding a few banana leaves, to shade and defend it from the heat of the sun, tho' it be cover'd with a cloth; they also raising their voices in loud cries and sorrowful lamentations, during twenty-four hours. On the day appointed to bury the corpse, they all renew the same cries and noise, especially at the time of laying it into the coffin, which is generally made of bulrushes; putting into it, with the body, all the garments, the scymeter, javelin, and bugles, of the dead person. When the coffin is to be laid in the grave, which is made very large, they compel two wretched slaves, one of each sex, to eat the rice prepared and dressed for them; and this they must do, though bewailing and lamenting themselves in a miserable manner. Then they put them both into a hole, made on purpose in the ground, where they stand up to the neck in the earth; and after repeated cries and howling, they desire the dead corpse, shut up in the coffin, to accept of that present; which said, they chop off the heads of the slaves, and lay them in the grave, one on each side of the coffin, with four kids, or sheep, kill'd on the spot, pots of rice, and others of palm-wine, bananas, and all sorts of fruit and plants; intreating

BARBOT the dead person to make use of those provisions, if he happens to be hungry or thirsty on his journey: for they believe death to be only a passage into another unknown, and remote country, where they enjoy all manner of pleasures. All this while the company make much noise, and lamentation; which is soon turn'd into joy, when they come to the feast prepared against their return home, where they eat and drink merrily together, at their own cost, if the deceased has not left sufficient effects to defray the expence. If any stranger happens to be at such a treat, he must of necessity make each of them a present, which sometimes may exceed the value of the whole entertainment.

Feasting.

It is the custom to bury all persons where they are born, tho' they die at ever so great a distance from the said place; the charge of the carriage being defrayed by the neighbours, if the dead person has not left enough for it.

RELIGION.

I One day discoursed with a heathen black priest concerning their religion; but not understanding one another well, I could not gather enough to give others any good account: only this I observed, that in the main, they are gross ignorant pagans. For another day, as I was walking to take the air, on the south point of the river, about a musket-shot from the village, I found a small hut, cover'd with leaves, in which I saw an imperfect ridiculous figure, of a dark-brown clay, raised about two foot high, and as big as a man's leg; representing, as I supposed, a human body, to which all the *Blacks* resorted every evening, as did the king also; washing themselves in the river every time, and then kneeling, or lying quite along on the ground before it: and that, as I afterwards understood, was the idol of the village, to which they thus paid their daily worship.

Idolatry.

It was a custom, among the ancient *Gentiles*, to set up many idols on the high-ways, and elsewhere in the fields, under mean stalls, thatch'd over or otherwise, in view of travellers; as is still practised by the people of *Loango*, and others in the *Lower Ethiopia*, as shall be observed in the description of that country hereafter. And the *French* version of the bible, in the passage of *Lev. 26. 30. I will destroy your high places and raze your tabernacles, &c.* takes the word tabernacles in the plural, for those foul huts or stalls cover'd over, under which the idolatrous *Israelites*, in imitation of the pagans living among and about them, were used to expose their idols in the open country. The *French* commentators on the 23d chap. of the 2d of *Kings*, on the 7th verse, speaking of the wo-

men mention'd there, who wove hangings for the grove, as the *English* has it; and the *French*, tents, in lieu of hangings; the *Hebrew*, houses; and the *Low-Dutch*, little houses; say, they were little chapels, in the nature of niches or closets, made by those women, in the temple of *Jerusalem*, in the days of *Josiah*, of a sort of stitch'd work; into which, the idolaters of that time used to put their little images or idols: and such were the little silver temples or tabernacles of *Diana*, the great deity of the *Epbesians*, made by *Demetrius*, *Act. 19. 24.* For more of these little houses or huts about the high ways, and in other places, I refer the reader to the conclusion of the last chapter of the third book of this description, where is shown how conformable the practices of the ancient *Gentiles* were with those of the modern, as proceeding from the same source.

Other *Blacks* in this country pay religious worship to some rocks, standing at a distance from the afore said hut, and rising above the ground, which I suppose to be their idols of the sea.

Being ashore, on a sunday, to make my observations, I found the village full of *Blacks*, come from the neighbourhood, all of them dress'd and adorn'd after their manner, as were those of the village; their faces daub'd with blood, and powder'd over with rice-meal, which is a considerable embellishment among them. Enquiring what this concourse was for, I was told, they were met in order to make a publick sacrifice of the *Sandy-Letee*, that is, the hen of the alliance, to their idol, for success in their business of the next day, which was to begin sowing of the rice. This sacrifice is attended with dances before the idol; but those were perform'd in my absence, no strangers being allow'd to be present at them. Two days after, I observed in the village, that they cut and broke down an orange-tree to about three foot above the ground. To the trunk were made fast two poles cross-ways, and at the top of them was another small pole, ty'd with a small stick to it; at which hung by the legs a dead chicken or hen, still dropping blood at the beak, on the broken stump of the orange-tree; and on each side of the hen, parcels of palm-tree boughs and banana leaves, jagged all round, with holes thro' the leaves, cut artificially, and ty'd to the cross poles both above and below. Some of them inform'd me, that the orange-tree cut short, as has been said, was the idol, and the hen its food.

Sacrifice to an orange-tree.

The *Hebrews* offered in the temple, at the purification of women of the poorer sort, a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons; and for lepers, two sparrows, *Levit. 12. and 14.*

The

Ancient sacrifices.

The *Gentiles*, in the days of *Socrates*, commonly sacrificed a cock to *Esculapius*; and that philosopher, when ready to expire, after he had drank poison, is said to have charg'd a friend of his to remember to pay a cock to *Esculapius*.

The cock was also sacrificed to the goddesses of the night, according to *Ovid*. The *Egyptians* sacrificed a white cock to *Anubis*, and to *Hermanubis* a cock of a saffron colour. The *Trezenians*, as *Pausanias* reports, appeas'd the wind call'd *Africus*, which is the south-west, and us'd to spoil their vineyards and corn, with a cock. The *Egyptians* sacrificed a goose to *Isis*; and the *Phenicians* quails to *Hercules*.

These *Blacks* also are circumcised after the manner of the *Arabs* and *Moors*; but can give no other reason for it, than that it is an ancient custom transmitted to them by their ancestors. Perhaps these idolaters may be of the race of *Ismael*, or *Esau*, from whom proceeded the *Ismaelites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Idumeans*, and *Arabs*; or of some other children of *Abraham* by his concubines, all which were circumcised, but soon degenerated from the faith and piety of that patriarch, and became gross, superstitious idolaters, who in process of time spread all over *Africk*, still retaining the ceremony of circumcision, as a distinctive mark of their extraction.

Circumcision.

Priests physicians.

The priests in this country are look'd upon as able physicians, being well skill'd in the knowledge of herbs and plants, which they administer where there is occasion, and are therefore much respected. So the inhabitants of *Florida* pay the greatest honour to their priests, call'd *Joanos*, who are forcerers, and practise physick, after their manner, as also surgery. The same is found in *New-France*, the *Autmoins* there being

priests, forcerers, doctors, apothecaries and surgeons. BARBOT.

Before I leave *Sestro*, I think my self obliged to warn all *Europeans*, who may come hereafter to wood and water, that they avoid, as much as possible, eating too much of the fruit of the country, and that they drink moderately of the spring-water; which together with the hard labour of felling trees, and hewing wood, which cannot be well done without being almost naked, and the intemperate air of the woody and swampy grounds, will at all times of the year, but especially in the rainy seasons, more than in the summer, soon put the strongest constitution out of order, by causing at first violent head-aches, attended with vomiting, and pains in the bones, which turn to violent fevers, with distractions in the brain, and in a few days prove mortal. For it has been often observ'd, that of a crew of thirty or forty men employ'd on shore, to supply the ship with necessaries, several in six or eight days of such toil and hard labour in the scorching heats of the day, have fallen so very ill, that they could not recover in a long time; and others actually died in a few days. To avoid these Casualties as much as possible, 'tis very requisite to have none of the ships crew lie on shore, but to fetch them all off every night, and every morning early return them on shore to do the necessary work; and there subsist them with the ships provisions: and rather than fail herein, 'tis safer to spend some more days about their business, than thro' too much haste to endanger the lives of the men, by too violent labour, to shorten the time of the stay in this river; which is otherwise accounted one of the most healthful places of the *Guinea* coast in summer time.

C H A P. VII.

The coast of Malaguette describ'd. Its several villages; the natives, their inclinations, religion, &c. The product and trade.

I Am now to describe the coast of *Malaguette*, by the *English* call'd the pepper-coast, and by the *Hollanders* the *Greynkust*; accounting it to extend from *Rio Sestro*, more properly than from cape *Monte*, as some do, to *Grouwa*, two leagues east of cape *das Palmas*. This coast contains many villages along the sea-side, at which there is commonly a pretty good trade of elephants teeth, as well as pepper.

Before I enter upon this description, it will not be improper to offer some general observations relating to trade and navigation.

The Coast.

Coming out from *Sestro* road, if the wind be north-west, or north-north-west, as it generally is there; 'tis easy to weather the ridge of rocks which appear above water to the southward of the east point of this river; and thus, without any danger to sail along the coast, in twelve or fifteen fathom water, about a league from land, or else two leagues out at sea, in thirty and thirty five fathom grey sandy ground, mix'd with small stones; the land low, sometimes double, by intervals covered all over with lofty trees, anchoring every evening, and firing a gun

Directions for sailing.

BARBOT. gun if you design to trade : and lying thus at anchor till ten a-clock in the morning, to give the *Blacks* time to come out in their canoes, in case they have any goods to trade ; and when failing, to do it slowly, with top-fails half up.

Bearing of the coast. The coast lies northwest and south-east to *Sestro-Paris*, or little *Sestro* ; before which place, being about four leagues from *Sestro* river, is a mountainous long rock, on which grows a high tree, with five other rocks to the southward of it, and one to the northward. The *Blacks* here are generally fishermen, and there is little or no trade. About two leagues farther east is the point, call'd *Baixos-Swino*, running out into the sea ; and near it is a great rock closer to the land, which is white at the top ; and at a distance westward at sea looks like a sail, easily seen from *Sestro* road, in clear weather. A little

Sangwin village. below this rock is the village *Sangwin*, standing on the mouth of the river of that name ; which falls into the sea at south-south-east, and will carry small ships twelve leagues up, tho' its entrance is very narrow. The banks of this river are covered with fine high trees. The village contains about one hundred houses. The *English* had a settlement there formerly ; but abandon'd it, because of the ill-temper of the *Blacks*. The king is tributary to him of *Rio Sestro* ; he commonly wears a blue *Moorish* frock, and goes often aboard the ships in the road. Formerly the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* drove a great trade of elephants teeth and pepper there ; but of late the *Blacks* have so extravagantly advanced the prices of their goods, that here, as well as at all other places along this and other coasts of *Guinea*, there is little to be done to any advantage. Besides, so many ships continually resort thither, that the trade is quite spoilt. In case of necessity, *Sangwin* is a convenient place for wooding and watering, and to buy provisions.

Bassa village. *Biffa*, *Bosoe*, or *Bosou*, is a village about a league and half east of *Sangwin*, where there is some little trade for elephants teeth, but much more for pepper. This place is easily known by a plain sandy point, environ'd with large and small rocks ; some of the *Blacks* here speak a little *Portuguese*, or *Lingua Franca*.

Seterna village. *Seterna*, or *Serres*, is again about two leagues east of *Bosou*, having some rocks out at sea on the east point, and a good trade for ivory and pepper.

Tasse, or *Dassa*, another village, is not far from it ; and next *Botowa*, another Town situate eastward on the shore ; easily known by two great rocks, the one appearing out at sea, about two *English* miles west of it, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Cabo do Sino* ; and another about four miles east of the town :

as likewise by several high hills beyond it. Here is abundance of maneguette or pepper, which the *Blacks* exchange for blue *Perpetuanas*, pewter basons, iron bars, and *Anabasses*.

The *Blacks* usually come aboard ship to traffick ; they are dexterous thieves, and ought to be well look'd to, in dealing with them ; for they will never pay for what they buy, if they can avoid it. They seem to be much addicted to women, for all their talk when discoursing with strangers tends that way.

The village *Sino* lies south-east from *Bot-towa*, about a league and a half distant, and distinguishable by a great rock, on a sand-point, running out a little to sea. Behind which, is a large fine river, coming from far up the country, as the *Blacks* report, and not much inferior to that of *Sestro*.

The village of *Souweraboe* or *Sabrebon*, is farther on to the south-east, a league from *Sino*. That of *Sestro-Crou*, five leagues from *Sabrebon*, is a large beautiful village. The place is easily known by a head or cape, of three black hills together, planted with trees, which from a distance at sea look like masts of ships ; the cape or point being encompassed with rocks, some of which run a little out to sea : as likewise by two great rocks on the shore, about two *English* miles distant from each other ; the land being low and flat.

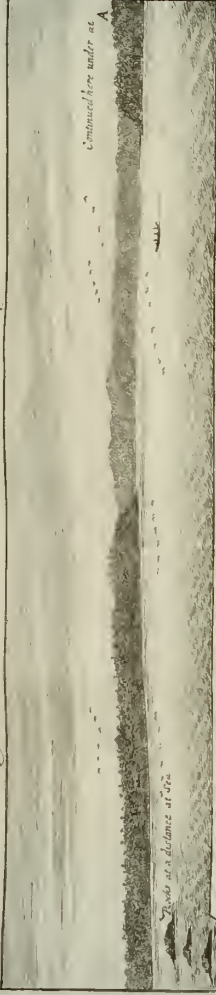
Here is good watering, in case of necessity, in the bulging of the shore, which shews like a little bay.

The village *Wappou* or *Wappo*, is five leagues from *Sestro-Crou*, situate on a little river, and may be known by a ridge of about twenty or more high straggling trees, which appear on a flat long high ground, beyond the shore ; at the end whereof still farther inland, are five palm-trees, as also a very flat island, or rock, near the coast, if not joining to it, environed with other small ones. And somewhat further in, by the shore, are two other rocks, one of which is white at the top, with the dung of many sea-gulls or birds, which constantly play about it. The other rock is very near the shore on the larboard side, going into the river. At the village within this river, as well as at *Botowa* and *Sestro Crou*, the elephants teeth are commonly large.

The country abounds in maneguette, which they commonly carry aboard ships in the road, in great large bull-rush baskets, made in the form of fugar-loaves.

These places being very populous, many canoes come out from them aboard the ships. The natives of *Wappo* will, in case of necessity, and for a small matter, supply any foreign ship with very sweet fresh water, from about their village.

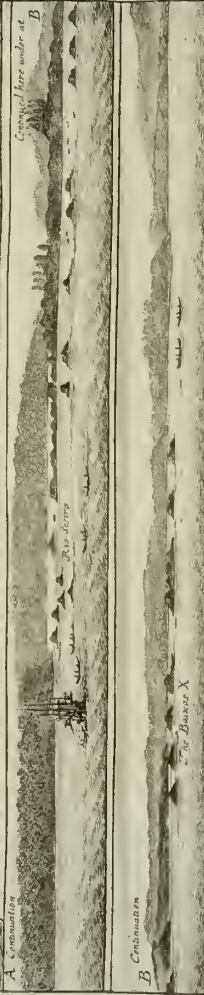
The Coast of Sestro the Baixos. X. at North 2 Leagues



Continued here under at A

Two or a distance of 500

A Continuation

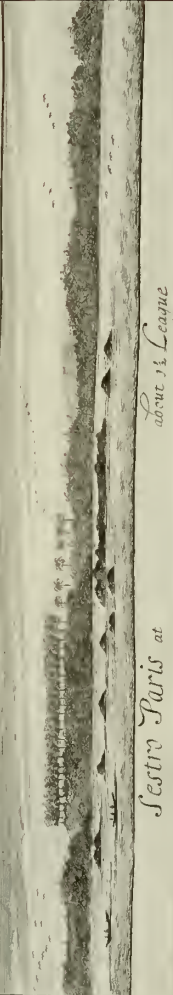


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B Continuation

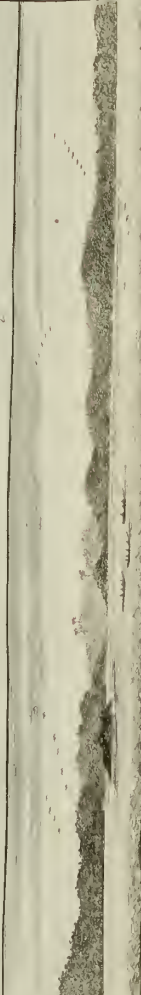
The Baixos X

The Land of Wappo. the Rock A. at N & N E. about 3 1/2 Leagues.



Sestro Paris at

about 1 1/2 League



The Cape des Palmes at N. E. about 4 Leagues



Continued here under at C

C Continuation From above C

The Cape Palmes

The Cape des Palmes. at E 1/2 S. E. 2 1/2 Leagues



The Cape St. Paul

*Droe and Nisso vil-
lages.*

Droe and *Nisso*, two other villages are between *Wappo* and *Grand Sestro*; they produce abundance of maniguette, and so cheap, that I purchased at *Droe*, three hundred and fifty pound for one bar of iron.

The *Blacks* about *Wappo*, and parts adjacent, are more tractable and better conditioned than those farther west: however, they are importunate enough, as well as all the other *Blacks* of the pepper-coast, in begging their *Dassy*, or present, before they deal for any goods; and it's very difficult to get rid of their importunities. Their language can scarce be understood. The country produces much the same sorts of provisions and refreshments as at *Sestro* and other places.

The sea all along affords great variety of fish, little differing from that on the gold coast, of which I shall speak in its proper place.

The coast from *Wappo* to *Grand Sestro*, or *Sestro Paris*, stretches south-east by south, being a large village on the *Rio das Escravos*. The tide, at low ebb, carries along the shore; and at sea, on the return of flood.

Grand Sestro.

Grand Sestro is about two leagues and a half to the south-east of *Droe*; and easily found out, by a rock appearing on the north-west of it, and by a cut in the coast, over which are three palm-trees up the land.

The *Dutch* call it *Balletjes-hoeck*, from a name of a *Black* who formerly lived there. I observed, that some of the *Grand Sestro Blacks*, when they came near the ship in their canoes, did utter some *French* words in the *Norman* dialect, crying aloud, and clapping hands, *Maleguette, tout plein, maleguette tout plein, tout plein, tout plein, tant à terre de maleguette*; to signify they had abundance of *Guinea-pepper* in the country.

The *French* of *Dieppe* gave this town the name of *Sestro Paris* in former ages, because of its greatness; being one of the largest towns, and the most populous of this coast, and even of all *Guinea*. The adventurers of *Dieppe* there had a settlement for carrying on their trade with the natives, for *Guinea-pepper* and ivory, which are both very plenty, long before the *East-India* pepper was known in *Europe*; and 'tis probable enough that the *Blacks* of those times transmitted some *French* words and phrases, to their posterity, from hand to hand, until this day.

The *Portuguese* having conquer'd *Princes* island, in the *Bight* of *Guinea*, did over-run all the *Guinea* coasts, settling factories at several places, and drove away the *French* from this and other ports they had possess'd for many years before.

Goyava village.

From *Grand Sestro*, to the village *Goyava*, or *Goyane*, is three leagues and a half; and four leagues more from *Goyava*, to that

of *Garwai*, all low land, and thence to cape *BARBOT*: *das Palmas* two leagues. This village is easily known, by a round mountain, which appears at a great distance up the country; and by a river not navigable for floops, call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Rio de St. Clemente*, which runs along the coast inland; on the south side whereof, is a small village, or hamlet, where there is good fresh water to be had on occasion, as well as at *Sestro Paris*. There is also ivory and *Guinea-pepper* to be purchased.

*Garwai to
cape das
Palmas.*

The coast runs south-east and by south with shoals, and breakings, three leagues out at sea.

Cape *Palm-trees*, or *Cabo das Palmas*, by the ancients, *Deorum Currus*, has this name from several palm-trees to be seen on the land in most places, but especially near the shore, and on the two hills that form the cape. This cape is exactly in four degr. fifty min. of north latitude.

Behind the cape is a bulging in the coast, which is a good shelter for ships against the southerly winds. On the east, about a league from it, is a great rock just by the shore; and from the point of the cape runs a ridge of shoals, or a chain of small rocks, even with the sea, stretching out a league into sea, at south-south-east, where ships in former times have been cast away; with another bank, two leagues farther out to sea, about which the tide runs very swift at east, in nine or ten fathom water.

To avoid these banks, we sailed from before *Goyane* above-mentioned, directing the course south and south by east for four leagues, the better to weather them, till we came into thirty five fathom water; and then we steer'd east and east-north-east, and thus came to anchor before *Growa*, a village two leagues east from cape *Palm-trees*, where the pepper coast ends, according to the general acceptation.

Growa village.

The *Maneguette*, or pepper coast, in general, extends from *Rio Sestro* to *Growa*, about fifty five leagues, being generally low flat land; and the soil of the country, clammy, fat, all over woody, and water'd by several rivers and brooks: which cause such a malignity in the air, that few *Europeans* can make any stay without danger of falling into malignant fevers, of which many have died. This bad air, is yet more pernicious about cape *Palm-trees*, being even felt four leagues off at sea, as many persons have found by experience; for sometimes it carries a perfect stink with it, when the weather is somewhat foggy.

The language of the *Blacks* of this coast cannot be understood at all, and 'tis by signs and gestures, that the trade is carried on with them. They are generally well-shaped, and of a pretty good physiognomy.

The natives.

BARBOT. They wear only a single clout about their middle, and many of them have broken bellies. I observ'd one amongst the rest, whose rupture was such, that his scrotum hung down to his knees.

They are a strong, sturdy, laborious sort of men. When they happen to meet from several different places aboard ship; they take one another by the arms, near to the shoulders, saying *Toma*, and letting the hands fall to the elbows, *Toua*; then take one another's fingers, as those at *Sestro*, and snap them, uttering these words, *Enfanemate*, *Enfanemate*; that is, *my friend how do you do?*

Handicrafts.

They have pretty good black-smiths among them, who know how to harden and temper weapons, knives, &c. Others make fine large and small canoes, which they fit and adorn very neatly. They are also very good husbandmen to improve their lands, for rice, millet, and maneguetta; which is their chief dependance, both for food and trade.

Product.

The country in general has plenty of peas, beans, pompions, lemons, oranges, baccos, bananas, and a sort of nuts, the shell very thick, and all of a round piece, without any peel within, as our *European* nuts have, which eat very luscious and sweet.

They have likewise abundance of cattle, goats, hogs, chickens, and many other sorts of fowls, and very cheap. Their palm-wine is excellent, as are likewise the dates, which they are very fond of.

They are very intemperate and luxurious to excess, always talking of their sport with women. 'Tis reported, as a truth, that some *Blacks* are so brutal and lewd, as to prostitute their wives to their own sons; and not only boast of, but even laugh at it, when reprimanded by *Europeans* for such abominable incestuous practices, saying, it is but a trifle. Every man takes as many women as he can well maintain.

They are of a pilfering temper, and will steal any thing they can well come at from strangers even aboard ships, and must be well observed, and nothing left in their way, either of eatables or goods, nay even rusty knives, or crooked broken nails, any thing serving their turn.

They are also great mumpers, and so intolerable in that way, of begging for a *Dassy*, that is, a *Present*, that it is not the business of a large ship to make any stay on the coast: small ones are only proper to drive a coasting trade with them.

Their *Taba* or *Taba-Seyle*, and by others *Fabo-Seyle*, that is, their kings, are very arbitrary, having an absolute authority over the people, and the people paying great submission to them. These kings go about with much gravity and seeming state.

They are gross *Pagans*, praying to their *Grigri* or idols, and to dead men, to grant them a good, peaceful, and holy life in this world; and salute the new-moon with plays, songs, and dances; and are strangely addicted to forcery and divination.

The best and fittest time to drive the coasting trade, is in the months of *February*, *March*, and *April*. The south south-east winds begin to blow on this coast in *May*, and bring the *Tornados*, stormy weather, and great rains, generally attended with lightning and dreadful thunder.

As to the particular description of the *Guinea-Pepper*, and the trade thereof, and at what time, I refer to what has been said of it in the sixth chapter.

This sort of pepper being now little used in *Europe*, the trade of it is inconsiderable; so that most of the ships that ply upon this coast every year, look chiefly for elephants teeth; of which the *English* and *Dutch* get the largest share: the *Negroes* paying much civility to both nations, but especially to the *English*. They have also a great kindness for the *French*, as being the first people of *Europe* that frequented them, as I have said before.

Marmol, chap. xxiii. says, that before the coming of the *Portuguese* to this coast of *Malaguetta*, the merchants of *Barbary* repaired thither to fetch off this pepper; traversing the whole kingdom of *Mandinga* in *Nigritia*, and the country commonly called *Guinea*, i. e. *Geneboa*, and the *Lybian Desarts*; and from *Barbary*, some quantity of that spice was transported into *Italy*, where it was called *Grains of Paradise*, because its origin was unknown there.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the ivory-coast; villages on it. St. Andrew's river; bottomless pit. Instructions for sailing, &c.

Division of the coast. **T**HE *Dutch* and *French* reckon the *Tandkust* or *Ivory-Coast*, from *Growa*, two leagues east of cape *Palm-trees* to *Rio de Sweiro da Costa*, where the *Gold-Coast* may properly be said to begin; and divide that coast into three parts; *Ivory-Coast*, *Malegentes-Coast*,

and *Quaqua-Coast*: after the *Portuguese* manner, accounting the *Ivory-Coast*, from *Growa* to the river *St. Andrew*, running north-east and south-west; that of *Malegentes*, from *St. Andrew's river*, to *Rio Lagos*, lying west south-west, to east north-east; and that of

Quaqua,

The Prospect of the Lands of Tabo, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ League at Sea, the Little Island B. being at $N\frac{1}{2}NO$ and the Entry of the River A. at NNE



The Prospect of the Coast of Beroy the little Island A. being at $N\frac{1}{2}NO$ about $1\frac{1}{2}$ League



The Prospect of the Lands on the SW of Rio S^t. Andrew SW , when the high Tree A. is at $NE\frac{1}{2}N$.



The Prospect of the Land of Rio S^t. Andrew from the Sea, when the Cape A is at NNO about half a League, B The Entry of the River S^t. Andrew.



Rio S^t. Andrew or Andrew



The Prospect of Coutrou alias Coetroe the Entry of the River being at $N\frac{1}{2}NO$ 1 League



Quaqua, from *Rio Lagos* to *Rio de Sweiro da Costa*, stretching from west north-west to east south-east. Of all which coasts I will give the best account I am able, the natives being so rude, that few *Europeans* dare go ashore.

VILLAGES on the COAST.

ALL this tract of land, in antient geography, was called the *Aganginae Æthiopes*. It is generally pretty full of villages and hamlets on the sea-shore, but I will take notice only of the principal and most known to us.

Tabo-Dune and Tabo villages.

Tabo-Dune, the next village after *Growa*, is known by a large green cape or head near it; the country all woody, as well as the cape. The tides commonly set east north-east, tho' at some other times, slowly to south and southwest; but this is seldom.

Tabo, which is ten leagues east of *Tabo-Dune*, may be easily known from sea, by the great rock that appears at a good distance, on the west of the village, about a league and a half. The cape near the village, is covered with high, large, straggling trees. The road before *Tabo* has eighteen or twenty fathom water.

There is a small river in a brake, near the village, called by the *Portuguese*, *Rio de S. Pedro*; west of which, are some hills, by them also named *Serra de Santa Apollonia*.

Petry or *Petiero*, another village two leagues farther east from *Tabo*, may be known by the rock which appears not far from it.

Tahoe, Berby, and Druyn-Petry villages.

Taboe, two leagues again east of *Petry*. *Berby*, another village, appears on the ascent of a hill, two leagues beyond *Petry*.

Druyn-Petry is near the river of *St. Andrew*. 'Tis easily known, some houses appearing plain from sea, on a high ground near the shore, with several high straggling trees on the cape west of them; and by four savana's or plains, lying west of it, about a league or more, on the shore, among the woods that cover it. The *Portuguese* call that cape, *Cabo da Praynba*, that is, the cape of the *Little Strand*. The town stands in an island in the river, which comes from the north, between ridges of hills; behind which, are very pleasant meadows and pasture-grounds. Besides the town, there are three villages, each half a league from the other, abounding in cows and other cattle.

Nature of these Blacks.

The *Blacks* here, are the greatest savages of this coast; and said to eat human flesh. They take great pride in pointing their teeth as sharp as needles or awls, by filing them often with proper files. I would not advise any person to set foot ashore here. The *Blacks*, in their canoes, commonly bring large parcels of teeth aboard ships in the road;

but hold them so dear, that the purchase will afford no great profit.

BARBOT.


They are generally covetous, begging, besides their *Dassy*, any thing they see, and will be very angry when denied it. They are so suspicious or timorous, that if they happen to hear any noise more than ordinary aboard ship, or be harshly spoken to; they immediately leap over board on all sides, one after another, swimming to their canoes: which they commonly keep plying with some of their men, at a small distance from the ship, and thus make to land; so that it is very difficult to trade with them.

ST. ANDREW'S RIVER.

THE river of *St. Andrew* is about a league and a half east north-east, from *Druyn-Petry*, where the land grows into a large head or cape.

This river divides itself into two branches, the one running north-west and by west, the other east south-east. It is navigable for small ships, four leagues up the country, the water being deep and the channel wide, tho' at some times of the summer season, as when we lay there at anchor, it is shallow at the entrance, being so choak'd with a bar of sand, that our boat could not get in, for the breaking of the sea. The mouth of this river looks south-east, having a high round cape on the larboard-side, and to the westward is a tree by itself. This cape appears from the road like a great high rock, on the shore, very steep towards the south and east sides, having besides several small rocks about it, both above and under water, which can only be approached to go ashore from the river-side. The flat or beach of the peninsula is not above twenty paces broad, from the river to the sea; whence the ground rises gradually towards the south, forming the promontory; on the top of which, the ground is level, making a platform of about three hundred paces circumference, which commands the opposite land: and thence are seen two villages, *Giron* eastward, on the side of a meadow, and *Little Tabo* westward, on the borders of a heath or common, planted here and there with trees, and terminates at the foot of large mountains.

Our men, who were sent ashore here for water, well armed, and in good number, landed on the west-side of this peninsula, and rolled their casks over it, to fill them with the water of the river, and returned them full the same way to the boat, with precipitation, seeing several canoes full of armed *Blacks*, coming down the river, with all the speed they could, in order, as it is probable, to assault them; these *Blacks* being great bloody savages. The water they brought was brackish, being taken up too near the mouth

BARBOT.  mouth of the river, and we not knowing that there was a spring of fresh sweet water, at the foot of the hill, opposite to the promontory, about half gun-shot distant.

The river looks very pleasant, the banks being bordered all along with fine large trees, and spacious meadows. The country affords great plenty of *Millet, Ignames, Bananas, Figs, Oxen, Cows, Sheep, Poultry*; and in short, whatever the *Malequette Coast* produces for the support of life: but the savage, brutish temper of the natives will not allow them to sell any to strangers, unless at a very dear rate, and not of the best.

This place might yield a good trade, were it not for the rudeness and barbarity of the *Blacks*; who have at several times massacred a great number of *Portuguese, Dutch, and English*, that came for provisions, and to water, not thinking of any treachery. An *English* ship in 1677, lost three of its men; not many years since, a *Hollander* fourteen; and in 1678, a *Portuguese* nine men; of whom nothing was ever heard since. 'Tis from the bloody temper of these brutes, that the *Portuguese* gave them the name of *Malegens*, for they eat human flesh; so that there can be no trading with 'em at all. But if, thro' necessity, any one that trades on the coast is obliged to get water or provisions from this place, it is absolutely requisite to man the boat that is to go ashore, very well with muskets, half-pikes, and such other weapons, and to carry a couple of pattereroes on the boat's head or stern, keeping centinels on the mast, or on the promontory, to prevent being surprized by these miscreants.

The female sex here are very handsome, both maidens and women, but mostly of a small stature. The men are tall and lusty. The women wear only a single clout about their middle.

Sailing along the coast eastward, from *St. Andrew's* river, there appear along the shore, twelve or more red cliffs, which take up in all about three and a half or four leagues in length; the shore being very steep, and quite red, in parcels or brakes, and can be seen in clear weather, from eight leagues out at sea. Sailing along it about a league from land, it is twelve or thirteen fathom deep. The *Portuguese* call it *Barreiras Vermelhas*; the *French, Palaizes Rouges*; and the *Dutch, Roode-Kliffens*, that is, *Red-Cliffs*.

Dromwa-Petry village.

The village *Dromwa-Petry*, which is situated between the seventh and eighth red cliff, is remarkable for two large trees, standing by it, and is seven leagues from the above said river. The coast along to this place, bears south-east, something south. The *Blacks* are here as savage and brutal as at *St. Andrew's*.

I could see no other village but the last

mentioned; nor did I see any from this *Dromwa-Petry* to *Coetroë*, nor any boats out, which shows the country is not well inhabited. The most remarkable thing is *Rio de Lagos*, on the east-side of which, is *Coetroë*; and out of which, commonly come many canoes aboard ship, with some parcels of large fine teeth.

Cape *La Hoe* or *Hou*, is two leagues to the east of *Coetroë*; the land between, low, flat, and woody. This cape is also a low point cover'd with trees, and the most trading place of all the coast of *Quaqua*, for fine large teeth, whereof there is great abundance at all times. It needs no other particular mark to find it out, but the great number of canoes, which usually come out with teeth, to meet the ships that come from the westward; and that of a tall, large, freight tree, rising much above all the others, like a fir-tree. The town of *La Hou* is a league in compass, and very populous; seated near the shore, having a flat strand all along it, of fine yellow sand; on which the sea rolls and breaks with great surges. The country about *La Hou* is plentifully provided with all sorts of provisions, usually found on the coast of *St. Andrew's* and *Druyn*; only here they are much cheaper and better: the natives being civil and easy to deal with, in all things; but are apt to raise the price of their *Ivory*, according to the number of ships they see on the coast; and thither commonly resort many *English* and *Dutch* interlopers, as well as free ships. Somewhat above a league west of *La Hou*, is a large river, the main channel whereof runs westward to that of *St. Andrew's*; the other small branch of it stretches a few leagues towards the east, up the country.

From cape *La Hou*, the coast bulges out some way, and then runs straight east and by south. In that bulging appears the little river of *Jaque La Hou*, or *Das Barbas*, which runs down from the north into the ocean; but is not navigable.

The village *Wotoe, Wallock, or Wallatock*, is seven leagues from *Jaque La Hou* east and by south. It is a place of but an indifferent trade for ivory, few canoes coming out at a time with such goods.

Next to *Wotoe*, on the *Quaqua* coast, is *Jaque Jaque*, or *Jack in Jako*; and next to it again on the same coast, to the eastward, that of *Corby la Hou*: between both which places, some rivulets run into the sea, and the bottomless pit, called by the *Hollanders, Kuyf sonder grondt*, a certain tract of sea, about a league west from *Corby la Hou*, at a small distance from shore, where for a long time it was believed no ground could be found, and therefore it was called the bottomless pit. But by experience it appears to be but sixty fathom

fathom deep, within musket-shot of the land; tho' farther out to sea, the lead did not touch the bottom: but I conceive it was driven away by the strong tide from the south-west that runs there. 'Tis therefore much safer, to avoid falling into this pit, not to sail from before *Jaque la Hou* without such a gale of wind, as will carry the ship thro' it; for in calm weather or slack winds you will be driven on it, and the ship in danger of being stranded; therefore come to an anchor before *Gammo*, a league and half or thereabouts east of *Corby la Hou*: This *Gammo* road, being between *Corby la Hou*

and *Rio de Sweiro da Costa*, in the country ^{BARBOT.} of *Adou*, and thus at hand for the *Blacks* of all three places to come out in canoes, with large parcels of *Quaqua* cloths, teeth, and some gold, besides abundance of refreshments.

The *Blacks* of these three places are very expert swimmers and divers; for when I threw any thing, as strings of bugles, or other little baubles, or haberdashery ware, into the sea, to see their agility in diving, some of them leapt over immediately, and brought it up almost from the bottom of the sea.

C H A P. IX.

Trade; Elephants. Jealousy and Knavery of the Blacks. Product; Natives; Language; &c.

HAVING given an account of the *Ivory*, *Malegentes* and *Quaqua* coasts; I shall now subjoin some general observations concerning the trade thereof, and the manners of the inhabitants, delivering them as they occur to my memory; which, I hope, may be serviceable to such as shall resort to those parts.

T R A D E.

THE inland country affords yearly a vast quantity of fine large elephants teeth, being the best ivory in the world, most of which is constantly bought up along this coast by the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, and sometimes by the *Danes* and *Portuguese*. The *Dutch* were formerly the principal traders therein; but now the *English* get as much, if not more of it, since the trade to *Guinea* is become so general. This great concourse of *European* Ships coming hither every year, and sometimes three or four lying together at anchor in the road, has encouraged the *Blacks* to set so dear a rate on their teeth, and particularly on the larger sort, some of them weighing near two hundred pounds *French*, that there is not much to be got by them, considering the vast charges that commonly attend such a remote trade.

To say something of the elephants, if we may credit some *Hollanders*, who have frequently been on this coast, it is scarce to be conceived what a multitude of elephants there is all about the inland country. They are reported to be so numerous every where, that the *Blacks* are forced to build their habitations underground, to be in safety from them, notwithstanding the great number of them they kill, as well for that reason as for the profit of the teeth. But were this the only means of getting the teeth, it would never produce that vast quantity which is yearly exported; and tho' I cannot affirm, as some do, that the elephants shed their teeth every three years, and new ones grow

out, yet I do not dissent from others, who are of opinion, that this animal may thus change its teeth several times during its life. Their living an hundred years or longer, as is reported, may occasion the vast quantity of teeth that is pick'd up in the forests; besides the great number that die of age or other casualties abroad: however it be, 'tis observ'd at present, that the teeth are not seen in such quantities on the coast as formerly, whether it be that the country is somewhat exhausted, or the *Blacks* are grown more careless in gathering of them, which may occasion their being now at so high a rate, together with the great number of purchasers: for which reason, and the rudeness of the *Negroes*, the *Dutch* have partly given over that trade, in comparison of what it was heretofore. It is a good diversion aboard ships, along this coast, to see almost every day so many canoes of *Blacks* plying about, at a small distance, crying aloud *Quaqua*, *Quaquá*, and then they paddle farther off. So great is their mistrust of ^{Jealous} *Blacks*, since some have basely carried away or kidnap'd several of them, that tho' they are call'd to, not to fear a surprize, but to come freely aboard, as with friends, yet few dare venture; and first they consult together in their canoes, and when agreed, only a few of them go aboard, the others paddling about at a distance. But to encourage them to come aboard, the master, or some of his officers, commonly take up a bucket of water out of the sea, some of which they carry up with their hands to their eyes, and then they will come aboard more freely, looking upon the sea as a deity or object of religious veneration; fancying that this ceremony perform'd by *Europeans*, binds them as much as any oath, or solemn promise whatsoever can do, to be true and just to them. However, this ceremony does not prevail on all these savages, as I found

Elephants
teeth.

Multitude
of ele-
phants.

BARBOT in sailing by, before *Tabo*; where, having six large canoes about the ship, full of fine elephants teeth, each canoe manned by five or six hands at least, all tall lusty resolute men; none of them would come aboard, but persuaded me to go into our long-boat a-stern the ship; and I order'd the top-sails to be lower'd, to check our run for a while, to try what trade I could drive with them. I gave every man his *Dassy* or *Bizy*, as is customary, but they were so unreasonable as to offer no more than fifty pound of teeth for ten bars of iron, making a great noise and prattling among themselves. I order'd my goods aboard again, without driving any bargain, and lost my present.

Trading
by signs.

'Tis hard to conceive what patience is required to trade with most of these brutes; and which is worse, they cannot be understood, nor do they understand us: so that all is done by signs and gestures of the hands or fingers, and by setting a quantity of goods they chuse by the quantity of teeth we pitch upon.

At *Dromwa-Petry*, being loth to lose the *Dassy* given them, I order'd one tooth, as near the value as I could guess, to be kept aboard; and at cape *la Hou*, two teeth to be kept till they had return'd the *Dassy*, which they did accordingly, after many sharp words and some blows among themselves in their canoes, to prevent returning the *Dassys* they had receiv'd to those whose goods were detain'd by us aboard ship. Some of them leap'd over-board, diving so deep and so long, that they were out of the reach of a musket before they came up above water, and being got into their canoes, paddled away with wonderful expedition towards the shore of *Coetroë*. The *Blacks* had persuaded me to come to an anchor, and having their *Dassy*, would take no less than thirty pounds weight of brass rings for about forty pound of very indifferent and old teeth; at which, showing some dissatisfaction, and at that very moment, the cooper walking by, about his business on the gunnel, with a chopping knife in his hand, about ten or twelve *Blacks*, thinking the coopers were to assault them, cry'd out aloud to those who kept the canoes paddling about the ship, to make the best of their way to land; and then jump't all together, as if it had been but one man, into the sea: which so frighted the rest of their crew, who were then straggling about the ship, that they all ran about, leaping overboard like frogs on the brink of a pond, when they hear any noise near them.

They go commonly four or five in a canoe; but only two or three come aboard ship, and that at some distance of time one after another, each bringing but one single tooth; nor will they venture to come till the first *Black*, who went aboard, has look'd

all about to see whether there be many men, or any arms upon the deck, and given them advice how things are aboard. After all which, they are so mistrustful, that none of them will ever go down between decks, nor into the cabin.

They dread fire-arms to such a degree, that, one day having caus'd a gun to be fired with ball at an interloper, several *Blacks*, who stood on the round house, leap'd all at once over-board into the sea.

This trade is to be carried on only by small ships small ships, to make the necessary stops of best some days at each place, to give the *Blacks* the more time to fetch teeth from the inland country, if their stock near the water is exhausted; this being more proper for such little vessels, which go at much less charges than great ones, and better encourage the *Blacks* to come aboard, because the crew is small; whereas the number of men they see aboard great ships, scares them away. But then small ships must be upon their guard, when too great a number of the *Blacks* comes aboard together, for fear they should attempt to make themselves masters and plunder them, as has happen'd to some *Portuguese* heretofore, and even to other *Europeans*.

The *Dassy* or *Bizy*, which these *Blacks* Original always ask as soon as they are aboard, tho' of present it is seemingly at first of no great value, as a ing the common knife to a man, or a brass ring, or a dram of brandy and biscuit; yet in process of time along the coast, and having forty or fifty *Blacks* or more every day to give it to, it certainly, at last, amounts to five Blacks per cent. charge out of the cargo of the ship.

The *Hollanders* brought it up at their first coming on the *Guinea* coasts, the better to put the *Blacks* out of conceit with the *Portuguese*, who had traded there so long before them; and the natives were so well pleas'd with that usage, that they have ever since demanded it of all other *Europeans*, as well as of the *Hollanders*, who find that this their policy, tho' of some advantage at first, proves now a burden to their commerce, as it is to all other nations trading to those parts.

The same is also practis'd on the gold coast, beginning at cape *la Hou*, with this difference, that it is not granted there till after a bargain is struck, and that they call *Dassy*, *my Dassy*: but on the other coasts I have already described, from *Gamboa* to the aforesaid cape *la Hou*, the *Blacks* will have it beforehand; for they are no sooner got upon the side of the ship, but they cry out *Bizy*, *Bizy*; and some add to *Bizy*, *Dassy*, which words, as I suppose, in their dialect signifies a present or token.

The same *European* goods, particularly Goods for mention'd to be fit for the trade at cape trade *Monte* and at *Rio Sestro*, are also proper for the

the *Ivory* and *Quaqua* coasts; adding to the rest *Contiacarbe* or *Contabrode*, iron rings of about the thickness of a finger, which the *Blacks* wear about their legs with brass bells, as they do the brass rings or bracelets about their arms in the same manner.

PRODUCT.

THE country about *Corby la Hou* and that of *Quaqua* produce much cotton, which the natives of the inland countries spin and weave into Cloths. Those made at *Cape la Hou* are of six stripes, three *French* ells and a half long, and very fine. Those made at *Corby la Hou*, of five slips and about three ells long, are coarser. Their cloths come from the inland country to the *Blacks* along the coast, being only factors to dispose of them to the *Europeans*, and particularly to the *Dutch* for *Alkory*, a sort of blue glaz'd linnen, who make a considerable trade of them, on the *Gold Coast* and other parts of *South-Guinea*.

Some of the said factors, who constantly go about the country to buy those cloths, told me, that the inland *Blacks* sold vast quantities of them to a white people, who live far up the inland, usually riding on mules or asses, and carrying *Affagaias* or spears; which must needs be *Arabs* from *Zabara*, or about the banks of the *Niger*.

They also make cloths of a sort of hemp or plant like it, which they dye handsomely and weave very artificially.

The NATIVES.

THE prime men generally wear a large white linnen sheet, wrapp'd about their bodies; and a cymiter or ponyard at their side.

The *Quaqua Blacks*, for the most part, are tall, lusty, well-shaped men; but they look fierce and frightful at first sight. They file their teeth as sharp as awls, but they are commonly irregularly placed and crooked. They look upon it as a considerable ornament to let the nails grow out half an inch beyond the ends of their fingers, and to have long hair platted and twisted, daub'd with palm-oil and red earth, and borrow the hair of their wives, having an art to join several short hairs together, to such a length as they please, which hangs like a perriwig; but some wind it all about their heads, so that, at a distance, it looks like a cap or bonnet. They every day anoint their bodies with the same mixture they use to their hair, and chew *Betel* all the day, rubbing the juice of it about their mouths and chins, and loading their legs with vast thick iron rings; and I have seen some at *Cape la Hou*, who had above sixty pounds weight of such rings on one leg. They much admire the noise those rings make when they walk; and therefore, the greater a man's quality is, the more rings he wears. In short, they are a hideous people to behold, and stink very much.

They are generally averse to drinking to excess, and when they see any one drunk, they inform against him, and he is severely punish'd by the king, attended by the priests, according to the laws of the country; and it has been observ'd that most of them drink no *European* liquor, nor palm-wine, tho' this country abounds more in palm-trees than any other in *Guinea*; alledging, that such liquors will either kill men, or render them brutes. Their daily drink is *Bordon* wine, which they call *Tombe*, mixt with water, tho' of itself it is but a very small liquor, but very refreshing.

BARBOT.

The LANGUAGE.

THEIR language is barbarous, and altogether unintelligible, and they speak hastily and by starts. When they meet one another, either ashore or aboard, they use this word, *Quaqua, quaqua*, each laying one hand on the other's shoulder, and then taking hold of their fore-fingers, repeating the same *Quaqua* very low; for which reason, I suppose, the name of *Quaqua* was given to the ivory coast. They hate to kiss one another, as some *Europeans* do, and look upon it as a great affront.

The son always follows his father's profession; so that the son of a weaver is a weaver, the son of a factor a factor, &c. and none must meddle with any profession but what they are brought up to.

RELIGION.

THEIR religious worship is much the same as at the *Gold Coast*; to the description whereof I refer the reader.

Their kings and priests they take to be *Sorcery* forcerers, and for that reason they are much respected and dreaded by the generality of the people; especially the king of *Sakoo*, a country about *Cape la Hou*, who is look'd upon as a more than ordinary magician and enchanter.

This king practises a yearly ceremony at the beginning of *December*, in honour of the sea, which is their greatest deity, and continues it till *April* following; sending some of his people, from time to time, in a canoe to *Axim Sama Comendo*, and other places on the *Gold Coast*, to offer sacrifice to the sea, casting into it at each of those places some cloths or cloths made of rushes or herbs, stones, and goats horns full of spice and stones, all together; muttering some words to their said deity to render it calm and free from tornadoes. during the summer season, to favour the navigation of his subjects, as well from the inland country, as along the coasts, that they may drive on their trade with ease and profit. As soon as the first canoe is return'd back to him, another is immediately sent the same way

Sacrificing to the sea.

Habit.

Stature.

Rings on legs.

BARBOT. way for the same purpose ; at the return of that, another ; and so on successively, till the winter season comes on. The first canoe sets out from *Corby la Hou*, and is presently follow'd by the native factors of that port in several canoes, laden with cloths, of those made of five slips. After their return, those of six breadths are sent away with the second canoe ; and after the third, those from other places follow : which alternative is so regularly observ'd, that they never prejudice one another, but every trader has time and opportunity to sell his goods. This trade continues till the end of *April*, when the enchanting canoe returns to the coast, as it were to let loose the sea, and then every one makes the best of his way home again.

The country is almost every where pleasant and delightful to the eye ; the hills and dales are curious to behold ; the red colour of the rocks, with the lovely green that shades them, especially about the river of *St. Andrew* and *Capela Hou*, render the prospect still more agreeable. There is great store of cattle, as goats, swine, and sheep, all very reasonable, a hog being sold for the value of half a crown in knives. There is

also abundance of palm-oil, made by the fruit produced by the *Tombe* tree, from which they also draw the wine called *Bourdon* or *Tombe*, usually drank by the *Blacks* mix'd with water to moderate the strength of the wine, and correct the crudity of the water.

Tho' the *Blacks* of *Quaqua* are in outward appearance the most barbarous of all *Guinea*, ^{Civility of} *Blacks*. yet are they, in the main, the most polite and rational, and so reputed among their neighbours. They do not look upon it as good breeding to kiss one another by way of welcome, or taking leave ; but when they go aboard ship, they dip their hands in the salt water, and let some drops fall on their eyes, which signifies, they will rather lose their eyes than defraud us in their dealing.

The ancients, who, it is not question'd, ^{Ancient} had some knowledge of *Nigritia* and *Guineas* ^{names of} *Blacks*. call'd the people of these coasts, between *Cape Palmas* and the river of *Sweiro da Costa*, *Angangine Æthiopes* ; those between *Sierra Leona* and *Cape Palmas*, *Leuc-Æthiopes* ; and those from *Sierra Leona* to *Rio Grande* northward, *Sopbucaei Æthiopes*.

The END of the SECOND BOOK.



B O O K III.

C H A P. I.

*Of the gold coast in general; its extent; inland countries; maritime provinces.
Product. Europeans trading to it. Interlopers, &c.*

Length of
the gold
coast.

THE gold coast, which is part of *South-Guinea*, the people whereof in ancient geography, are call'd *Apbricerones Æthiopes*, extends about an hundred leagues along the coast, east-north-east, and contains fifteen kingdoms along the sea-shore, which are *Adouw*, alias *Sokoo*, alias *Awine*; *Axim*; *Ancober*; *Anta*; *Adom*, alias *Little Incaffan*, alias *Warshas*; *Jabi*, alias *Jabs*; *Comendo*, alias *Guaffo*; *Fetu*; *Saboe*, alias *Sabou*; *Fantyn*; *Acron*; *Angonna*, alias *Angwira*; *Acra*; alias *Acquambous*; *Labbade*, and *Ningo*, alias *Lempy*. It ought to be reckoned to begin at the river of *Sweiro da Costa*, as the first place where gold is purchased; and to end at *Lay*, in the country of *Lempy*, thirteen or fourteen leagues east of *Acra*, where that metal is only to be had accidentally, from the *Quaboe* people, who live farther up the inland.

The *Portuguese*, who boast of being the first discoverers of that country, call'd it *Costa d'Oro*, from the great quantity of gold it affords in the way of trade; and all other *European* nations, after the *Portuguese*, call it, each in their proper language, the *Gold Coast*.

INLAND COUNTRIES.

Multitude
of king-
doms.

THE inland countries, which best deserve to be taken notice of, are, according to the best account of the *Blacks*, *Iguira*, *Great Inkassan*, *Incaffia*, *Igyra*, *Tabeu*, *Adom*, *Mompa*, *Wassa*, *Wanquy*, *Abramboe*, *Guyfora*, *Inta*, by a modern author call'd *Asiente*, *Achim*, *Aqua*, *Quaboe*, *Gammanach*, *Bonoes*, *Equca*, *Lataby*, *Accaradi*, *Infoka*, *Danckereis*, or *Dinkira*, *Cabesterra*, and the large kingdom of *Accanez*, which encloses most of the others from the north-west, round to the north-east; besides several other petty kingdoms and territories, scatter'd among those above-mention'd. All the countries, as well as those along the sea already named, are very rich in gold, which the natives either dig out of the earth, or gather from the bottom of rivers and streams, as shall be hereafter described in its proper place. These countries lie between four degrees, thirty minutes, and eight degrees of north latitude, and between seventeen and twenty one degrees of longitude east, from the meridian of *Ferro*, thus making about four hundred leagues in circumference; a

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very small compass of ground, for so many BARBOT. nations, and which shows how improperly they are called kingdoms, or how inconsiderable they are, if compared to what we look upon as a kingdom; which must contain many dukedoms, earldoms, baronies, and lordships. But if we turn back to an- Petty tiquity, all history informs us, that there kings. was a vast number of petty kingdoms in the east; and in other parts, we find them still very small, many ages after. The land of promise, given by God to the *Israelites*, was possessed by a multitude of kings, in-fomuch, that *Joshua* made thirty one kings prisoners at one time; and *Benbadad*, king of *Syria*, came against *Samaria*, with a numerous army, made up by thirty two auxiliary kings. To go no farther than *England*; before king *Egbert* subdued all that nation, it was divid'd into seven kingdoms, call'd the *Heptarchy*. The kingdom of *Kent* had seventeen kings successively; that of the *East-Angles* fourteen; that of the *East-Saxons* sixteen; of the *South-Saxons* three; of the *Mercians* twenty one; of *Northumberland* twenty two; and of the *West-Saxons* eighteen.

MARITIME COUNTRIES.

THE maritime countries contain, some Towns. one, some two, some three towns, or villages, lying on the sea-shore, either under, or between the forts and castles of the *Europeans*. These are so placed for the conveniency of trade and fishing; the principal towns being generally up the inland, and very populous.

Nine of these maritime nations are govern'd by their respective kings, if we may so call them; for before the *Europeans* frequented those countries, the chiefs of the *Blacks* had only the title of colonels, or captains; of which more hereafter. The other six nations are in the nature of commonwealths, under the direction of some particular persons of their own, and independent of one another by their constitution.

The inland countries are also govern'd by their kings, or lords, of which more in its place.

P R O D U C T.

ALL the said countries have much variety Beasts. of tame and wild creatures, as bulls, cows,

P p

BARBOT. cows, sheep, goats, horses, asses, swine, dogs, cats, rats, mice, elephants, buffaloes, tigers, wild dogs, wild boars, alligators, several sorts of deer, hares, porcupines, hedgehogs, fluggards, wild rats, boufees, civet cats, wild cats, musk mice, berbes, squirrels, kokeboes, leguanes, arompos, several sorts of apes, various kinds of lizards, salamanders, cameleons, &c. serpents of prodigious size and shapes, snakes, toads, scorpions, and great variety of insects, as well as animals of the feather'd kind, viz. pheasants, partridges, wild ducks, turtle-doves, crooked bills, snipes, cocks and hens, and other eatable birds, unknown in *Europe*; blue and white herons, portugueses, birds so call'd, eagles, kites; a sort of fine river-birds, crown birds, pokkoes; a large sort of fowl, four specious or corn-devouring birds, very beautiful; parrots, parroquets, star birds, &c.

Birds.

Growth of the earth.

There is also abundance of maiz, millet, rice, yams, potatoes, water-melons, ananas, oranges, lemons, coco-nuts, palm-trees, plantans, bananas, beans of six sorts, palm-oil, papays, *Guinea-pepper*; besides various sorts of wild fruit, unknown to us, all which are more or less plentiful, according to the nature of the different soils, and the nature of the place, whereof I shall treat in order, as I come to describe each country in particular.

However, it must be observed, that here is some scarcity of flesh; the want whereof, as well as of some other provisions, is sufficiently made up by the sea in various sorts of excellent fish, large and small; as *Brazilian* cod, jacks, plaife, flounders, that the *Blacks* call *fisc pampher*, and several other large fishes; besides bream, stomp-noses, flat noses, poutings, mackarel, sasser, aboei, thornback, soles, dabs, lobsters, crabs, prawns, shrimps, sprats, karmous, mullets, *Batavia* fish, north-capers, sword-fishes, and sharks; not to mention the river-fish, to be spoke of in another place. And without this supply of fish, it would be hard to subsist in the summer.

Fish.

EUROPEANS trading to GUINEA.

First discovery disputed.

IN the last book of this description, I took notice, that the *French* pretend to have been the first *Europeans* that settled in *Guinea*, in the year 1364; and give the honour of it to some merchants of *Dieppe*, who, they say, made several settlements along the coast, as far as *Grand Sestro*, near cape *Palmas*; and their authors affirm, they were also the first founders of the castle call'd *da Mina*, or of the mine, on the gold coast, in 1383; which the *Portuguese* afterwards took from them. On the other hand, the *Portuguese* claim this discovery, as first made by them in the year 1452; and that they were sole possessors

of it for above a hundred and fifty years, without any interruption; as also to have built that castle at *Mina*, and several other forts, as well on the gold coast, as at *Angola*: of which more in the supplement to this work.

Whoever the first discoverers of this coast were, whether *French* or *Portuguese*, they have both in process of time almost lost the possession: other *European* nations, allur'd by the advantageous trade of gold, slaves, and elephants teeth, having erected several forts on the coast, for the better conveniency of trading, and their own safety, from the insults of the natives and other nations, either with the consent of *Black* kings, or else by force, or artifice, as shall also be made appear in the course of this description. The *Dutch* have the greatest number of such settlements, and consequently the best share of trade on the gold coast, and next to them the *English*. The *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Portuguese* have had no settlements on that coast for a long time, and only make some coasting voyages along those parts. The *Danes* have two forts; one at *Mausro*, the other at *Acra*; and the *Brandenburgers*, a fort, or strong-house, at the village of *Crema*, in the midst of cape *Tres-Pontas*, all which shall be mentioned in their places.

English and Dutch trade most.

Danes and Brandenburgers.

The first *Englishman* we hear of on the coast of *Guinea*, was one *Thomas Windbam*. He first made two voyages to the coast of *Africk*, one in the year 1551, of which there are no particulars; and the other in 1552, with three sail, to the port of *Zaphin*, or *Saphia*, and *Santa Cruz*, whence he brought sugar, dates, almonds, and molosses. In 1553, he sail'd again from *Portsmouth*, with three ships, taking along with him *Anthony Anes Pintado*, a *Portuguese*, who was the promoter of that voyage. They traded for gold along the coast of *Guinea*, and proceeded as far as *Benin*, where they were promised a lading of pepper; but both the commanders and most of the men dying, through the unseasonableness of the weather; the rest, reduced to about forty, return'd to *Plymouth*, with one ship and little wealth. In 1554, Mr. *John Lock* undertook a voyage to *Guinea*, with three ships; and trading along that coast, brought away a considerable quantity of gold and ivory, but proceeded no farther. The following years Mr. *William Towerfon* perform'd several voyages to the coast of *Guinea*, which had nothing peculiar, but a continuation of trade in the same parts; nor do we find any account of a farther progress made along this coast by the *English*, till we come to their voyages to the *East-Indies*, and those began but late. For the first *Englishman* we find in those parts, was one *Thomas Stevens*, in 1579, aboard a *Portu-*

First English in Guinea.

Portuguese ship. The first voyage of the *English*, in ships of their own, was in 1591.

The *Blacks* of the gold coast are for the most part very rich, through the great trade they drive with *Europeans*, both aboard the ships, and ashore, bartering their gold, for several sorts of *European* commodities, of which they make a vast profit up the inland; or through the large allowance they have out of the goods they buy of *Europeans*, for the account of the inland *Blacks*, for whom many of these on the coast act as brokers, buying considerable quantities of goods of the interlopers, who resort thither in great numbers, from several parts of *Europe*; but especially from *Zealand* and *France*, notwithstanding the severe penalties they are liable to: for if taken by the *English*, or *Dutch* companies, their factors, or agents; their goods are not only confiscated, but a heavy fine laid on them. The cunning *Blacks* are not deterr'd by all these rigours, knowing how to bribe the companies *Laptos*, or slaves, who are set to watch them; and thus in the night run ashore the goods they buy of interlopers, or foreigners trading on the coast from *Isseny*, both by sea and land. For when the roads are clear of robbers, they travel to *Isseny* and *Rio d'Oro* to buy their goods, and bring them in by stealth, conveying them up the country without any molestation. They generally have such goods of the interlopers, twenty five or thirty *per cent.* cheaper, and perhaps much better, than those the companies agents sell. By

Interloping trade.

this under-hand trade, they in process of *BARBOT*-time grow rich, and the company suffers very much.

Few or none of the *Blacks* are to be trusted, as being crafty and deceitful, and who will never let slip an opportunity of cheating an *European*, nor indeed will they spare one another; some may their masters, but all do not. Of this, and their laziness, more hereafter.

The *English Royal African*, and the *Dutch West-India* companies, having the privilege by patent of trading to this coast, exclusive to all others their fellow-subjects; and I suppose the *Danish* and *Brandenburg* companies have the same: such of the said nations as resort to those coasts, are liable to seizure of ships and goods, if taken by the ships, or agents, of any of the said companies, within their respective districts on the coast, besides bodily punishments inflicted on the offenders, especially among the *Dutch*, who have made it death; but that is seldom or never executed, some of the companies officers always finding it their interest to let such go unpunished; as is well known to the *Zealanders*, who of all the subjects of *Holland* send most interlopers every year to that coast.

Penalty for interlopers.

These interlopers generally make use of ships of small burden, and good sailors, well fitted and mann'd, the better to make their escape, or stand upon their defence, if attack'd by the company's ships. I shall now proceed to the particular description of the gold coast.

C H A P. II.

The coast to cape St. Apolonia. That cape; from it to Axim. That kingdom; the Dutch fort there. The natives and product. Power of the Dutch. Cape Tres-Pontas.

COAST to Cape St. APOLONIA.

villages.

THE coast, from the river of *Sweiro da Costa*, to cape *St. Apolonia*, is low and flat, and bears east-south-east, twelve leagues, all the way shaded with high trees, and full of greater and smaller villages; the most remarkable are, *Boqu*, *Isseny-pequena*, *Isseny-grande*, *Abbiany* or *Affene*, *Tebbo*, and *Acanimina*; all belonging to the country of *Adouwassian*, or *Sokoo*.

Boqu.

Boqu is in the woods, near the mouth of the river of *Sweiro da Costa*. *Isseny-pequena* appears on the shore, as does *Isseny-grande*, more to the eastward, with three little villages between them. *Isseny-grande* lies at the mouth of a river, which does not reach to the sea, unless it overflows in the rainy season. This town was plunder'd and burnt down, by the inland *Blacks*, in the year 1681. At the mouth of this river, and

Isseny.

very close to the shore, is a little island, very fit for building of a fort, for the conveniency of an inland trade. The river runs down from far up the country NNW. *Isseny-grande* is famous for its fine gold, which, it is likely, comes from *Affente* or *Inta*, towards the source of the river *Sweiro da Costa*, in about nine degrees of north latitude; a country rich in gold, and but lately known to the *Europeans* on the gold coast.

The town of *Abbiany* and *Tebbo*, three leagues distant from each other, are seated in the woods, and known at sea by abundance of palm-trees appearing on the shore.

Acanimina is built on the rising ground, about half a league west from cape *St. Apolonia*.

The inland country between *Boqu* and *Acanimina*, is hilly, and affords excellent gold, some slaves, and a few elephants teeth, wherein

BARBOT. wherein the trade of the aforesaid places consists. The anchoring ground before each of those places, is about two *English* miles from the shore, in fifteen or sixteen fathom water.

Anchoring ground.

CAPE ST. APOLONIA,

Marks to know it.

HAD the name given it by the *Portuguese*, who discover'd it on the feast of that saint. It runs out a little to the southward, and seems to be low plain ground, towards the shore, rising up farther back in three several hills, which may be seen ten leagues out at sea in fair weather; which are sufficient marks to know it by, together with the straggling trees appearing on the said hills, which make it an agreeable prospect.

Villages.

There are three villages on the shore, at the foot of the hills; but the access to it from the sea is very difficult, by reason of the rolling of the surges, and the breaking of the sea on the sandy flat strand, as it does all along this coast from this cape to *Iffeny*. I had here a pretty good trade for gold, during the three days I lay before the villages, under the cape.

From Cape ST. APOLONIA to AXIM,

A fine strand.

IS about nine leagues, the land between them very low, and planted with abundance of coco and palm-trees; the shore very wide, being a curious sandy flat strand, fit to travel over in chaises, or coaches, as far as about a league west of *Axim*, where the pleasant river *Cobra*, or *Ancober*, parts the kingdom of *Sokoo* and *Axim*.

Two villages.

There are but two villages on the shore, between cape *St. Apolonia*, and the river *Mancu*, which are *Agumene* and *Bogio*, seated among the coco and palm-trees; but there is little or no trade at them. The shore bending away to east-north-east of the *Bight* for some leagues, and the *Dutch* fort bearing *E S E*. the ships trading along the coast, commonly steer that course from *St. Apolonia*; from whence the tide runs along the coast to *Axim*. Just by *Bogio*, the river *Mancu* falls into the sea, is large and wide, coming down from *Iguira*, where it is choak'd by mighty falls and rocks, and consequently not navigable; but yields much fine gold, which the *Blacks* get by diving among the rocks.

Mancu river.

Cobra river.

The river *Cobra*, is about four *English* miles west of the *Dutch* fort of *St. Antony*, or *Axim*. The *Portuguese* gave it this name of *Cobra*, that is, a snake, from the many windings of its course, up the inland, for about twenty four leagues, thro' the country of *Iguira*. It is very wide at the mouth, but so shallow, that boats can scarce pass up; however, a little farther in, it grows deeper and narrower, and so continues for

many leagues; the utmost extent of its course up the country being unknown. Those who have gone three days up it, affirm it to be as pleasant as any part of the coast of *Guinea*, not excepting *Sestro*, nor *Wida* or *Fida*; both the banks being adorn'd with fine lofty trees, affording a most agreeable shade. Nor is it less pleasant to observe the beautiful birds of various colours, and the monkeys sporting on the green boughs, all the way along; and to render the voyage still more delightful to travellers, when they have sailed about a league and a half up, they are entertained with the prospect of the fine populous village of *Ancober*, stretching out about an *English* mile along its western shore. Higher up, are the falls and rocks above-mentioned; where the *Blacks* diving, bring up much gold. About that place are several fine villages, composed of three several nations. The first of them on the west side of the river, is *Ancober*; the next to it, *Abocroe*; and the third, *Iguira*. *Ancober* is governed by its king; but the other two are commonwealths.

Formerly the *Dutch* drove a very considerable trade there, and had a fort in the country of *Iguira*; for besides the gold carry'd thither from all other parts, the country it self has some mines.

Kingdom of AXIM, and DUTCH fort there.

FROM the river *Cobra* to the *Dutch* fort at *Axim*, the coast runs *S E*. all over wooded. This kingdom of *Axim*, or *Arzyn*, or *Achen*, extends about seven leagues in length, from the river of *Ancober* to the village of *Boesua*, near *Boutry*, or *Boetroë*, standing in the middle of the famous cape *Tres-Pontas*, which runs out to the sea before it. This kingdom borders westward on that of *Sokoo*, northward on that of *Iguira*, and eastward on the *Ancete* country; the ocean being on the south, and the coast in many places full of rocks and cliffs great and small, next the sea.

The country has very many large and beautiful villages, all of them extraordinary populous, some seated on the shore, and others farther up the inland. The most considerable of the former lie about the *Dutch* fort, and at *Pocquesoe*, near the hill *Mamfro*, or cape *Tres-Pontas*. The land is well cultivated.

The inhabitants are generally very rich, driving a great trade with the *Europeans* for gold, most of which they sell to the *English* and *Zealand* interlopers, notwithstanding the severe penalties above-mention'd; so that the *Dutch* company has not above the hundredth part of the gold, that coast affords. The great plenty of gold brought down hither from the wealthy country of *Affine*,

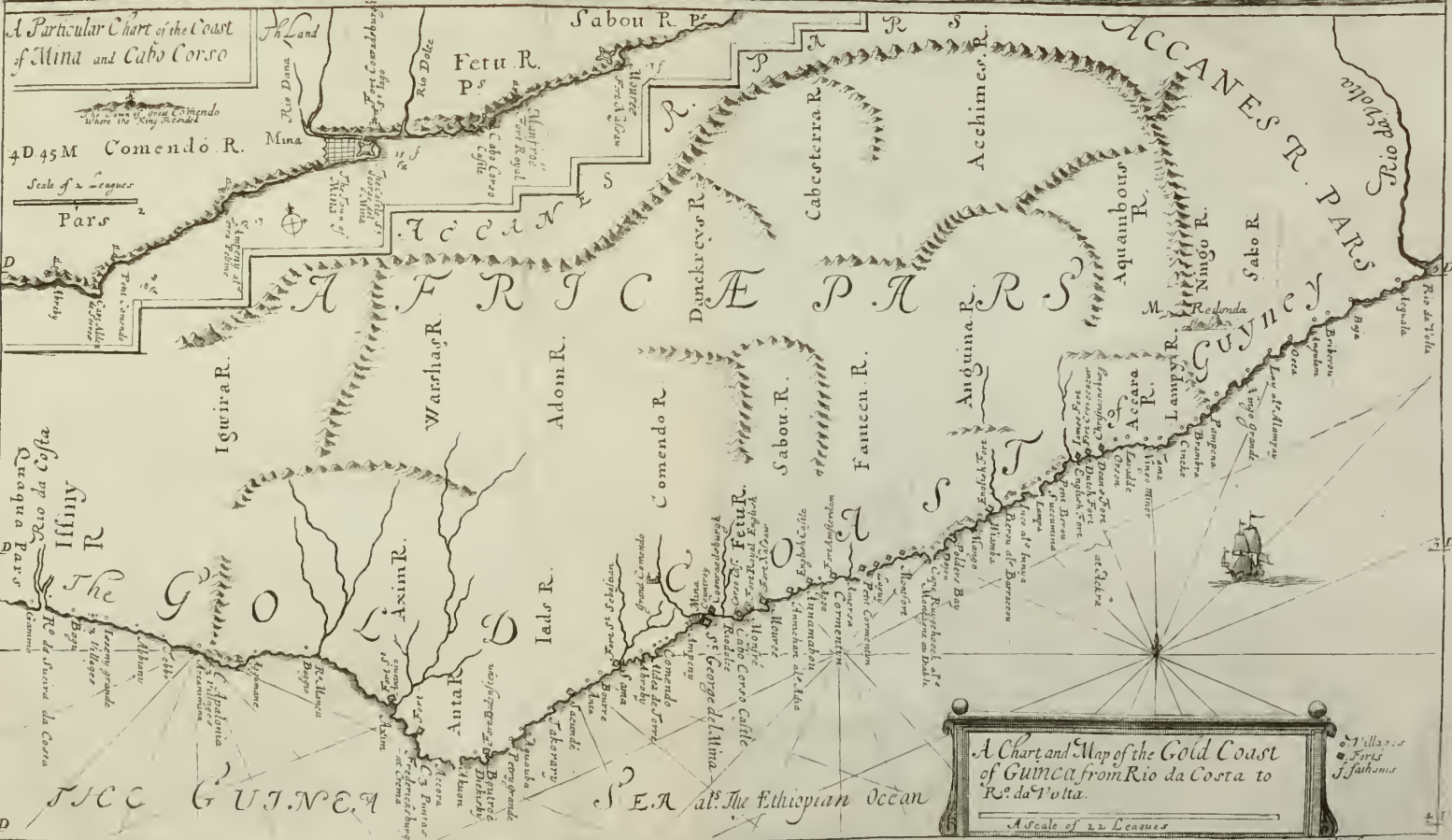
Villages.

Rich natives.

The Prospect of Cape Sta Appollonia, The Tree B. being at E.N.E. about 1/4 League



A Particular Chart of the Coast of Mina and Cabo Corso



A Chart and Map of the Gold Coast of GUINEA from Rio da Costa to Rio da Volta. A Scale of 25 Leagues

The Prospect of the Fort St. Anthony, at Arcim.

- A A Large Rock, on w^{ch} Ad^l Ryuter rais'd a Battery of 12 guns, with w^{ch} he forc'd the Fort to Surrender
- B An other Rock on w^{ch} the Negro's put their wives and children when they go to war
- C The only passage for Boats to the Landing place
- D A Small Rivulet of fresh Water
- E The Fort St. Anthony
- F The Negro's Town
- G The Landing Place



Affine, besides what the mines of *Iguira* produce, makes a flourishing commerce; and therefore *Axim* was by *European* traders look'd upon as the best place for gold, and consequently much resorted to; but declined very much in the year 1681, by reason of the long wars that had then been between *Anta* and *Adom*, which almost dispeopled the country, and accordingly ruined the trade; in so much, that it could scarce be restor'd in ten years to its former condition, as the fiscal of *Axim* declar'd to me.

Achombene village.

The village, or town of *Achombene*, lies stretch'd out in a line, under the command of the *Dutch* fort, having a wood behind it, which comes down with a descent; and before the village a fine spacious strand, of hard sand, and a great number of coco and other trees planted at equal distances among the houses, along the village, which make the prospect very pleasant.

Axim river.

The little shallow river *Axim*, runs thro' the village, coming down from the country of *Iguira*, and supplying it with fresh water. This river is scarce discernible at the mouth, nothing appearing but a little gentle overflowing of its water over the strand, which falls into the ocean near the fort.

The strand.

The strand is all as it were fenced in with abundance of greater and smaller rocks, some standing out in the sea, and others nearer the shore; which renders the access to it hazardous and difficult, the sea breaking furiously on the said rocks, when it blows hard.

Fort St. Antony.

Fort *St. Antony* is seated on a large high rock, running out from the shore to the sea, in the nature of a narrow peninsula, with a high round rocky head, on which the fort stands; so encompass'd on every side with lesser rocks and cliffs, that the only access to it is on the land side, where it is well fortified with breast-works, a draw-bridge, and a battery of good large guns to cover the whole.

The rock on which the fort is built being of a small compass, the whole work is so; and therefore from some distance out at sea, it looks like a large, lofty white house. This fort, with the village *Achombene*, and the land behind it, and the several high and low rocks, which cover the strand, all together yield a pleasant prospect, full of variety, from about two *English* miles at sea distance.

The natives usually deposite their goods, wives and children, on some of these rocks, or in retir'd woods, when they are to take the field against their enemies, that they may be secure, in case they lose the day. The same is done by several *Indian* nations in *America*, and so it was formerly by the

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Amorites, leaving a guard with their families in some place of strength.

BARBOT.

The *Portuguese* built this fort, where it now stands, and gave it the name of *St. Antony*, which it still retains. In the days of king *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, those people had erected another, on a little head on the shore, near the village, which they were forced to demolish, because of the frequent attacks the natives made upon it, and then built this in a place of more defence and natural strength.

The *Dutch* took this fort from the *Portuguese* by force of arms, on the ninth of *January*, 1642; and in the ensuing treaty of peace between *Portugal* and *Holland*, it was yielded up to the *Dutch West-India* company, which possesses it at present.

The fort, we said before, is not great, but handsomely built, being triangular, and strong by nature. It has two batteries on the land side, and one to the sea, with proper out-works, which, as well as the walls are of black stone of the country, low to the sea, because the rock is there high and steep, and much higher towards the land. There were twenty two iron guns on the batteries, when I was there, besides some parraroes. The gate of the fort is low, and well secured by a ditch, eight foot deep, cut in the rock, and over it a draw-bridge, defended by two parraroes; besides a spur, that can contain twenty men, and several steps cut in the rock, like stairs, to get up to the fort through the spur.

The chief factor's house is neatly built of brick, and high, being triangular, with only three fronts; before one of which, on the west side, is a very small spot of ground, planted with a few orange-trees.

Factor's house.

This place is generally garrisoned with twenty five white men, and as many *Blacks*, under a sergeant, in the company's pay; and if well stored with provisions, may hold out against an army of the natives. One inconveniency here, as well as at all the other forts on this coast is, that the violent rains of the winter season, cause the walls to moulder away in several places, and it requires a continual charge to repair and keep them in good order; for which reason, the *Dutch* have a lime-kiln near the village, to make lime of oyster-shells, whereof there is great plenty at *Axim*, so as not only to serve the fort, but to supply other places along the coast, and even *Mina*.

The NATIVES,

OF *Achombene*, are most of them fishermen, and make large canoes of a considerable burden, to sell to foreigners, for their use upon the *Gold Coast*, and at *Fida* and *Ardra*, to pass over the bars, and

Large canoes.

Q9

carry

BARBOT. carry their goods and provisions along the coast.

Produit.

The country produces abundance of rice, water-melons, ananas, cocos, bananas, oranges, sweet and sour lemons, and other fruit and falleting; but no great quantity of maiz, nor so sweet as is generally in other parts of the *Gold Coast*, because of too much wet; the land being continually more moisten'd with rain, than any other place about it: infomuch, that the *Blacks* will tell you, the wet weather lasts eleven months and twenty nine days in a year, there being scarce a day of fair dry weather, and therefore only rice and trees grow to perfection, other things being commonly spoil'd by too much moisture.

Here is also plenty of sheep, cows, goats, &c. and abundance of wild and tame pigeons, and other fowl of several sorts. The palm-wine is also very common and excellent; and the apes fine and game-some.

To conclude, this place in my opinion is the most tempting of any on all the coast of *Guinea*, taking one thing with another. You have there a perpetual greenness, which affords a comfortable shade, against the scorching heat of the sun, under the lofty palm and other trees planted about the village, with a sweet harmony of many birds of several sorts perching on them. The walk on the low flat strand along the sea-side, is no less pleasant at certain hours of the day; and from the platform of the fort is a most delightful prospect of the ocean, and the many rocks and small islands about it; which afford but one safe passage for boats and canoes to come to the strand. Notwithstanding all these advantages, it is not so healthy as other places on the coast, because of the dampness of the air, especially in the winter season.

POWER of the DUTCH.

Dutch factor's authority.

THE *Dutch Opper-Koopman*, or chief factor, has an absolute authority over the whole country of *Axim*; the natives being so entirely reduc'd under subjection by those people, that they dare not refuse him any thing, but are obliged to serve him to the utmost; nor will they presume to decide any controversy of moment without his knowledge and approbation; he being as a chief judge or justice, to punish, even the greatest of the *Blacks*. All fines imposed are paid into the said factor's hands, who distributes them to the injur'd persons, first deducting his own fees, which are very large. For example, if a *Black* be fined a hundred crowns for any crime, the factor's fees amount to two thirds, and the assembly of

Caboceiros has the other third; but in cases of murder, or robbery, or compelling them to pay their debts, three fourths of the whole are the plaintiff's, and the other fourth is for the factor and the *Caboceiros*; the former taking two thirds thereof, and the latter one.

So great is the authority of this factor at *Axim*, and throughout the country of *Accober*, that the *Blacks* dare not shelter a criminal, but must deliver him up to be punish'd by him, according to his offence, which renders that post very beneficial; and therefore it is reckon'd the next to the general at *Mina*: for when the general's place is vacant, the chief factor at *Axim* succeeds in that employment.

The fishermen pay the *Dutch* factor the eighth part of all the fish they take, which is pretty considerable, there being many of them at *Axim*, as has been said.

Three leagues east of the *Dutch* fort of *St. Antony*, is the hill *Mausro*, and near it the village *Pocquesoe*, pretty large and populous, one *Fan* or *John* being captain of it. The hill is very proper to build a fort on, being close to the first point of cape *Tres-Pontas*.

This cape had the name given it by the *Portuguese*, from its three points, or heads, like three little hills, at a small distance from each other. It runs out southward to four degr. fifteen min. north latitude, and the distances between the three heads form two bays; on the shore whereof are three villages, *Acor*, *Accuon*, and *Infiama*, or as the *English* call it *Dikisko*.

Acoba or *Acora* is at the bottom of the first bay, from the west eastward. *Accuon*, another village, lies on the ascent of the middle head of the cape, on the north-east side of it; and *Dikisko* is in a little gulph form'd by the land, between the head or point and *Accuon*.

It is much easier to come up with boats to the two first villages, than to this last, at the new and full moon, because of a ridge of rocks and shoals at the mouth of the gulph. At my last voyage I had a boat overfet there, and two of the men drowned; and another time, was like to undergo the same fate my self. But at the first and last quarters of the moon, the bar is very safe for any boats that will wood and water ashore; there being other necessaries also, as maiz, or *Indian* wheat, and poultry, whereof there is sufficient plenty, at certain times, especially towards the end of the winter season. The water is usually taken there from a large pond, just by the strand; but sometimes the sea happens to overflow it, and then fresh water must be fetch'd a good half mile up the land. The wood also is sometimes cut just by the shore, and

The Prospect of the First Point of Cape Tres Puntas, the Point C being at S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. abt. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ League
B. Water place



The Prospect of the Fort Badensteyn at Boetroe, being at N.W. $1\frac{1}{4}$ L.



The Prospect of the Fort S^t. Sebastiaen at Sama, at NNW. abt. 1 League



and at other times an *English* mile from it, up the country, behind the village, as the *Caboceiro* thinks fit; who must be paid before-hand, for the liberty of wooding and watering.

The trade is here but indifferent, as well as at the two above-mentioned villages, the *Blacks* of *Infiama*, and the adjacent parts, being almost intractable, of a turbulent, violent, knavish temper, and great adulteraters of gold.

Some reckon the aforefaid villages to belong to the petty king of *Warshas* or little *Inkassan*, that country thus interfering betwixt the kingdom of *Axim* and that of *Anta*; but whether it be so or not, matters not much.

The whole country about *cape Tres-Pontas* is hilly and wooded; one sort of which wood is yellow, whereof very fine chairs, beds, tables, and other household goods are made. There are many of this sort of trees at *Acoda*, especially behind the *Brandenburgers* fort.

BARBOT. 

CHAP. III.

The kingdom of Anta, and commonwealth of Adom, described.

ANTA KINGDOM.

Extent and boundaries. THE kingdom of *Anta*, or *Hante*, as the *Blacks* call it, begins, according to the common acceptation, at the village *Boesira*, between *Infiama* and the cape or head of *Boetroë*, and extends eastward to *Sama*, where it borders on that of *Fabs*, which is its eastern boundary. On the north it has *Adom*, on the north north-west *Mompa*, on the north-west *Iguira*, on the west *Inkassan* and *Axim*, and on the south and south-east the Ocean. It is about ten leagues from east to west, and full of hills, covered with very fine large trees. The valleys between the hills are spacious, the soil proper for producing of all sorts of fruit and plants, as being well water'd; and produces abundance of extraordinary good rice, sweet red maiz or *Indian* corn, which is the best sort, potatoes, yams, and sugar-canes, larger and in greater plenty than in any other place along the coast, especially about the river *Boetrou*; where, if the land were laid out and improved, as in *America*, it would richly answer the cost and trouble of plantations and sugar-works.

Product. It also affords the very best sort of palm-wine and oil, in great quantities; also coconuts, ananas, oranges, small lemons, &c. and all sorts of tame, as well as wild beasts, elephants, tygers, wild cats, deer, serpents, some of them above twenty foot long, and others smaller.

Pleasant country. The whole country abounds in villages, well peopled; the air is the wholesomest on the coast, the country being open, and not so woody as in other parts. It is watered by a fresh river, which runs by the *Dutch* fort at *Boetroë*, from the inward part of the country, adorned with curious tall trees on both sides, affording a pleasant shade, almost across it. The mangroves which grow along the banks, under the lofty trees, are loaded with oysters, growing to the boughs. It is navigable about four leagues up from the sea, but is impassable any higher, by

reason of the vast water-falls, tumbling down from the rocks. It swarms with an incredible number of crocodiles, which feed on the fish the river abounds in. There is no conceiving what a prodigious number of monkeys, of several sorts, there is all about this country. I carried some to *Paris*, which were look'd upon as the finest and most gamesome, of any ever brought thither.

The principal villages of *Anta*, along the sea-coast, are *Boetroë* or *Boutry*, *Poyera* or *Petri-Grande*, *Pando*, *Tacorary*, the largest of all, *Sacunde*, *Anta*, and *Sama*, all trading places.

Boetroë is seated on a little river, at the foot of a high hill, on which the *Dutch* have a small irregular fort, being an oblong, and divided into two parts, defended by two very indifferent batteries, mounted with eight small guns. This fort was erected by one *Carolof*, in the service of the *Dutch*, with the consent of the king of *Anta*, to whom it pays a yearly tribute in gold, and was called *Badenstein* or *Batenstein*. It commands the village of *Boetroë*. This village is thinly peopled, and its trade very inconsiderable, and would still be less, were it not for the inland *Blacks*, who now and then resort thither from *Adom* and other parts, bringing very good gold. In 1682, when I was there, the trade was very dull, because of the precedent war betwixt *Adom* and *Anta*, which ended in 1681, but had so dispeopled the towns and villages of *Anta*, that several had not ten families left in them; but at my arrival, the commerce began a little to revive, by the coming down of the *Adom Blacks*. The king of *Anta* resides about four leagues from the fort, up the inland, and is often at variance with the aforefaid *Blacks* of *Adom*; their territories lying in such manner, that they extend between the rivers *Sama* or *Chama* and *Cobra*, distant near twenty leagues from each other, along the coast, and seem to go up the river *Sama*.

BARBOT. *Sama* in a line, and then to turn with a narrow slip away to *Cobra*. The *Dutch* reckon the air of *Boetroë* the wholesomest of all the *Gold-Coast*, in the winter season.

ADOM COMMONWEALTH,

Villainous republicans. IS governed by several of the prime men, as a republick, and might raise a powerful army, were the governors unanimous. This commonwealth of *Adom* is a plague to all its neighbours, especially to the *Antesians* and *Ancoberians*, being no better than a congregation of thieves and villains, outrageous, restless, cruel, and bloody in their wars; taking a delight to suck the blood out of the wounds of their enemies, for spite and hatred.

Poyera village. *Poyera* or *Petry-Grande* and *Pandos* or *Pampenay*, two villages between *Boetroë* and *Tacorary*, are very indifferent places for trade, being inhabited by none but husbandmen and fishermen. The country about produces abundance of maiz or *Indian* wheat; and these two places are known from sea by a vast rock near the shore, which the *Blacks* worship as a deity, as they do the other rock, lying before *Tacorary*; whereof I shall say more hereafter, on account of the superstition of the *Blacks*.

TACORARY PRINCIPAL TOWN.

T*Acorary*, the principal town on the coast of *Anta*, stands on the top of a hill, which butts at S E. into the sea, with several rocks about it, some of them above, and others under water; running out near two *English* miles to sea, as appears by the breaking of the waves upon them. The town is easily seen from sea, when you are pass'd the said rocks. The land behind the town, is no less agreeable than that about *Boutry*, but rather exceeds it; the vales being extremely fertile and delightful, as are the plains, some of them very spacious, and adorned with lofty trees and pleasant woods. Between the rows of trees, the paths are covered with white sand; on which are imprinted the footsteps of various wild beasts, as elephants, tygers, deer, &c. as also of tame cattle.

Witfen Dutch fort.

The *Dutch* had formerly a small fort here, built on a hill, at some distance from the town, called fort *Witfen*, which the *English* took from them by storm, in the year 1664, under commodore *Holmes*. The *Dutch* retook it the next year under admiral *Ruyter*, who caused it to be blown up, as a place of small consequence, having only seven or eight small guns, and of great expence to maintain; so he put to the sword the inhabitants of the town, and burnt it. The ruins of the fort are still to be seen, the *English*, *Dutch*, *Dans*, *Swedes*, and *Brandenburgers*, having all possessed it successively. The

Dutch have a house there at present, but are often obliged to forsake it, being frequently assaulted and beat off by the *Blacks*, who still remember the former *Dutch* expedition, and the cruelties then exercised on the natives.

There are *French* authors, who pretend, this fort was first erected by some of their nation; but I could not be convinced of it upon examination.

The *Tacorarians* have a peculiar art at making the finest and largest canoes of all the coast of *Guinea*, of the single trunk of a tree; being thirty foot long, and seven or eight in breadth, which will carry above ten tun of goods, with eighteen or twenty *Blacks* to paddle them.

The ships bound for *Wida* and *Ardra*, commonly furnish themselves here with such canoes, as well as at *Axim*, and give the value of forty or fifty pounds sterling in goods, for one of the largest canoes.

The inhabitants of *Tacorary* being a crafty treacherous people, they have but little trade; tho' ships can ride safe in the bay, into which the small river of *St. George* empties itself, about a league to the eastward of the town.

The coast affords vast quantities of oysters, the shells serving to make lime; and along it are some large rocks, to which the *Blacks* pay their devotions.

OTHER VILLAGES.

THE village *Sacunde* is seated at the other corner of the bay, being as rich a place in gold, and as healthy, as any along that coast. The *French* formerly had a settlement there; at present the *English* and *Dutch* have each of them a strong House.

Anta and *Boare* are two small villages, between *Sacunde* and *Sama*, not considerable for any gold trade, unless by accident. The country behind them is very hilly and woody. *Anta* is only famous for the great quantity of excellent palm-wine it produces, for which the *Blacks* resort thither, from fifteen or twenty leagues about, and carry it to sell all along the *Gold-Coast*. The land about *Anta* is very fertile, producing abundance of all sorts of herbs, roots, and fruit, and stored with goats and poultry. The stones here are of a dark ruddy colour. Several of the natives of *Anta* are afflicted with ravenous appetites, thought to proceed from their drinking a sort of palm-wine, called *Crisia*.

The gold is brought hither from *Iguira* and *Mompa*, when the people of *Adom* grant free passage through their country; so that sometimes there is an indifferent good trade at *Anta*, and sometimes not, according to the humour of the people of *Adom*, towards the adjacent nations, being possessed of the passes the inland merchants must come through to trade on the coast; by which means

means the people of *Adom* have the opportunity of enriching themselves; besides that they have several gold mines without their own territories. Their wealth and numbers have so puffed them up, that those who are to deal with them, ought to behave themselves with singular discretion.

Sama.

Sama is on a hill, watered by the little river of *St. George*, running at the foot of the said hill, and thence to the sea. There are about two hundred houses or cabbins, so seated, as to form three small villages together; one of which is just under the *Dutch* fort of *St. Sebastian*, so named by the *Portuguese*, who built it, and from whom it was taken by the *Dutch*. The place is populous, but the inhabitants the poorest on that coast.

Dutch fort.

The fort is about the same compass as that at *Boutry*, but somewhat longer; having four small batteries and eight guns. In the wars between *England* and *Holland*, it was almost laid level with the ground, being only enclosed with palisadoes, which moved the *English* to attack it, in conjunction with the *Blacks* of *Jabs*, but were repulsed; and then the *Dutch* finished it.

This small fort looks indifferent well from the sea, but cannot be seen till you are to the southward of it, and then shows like a white house. The lodgings in it are pretty convenient, and it is well seated for the trade with *Adom* and *Wasbas*; which nations come down hither to purchase *European* goods for gold, and transport them to very remote inland countries, who they say sell them again to others beyond them, supposed to be some *Moorish* inhabitants along the river *Niger*, by the account the *Blacks* give of them, and of their fortresses.

The *Dutch* have almost the same authority over the *Blacks* of *Sama*, as over those of *Axim*; but they pay a yearly duty to the king of *Gavi*, for the fort, that being a convenient place for their ships to water, wood, and supply themselves with other necessaries. The right road to anchor before this place is in nine fathom water, oozy ground about a league from the shore, having the fort at north-west and by west.

The river *St. Juan* at *Sama*, takes its course from the fort, passing by the countries of *Jabs*, *Adom*, and *Juffer*; and, as the natives report, reaches four hundred leagues up the country, being not altogether so large as *Rio Cobra*, but wide enough, and navigable some way up, by which the *Dutch* receive a considerable advantage; for besides the fresh water, it furnishes the fort with fuel and wood, as well as the ships. And were it not for these advantages, they would not keep it, the trade being so inconsiderable, and the keeping of it so very expensive. Besides, that they are continually plagued with a villainous sort of *Blacks*, amongst whom those of *Adom* are

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none of the best, whose country stretches itself in a straight line along this river, and contains several islands in the midst of it, adorned with fine towns and villages; and thence stretches sixteen leagues westward to the river *Ancober*. So that this land of *Adom* must be very large.

The *Dutch* formerly undertook to travel by water, towards the head of this river, upon the unanimous report of the inhabitants, that it came down thro' countries that were very rich in gold. To that purpose they sent six men in a sloop, well armed and provided; who thirteen days after their departure from the fort, returned back; having for twelve days together rowed against a violent rapid stream, finding the river choaked with abundance of rocks and shoals just under water, and mighty water-falls.

I have already said that the river is wide and practicable for boats and sloops at the mouth, and some leagues upwards; but I must warn the sailors against the rock called the *Sugar-Loaf*, near its mouth, else they may split on it, as has several times happened; and some have been lost, especially if the sea happened to turn, or was rough.

I must also warn them of the shoals and rocks that lie out half a league to sea, on the coast between *Sama* and *Boarei* to the westward. The *Blacks* call this river *Bossun-Pra*, and adore it as a god, as the word *Bossun* signifies.

The *Blacks* of the little territory of *Tabeu*, east of this place, somewhat up the country, bring down to *Sama*, their corn, fruit, plants, chickens, &c.

JABS COUNTRY.

THE country of the *Jabs*, or *Yabbab* as the *English* call it, commences a little to the east of fort *St. Sebastian*, and runs a few leagues up the inland, and along the sea-shore to that of *Commany* or *Commendo*; being but a small district, not very potent, tho' the first kingdom you meet with in coming from the higher country.

The king of *Jabs* is as poor as his subjects, tho' his little kingdom makes a considerable advantage of planting and selling maiz every year; so that they might soon grow rich, did not their powerful neighbours continually fleece and keep them under; which they are not able to prevent. The *Adomians* value the king of *Jabs* so little, that they say, one of their chief governors (whom they account very potent) can carry the king of *Jabs* upon his horns.

The village *Abroby* is the only notable place that occurs on the sea-coast, of this little country of *Jabs*, being seated in a bay, which terminates at the cape *Aldea de Torres*. *Aldea* in *Portuguese* signifies a Village.

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This

BARBOT.

This village is divided into two parts, with very large plains behind it, betwixt the town and the hilly country; which makes the coast to appear like double land at a distance on the sea. The country about produces much maiz and poultry; but no great quantity of gold is traded for here; and what there is, generally debas'd with brass, copper, or silver, as well as at most of the before-described places.

To conclude with these countries of *Adom* and *Anta*; the soil is very good and fruitful in corn and other product; which it affords in such plenty, that besides what serves their own use, they always expose great quantities to sale. They have competent numbers of cattle, both tame and wild, and the rivers are abundantly stored with fish; so that nothing is wanting for the support of life, and to make it easy.

The inhabitants of the maritime towns make a considerable profit of the fishery, carrying the fish to the inland countries in exchange of other things.

Each town or village is ruled by its respective *Brasso* or justice, appointed by the kings or governors. For several years the countries of *Axim* and *Anta* were accounted one and the same nation, very potent and populous, the inhabitants a martial people, and the country divided into the *Upper* and *Lower Anta*; *Axim* being reckoned the former, and *Anta* now described, the latter; which very much annoyed the *Dutch* with frequent onsets; but through their continual wars with the *Adomesians*, and their other neighbours, they are so weakened, that no footsteps of their pristine glory remain.

C H A P. IV.

Description of the kingdom of Commendo. Observations for trade. The commonwealth of Mina. The town of that name. Disposition, employments, and behaviour of the natives, &c.

COMMENDO KINGDOM.

Its extent and boundaries.

THE kingdom of *Great Commendo* or *Commany* or *Aguaffo*, borders westward on the lands of *Fabs* and *Tabeu*; northwest on *Adom*; north on *Abramboe*; east on *Odena* or *Mina*, a little commonwealth between *Commendo* and *Fetu*; and south on the great *Ocean*; extending but about five leagues on the coast, and is about as broad as long. In the middle of it, on the strand, is *Little Commendo* or *Ekke-Tokki*, as the *Blacks* call it, and some *Europeans*, *Little Commany*; the cape *Aldea de Torres* being on the west of it; and *Ampeny* on the east; with some other small hamlets between them.

Commendo town.

This kingdom, in former times, made but one and the same country with *Fetu* and *Saboe*, and was called *Adosseny's*. The metropolis of *Great Commendo*, is *Guaffo*, the usual residence of its king; being a large populous village or town, seated on a hill, four leagues up the inland, from *Little Commendo*. The *Hollanders* call this town of *Guaffo*, *Commany Grande*, to distinguish it from *Little Commany* on the strand, which the natives call *Ekke-Tokki*. It contains above four hundred houses.

Guaffo town.

Little Commendo was divided into three parts, containing together about one hundred and fifty houses; but most of it was accidentally burnt not long ago, which caused many of the inhabitants to settle at *Ampeny*: much about the time the father of this present king of *Commendo* died. Some parts of the town are seated on a little rivulet, which runs into the sea, forming a small harbour at the mouth, to shelter their canoes; on the

west-side whereof is a head or small flat hill; the east-side is low land; but the landing on the strand very difficult, because of the bar that crosses it. The access to the shore is much easier in the morning.

Most of the inhabitants are *Fishermen* or *Brokers*, it being a place of considerable trade for gold and slaves, by reason of the many *Accanez Blacks* who come down to trade with the *European* ships, in this and the adjacent roads of this coast.

The village *Lory* is very inconsiderable, as well as *Ampeny* or *Ampena*, the residence of one *Coucoumy*, a *Black* of *Commendo*, who was sent by the king into *France* in 1671, in quality of envoy to the *French* king, to invite him to send over his subjects to erect a fortress at *Commendo*, and settle a trade with his subjects: the *Commanians* having been long much disgusted at the arbitrary power the *Dutch* of *Mina* exercise over them upon all occasions.

The inhabitants of *Mina* have often made depredations by sea on them, and at sundry times burnt their villages, on the strand, not daring to enter the country any farther, for fear of the inhabitants of *Guaffo* or *Great Commendo*, who are very numerous, a more martial and rapacious people than those of their own nation at *Little Commany*, *Ampeny*, and other maritime villages; most of whom commonly apply themselves to traffick and fishery, which made it easier for the *Mina Blacks* to assault them.

The *Commanians* are often at war with the *Abramboë Blacks*, on account that the latter kill'd

The Prospect of Little Comendo.



The Prospect of the Town and Castle del Mina' being at NNE. about 2 miles



kill'd one of the kings of the former, which has render'd them bold and martial.

OBSERVATIONS for TRADE.

Blacks
love the
French.

WHILST I was here, at two several voyages, some of the chief, as well as the common fort, assured me they had much greater value and friendship for the *French* than for any other *European* nation; and at my last voyage in 1682, the king sent me his second son as hostage, if I would come up to him to *Great Commendo*, in order to treat of articles, for a settlement of the *French* on the coast of his country, which he always refus'd to grant to the *English* and *Dutch*, who earnestly desired he would consent that each of them might build a fort; but he only allow'd the *English* to have a lodge without any enclosure of walls. The *Dutch* had one formerly, but were forced to quit the country: and I always heard the *Commanians* speak very unkindly of the *Dutch*, and express a more than usual hatred against their hard domination over them. At my return into *France*, I deliver'd to some ministers of the court, all the memoirs I had taken on this head at *Commendo*, and my own observations of the most proper place to erect a fortress on that coast, at *Ampena*, on a little point extending somewhat to the south, rising gradually to a little head; the coast there forming a sort of elbow, where the access to the shore is less hazardous and troublesome for canoes, the sea breaking against that elbow, and sheltering the canoes from the south-west wind, which blows most on that coast and very high; and *Ampena* being so near to *Mina* as it is, would obstruct, in some measure, the great trade it has, by giving an opportunity to the malecontents there to traffick at *Ampena*.

I confess, a fort and settlement might perhaps be thought to be best situated at cape *Aldea de Torres*, on the borders of the land of *Jabs* or *Yabbab*. The *French* heretofore had a lodge there, the ruins whereof are still to be seen at the end of the village north of the cape; but the landing at this place is much more perillous, because the high surges and breakings are there much greater than at any other place on this coast.

Great
fishery.

Every morning there come out of *Ampena*, *Lory*, and other places on this coast, seventy or eighty canoes from each village, some a fishing, and others to trade with the ships in the roads; and return all ashore about noon, when the fresh gales from south-west begin to blow, and swell the sea near the shore, that they may land without trouble, and have time to dispose of the fish at *Little Commany* and at *Great Commendo*, where the inland *Blacks* buy it for the country markets.

The markets at *Great* and *Little Commany* BARBOT. are commonly well furnish'd with all sorts of corn, plants, roots, and fruits at a reasonable rate: the bananas are especially extraordinary plenty and cheap; for which reason, the *Dutch* call *Little Commany* the fruit-maket, the country about this place being very fertile in all the forenamed fruits and provisions.

The inhabitants of *Terra Pequera* or *Lory*, and of *Ampena*, are all fishermen.

The country behind *Little Commany* rises Populous country. gradually to small hills, cover'd with trees, at the foot of which, are large plains and fields, curiously planted with sundry sorts of fruit-trees; and the land extremely fill'd with inhabitants, a martial people, of whom the king of *Commendo* can compose an army of twenty thousand men well arm'd, on occasion. The king has a guard of five hundred men.

The gold, here offer'd in trade, is commonly mix'd with brass or silver, and requires a great deal of caution to examine it well, especially the *Crakra* gold.

The *Blacks* are generally of a turbulent temper, and very deceitful and crafty; and most of them, from the highest to the lowest, are apt to steal, if not well look'd to.

The country of *Commendo* is thought to be very rich in gold mines; and some fancy the king will not have them opened for fear the neighbouring nations, or the *Europeans*, should attempt to destroy him and his people, or drive them away, to possess themselves of so rich a country. I have often heard some of the natives say, that not far from the promontory *Aldea de Torres*, there is a very rich gold mine, and that, for fear it should be search'd, they have made a God of that head or hill, which is the only means they can imagine to preserve the mine entire; so great a veneration the *Blacks* have for such sacred places, that they are sure no person whatsoever will touch it: and if any *Europeans* should attempt it, they must expect to have all the country about them, and to be massacred if taken.

Here is sometimes a brisk trade for slaves, when the *Commanians* are at war with the upland *Negroes*, and have the better of it, for then they bring down abundance of prisoners, whom they sell immediately, at a cheap rate, to some interloper or other, if any be in the roads, to save the charge of keeping and subsisting them. And it once happened, not many years ago, that an *English* ship riding there, just at the time they return'd from an expedition, wherein they had succeeded, they deliver'd their prisoners to the *Englishman* as fast as he could fetch them from the shore with his boat; and, in a few days, he got above three hundred slaves aboard; for little or nothing:

BARBOT. so great was the number of prisoners they had brought down, that they were glad of this opportunity to dispose of part of them at any rate.

The COMMONWEALTH of MINA,

IS a very small tract of land between *Commendo* and *Fetu*, separated from the latter by the little river *Benja*, on which is the large town of *Mina*, by the *Blacks* call'd *Odden*, situated on a low and long peninsula; having the ocean on the south, the aforesaid river on the north, *Commendo* on the west, and the famous castle of *St. George de la Mina* on the east. It stands just on the end or head of the peninsula, and commands all the town, being so near that it can throw hand-grenadoes into it.

Mina town.

The town is very long, containing about twelve hundred houses, all built with rock-stones, in which it differs from all other places, the houses being generally only composed of clay and wood. It is divided into several streets and lanes very irregular, crooked, and dirty in rainy weather, the ground being low and flat, and the streets and lanes close and very narrow; and more particularly, it is very dirty and slippy at the time the river *Benja* overflows and fills it with water.

Most of the houses of the town are one story high, and some two, all very full of people; for they contain above six thousand fighting men, besides women and children, who are very numerous, every man generally keeping two, three, or more wives, as is usual in *Guinea*.

The government.

The town is divided into three distinct parts, as if it were three large villages near one another; each part or ward is governed by its respective *Brasso*; which *Brasso* or governour is assisted by a *Caboceiro*, and some other inferior officers, who administer justice, and have charge of the political state: and these, all together, compose the regency of this little republick, ever since the *Portuguese* made it independent of the kings of *Commendo*, and of *Fetu*, who formerly were masters of it by equal halves. This happen'd some few years before the *Dutch* conquer'd the castle of *Mina* from the *Portuguese*; who, from that time till they were turn'd out of the place, did protect and defend the town from the attempts of the said kings, when they attempted to reduce it to their obedience; and were to assist the inhabitants with forces, when necessity required: by which means the *Mina Blacks* became formidable, and dreaded by their neighbours; and grew so more and more under the *Dutch* government, which assists and protects them ever since their possessing of the castle, in the same manner as the *Portuguese* had done before their time.

The affairs of the republick were formerly debated in the house of the *Brasso* of one of the wards one time, and the next, in that of another *Brasso* alternatively; and the deliberations or elections made there, were carried to the *Dutch* general to approve of them: if he did not, they were to debate matters again in another assembly, till what was transacted was consented to by that general; which also was the method they were liable to, when under the protection of the *Portuguese*.

But ever since the *Dutch* general has pretended to take those privileges from the town, and make it totally dependent on his arbitrary jurisdiction and authority, the *Blacks* have been at great variance and misunderstanding with the *Dutch*. And as the *Dutch* general has thought it his interest and security, to keep that people more and more in bondage, and use greater severities towards them, the better to oppress and curb their bold daring spirit, and to prevent their having any opportunity of forming designs in opposition to the *Dutch* interest or advantage; so they, on the other hand, have, as much as they could, opposed the general's design of exercising an arbitrary power over them: and by degrees, things are come to such extremities between both parties, as I shall hereafter mention in its proper place.

To return to the description of the town of *Mina*; it is fortified at the west end, towards the country of *Commendo*, with a strong rock-stone wall, in which is a gate, defended by some iron guns, and a large ditch. The wall begins at the sea-shore, and ends at the river-side.

I have drawn the exact prospect of the town of *Mina*, and of the castle of *St. George*, as it appears from sea about three miles distance, in the print here inserted; all together making a fine prospect with the fort *Coenraedsburg*, situate on the hill of *St. Jago*, separated from the town of *Mina* by the little river *Benja*, which runs at the foot of the hill, and is so near, as to command the town, as does the castle: so that it is impossible for the inhabitants to stir.

The *Blacks* of *Mina* are commonly handsome, lusty, and strong men, of a martial courage, and the most civilized of all the gold coast, by the long correspondence they have constantly had to this time with the *Europeans*.

Their usual employments are trade, husbandry and fishery: I have often seen seven or eight hundred canoes come out from thence, at a time, for several mornings together, to fish with hooks and lines about a league or two off at sea; each canoe having, some two, some three, some four paddlers. I was so pleas'd with the sight of such a number of canoes thus plying about, that I could not

The Dutch oppresses the Blacks.

Fortification.

PLATE 8.
St. George and Coenraedsburg forts.

Handsome Blacks.

THE PROSPECT OF S^t GEORGE'S CASTLE at MINA







A. Fishing Canoes of Mina 500 or 600 at a time | B Negro's Canoes, carrying Slaves, on Board of Ships at Mayrore



PLATE 8. not forbear representing them in the print here adjoin'd. When the fishing is over, and they never fail in the summer season to catch abundance of sundry sorts of good fish, they return to shore about noon, when the fresh sea-gale begins to blow; and carry the fish to market, after having paid the fifth part thereof to the *Dutch* officers, as has been agreed, or imposed on them, for the *Blacks* do not seem to like it, as they are very ready to declare to other *Europeans*; nor are they less aggrieved at several other impositions laid on them, especially those of the right of life and death over them, which the general and his council claim; and the total prohibition of trade with any other *Europeans*, both at sea and land, under confiscation and forfeiture of goods, and a severe heavy fine besides, of which more shall be said hereafter.

The *Mina Blacks* drive a great trade along the *Gold Coast*, and at *Wida* by sea; and are the fittest and most experienc'd men to manage and paddle the canoes over the bars and breakings, which render this coast, and that of *Wida*, so perillous and toilsome to land either men, goods, or provisions; the waves of the ocean rising in great surges, and breaking so violently on the strand, for better than a musket-shot in breadth one after another; which requires a great deal of activity and dexterity to carry canoes through without being sunk, overset, or split to pieces, and often occasions the death of many men, and considerable losses of the goods.

These people are dexterous at debasing of gold, an art taught them by their former masters the *Portuguese*, to cheat other *European* traders on the coast, so to bring the whole trade into their own hands. The *Dutch*, after the *Portuguese*, have follow'd the same steps, and furnish'd the *Blacks* with

all the proper materials and tools to that purpose; and have also taught some of them the silver and goldsmiths trade: in which, the *Blacks*, by their natural genius, have extremely improv'd themselves, and can make many sorts of small utensils and ornaments of gold; especially buttons plain, or in filigreen; rings plain, or in chains; tooth-pickers; curious hat-bands; and sword-hilts; besides many other sorts of curiosities: amongst which, I have very often admired their ability in casting gold in filigreen, so as to represent very exactly the form of large sea periwinkles, and all other species of snail or shell-fish, &c. as shall be farther observ'd hereafter.

They are so great artists at melting all sorts of glass, as to give it any shape or figure they fancy.

They are commonly as gross pagans, in point of religion and worship, as the other *Blacks* of the *Gold Coast*; and if there are any among them that shew some sense of christianity, they are only the *Mulattos* of *Portuguese* descent, whereof there are near two hundred families in the town; but even these are very indifferent new christians, as they call themselves, their religion being mix'd with much pagan superstition. The great concern of the *Dutch* on this coast, as well as of all other *Europeans*, settled or trading there, is the gold, and not the welfare of those souls: for by their leud loose lives, many who live among these poor wretches, rather harden them in their wickedness, than turn them from it. I beg leave to mention this with sorrow, to the dishonour of christianity! tho' on the other hand it must be own'd, that the nature of these *Blacks* in general is such, that it is very difficult for well-disposed christians to convert them, as experience has sufficiently well shewn.

C H A P. V.

The coast of St. George de la Mina. Coenraedsburg fort. The country about them. Arbitrary government of the Dutch.

CASTLE of ST. GEORGE.

I AM now to speak of the famous castle *St. George de la Mina*, so call'd by the *Portuguese*, because they landed there on his day, and it has kept the name ever since.

Its situation.

It is seated on the east-south-east point of the long narrow peninsula, on which the town of *Mina* stands, as I have said before, and on the south side of the mouth of the river *Benja*. Both the north and south sides are encompassed with the rocky strand and the sea; so that it is accessible only on the west side, which is cover'd by the town of *Mina*. And thus it is by nature and art very strong, for

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that part of the castle which commands the town, is very well fortified, and there is no other way to come at it by sea, but by the river side, near the bridge of communication, laid over it for the conveniency of the fort *Coenraedsburg*. The entrance into the river is also pretty difficult, because of the bar which lies across the mouth of it.

The *French*, as I observ'd in the former sheets of this description, pretend to have been the first *European* nation that made this settlement in 1383. and the *Portuguese* claim the same prerogative from the year 1452. Of which I shall give a particular account hereafter, together with a relation of the

S f

Dutch

BARBOT. Dutch conquest of this renowned place in 1637.

Strength. This castle is justly become famous for beauty and strength, having no equal on all the coasts of *Guinea*.

It is built square, with very high walls of a dark brown rock stone, so very firm, that it may be said, to be cannon-proof. The fort is fourteen *Rbynlandish* yards in breadth, and thirty two in length, not to reckon the out-works, which extend from the river *Benja* to the strand. The fort has four large bastions, or batteries within, and another on the out-works. Two of the bastions lie to the sea, and are, as well as the walls, of a prodigious height, as appears by the prospect in the cut; the point of the *Peninsula*, on which they stand, being a high flat rock: besides, two lower on the side of the river, where the ground descends gradually from the rock. And on these batteries forty eight fine pieces of brass cannon, with several pattareroes. The lower battery on the out-works, is full of iron pieces, which are fired on all occasions of saluting ships and the like.

PLATE 8.

The garrison commonly consists of one hundred white men, commanded by proper officers, and perhaps as many black soldiers, all in the company's pay.

The drawbridge is defended by a redoubt with eight iron guns, and a ditch in the rock twenty foot deep, and eighteen broad, with an iron portcullis, and four brass pattareroes within the gate, and a large *Corps de Garde* next to it; besides, the bridge is commanded by the small arms from the castle, which renders the passing over it very difficult.

Canals and cisterns.

On the land side the castle has two canals, always furnished with rain, or fresh water, sufficient for the use of the garrison, and ships; which were cut in the rock by the *Portuguese*, whom it cost much money and labour to blow up the rock by little and little with gun-powder, especially that which is at the foot of the walls on the town side. Besides three very fine cisterns within the place, holding several hundred tuns to save the rain, so that the garrison is in no great danger of wanting water.

There is room in the castle for a garrison of two hundred men, and several officers, who may be all very conveniently lodged.

The inside of the castle is quadrangular, built about with fine store-houses, of white stone and bricks, which thus form a very fine place of arms.

General's apartment.

The general's lodgings are above in the castle, the ascent to which is up a large white and black stone stair-case, defended at the top by two small brass guns, and four pattareroes of the same metal, bearing upon the place of arms; and a *Corps de Garde*

pretty large, next to which is a great hall, full of small arms of several sorts, as an arsenal; thro' which, and by a by-passage you enter a fine long covered gallery, all wainscoted, at each end of which there are large glass windows, and thro' it is the way to the general's lodgings, consisting of several good chambers, and offices, along the ramparts. The chappel on the other side of these rooms, is a pretty neat building, and well fitted for divine service; at which I was present on *Easter-day*, 1682. Besides *Sundays*, there are publick prayers every day, at which all the officers of the garrison, of whatever rank and degrees, are to be present, under a fine of twenty five stivers for every omission, and double that sum on *Sundays* and *Thursdays*.

The infirmary, or hospital, lies along the ramparts, towards the river-side; and can contain a hundred sick men, decently attended: and by it is a large tower, which over-looks the redoubt, but has no guns.

The ware-houses, either for goods or provisions, are very large and stately, always well furnish'd. The compting-houses particularly, are large, finely fitted for the factors and accomptants, book-keepers and servants, being in all about sixty persons. Over the gate of a spacious ware-house is cut in the stone, A° 1484, being the year when it was built by the *Portuguese*, in the time of *John* the second, king of *Portugal*. The characters look yet as fresh as if cut but twenty years ago. In this fortrefs, is a battery without shoulders, with some pieces of cannon, to batter the fort on *St. Jago's* hill, in case of need.

The goods and provisions are brought in at a gate that leads to the strand, where they are all hoisted up by cranes, or tackles, and in the same manner laid out again.

This place has been brought to the perfection it is now in, at the charges of the *Dutch West-India* company. It was nothing near so strong, nor so beautiful, when they took it from the *Portuguese*. And indeed, as it now is, it rather looks as if it had been made for the dwelling of a king, than for a place of trade in *Guinea*. Which evinces what is reported of the *Hollanders*, that of all *European* nations, they are the most curious and fittest to make settlements abroad; as sparing neither charges, labour, nor time, and being steady and constant in their undertakings: but it were to be wish'd, they had, on the other hand, a greater regard to the maxims of *Christianity*, for maintaining their authority in the places where they lord it, in those, and like remote countries of the world; of which I shall forbear to speak at present, and rest satisfy'd with some instances, which occur naturally in the body of

of these memoirs, without any partiality.

Land barren.

The small tract of land that depends on the republick of *Mina*, is adorned with little hills and vales, not very fertile; for which reason the inhabitants are obliged to get palm-wine, maiz, and cattle, with all other necessaries for their subsistence or refreshment, from the countries of *Fetu*, *Abramboe*, *Accanes*, and *Commendo*, partly in exchange for their fish, and partly for gold.

Whilst the *Portuguese* lorded it there, they caused great quantities of fruits and provisions to be sent them from *Axim*, which they sold to the *Dutch* trading ships, as the product of the country about *Mina*, boasting that it was the most fertile country of all the *Gold Coast*: but daily experience has convinced us, that *Mourée*, *Cormentyn*, and *Acra*, are abundantly more fruitful and pleasant, for human subsistence; and were it not for the great advantage of the fishery, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for so great a number of people as live in *Mina* to subsist and maintain the *Dutch* garrison.

COENRAEDSBURG FORT.

ON the north side of the little river *Benja*, opposite to the town of *Mina*, the *Dutch* thought adviseable to erect fort *Coenraedsburg*, on the high hill of *St. Jago*; so named by the *Portuguese*, from a little chappel they had built on it, dedicated to *St. James*. This small fortrefs was judged by the *Hollanders* very necessary to secure the hill, and hinder the access to it, and consequently for the safety of *St. George's* castle; tho' it seems rather to stand there, as made on purpose to reduce it with more ease, if it were once taken by an enemy: the judgment whereof I leave to others, who have well consider'd it.

This fort stands in the country of *Fetu*, being a beautiful quadrangle, strengthened with four good batteries, the walls twelve foot high, and strong, having four lesser square batteries, mounted with twelve guns. Within the fort is a tower, which commands the country about, with convenient lodgings for the garrison, not only of five and twenty men under an ensign, which are kept there in peaceable times, and relieved from the castle of *Mina* every four and twenty hours, but for as many more upon occasion. The fort is strong, both by nature and art, if well stored with provisions and men; for it may be easily defended, being but twenty-four fathom on each side. The *Dutch* are very careful to maintain it in good repair: for as it was from thence they chiefly obliged the castle of *St. George* to surrender, they think it highly concerns them to preserve this fort and hill; for those once

lost, the castle of *St. George* could not hold out long, and therefore as much care ought to be taken of this as of the castle itself.

The access to it is easy on the side of *Mina*, there being a road cut in the hill, from the fort down to the bridge, with an easy descent; but on the other side of the fort, towards *Fetu* country and *Commendo*, the hill is very steep.

The bridge of communication over the river, has a draw-bridge, just in the middle of it, as well for security, as to let pass the small ships farther into the river, to refit. At the foot of *St. Jago* is a large canoe-house, to preserve them from the weather; and a store-house built near it, for the conveniency of ship-carpenters. I observed at this place several tombs or little monuments, with abundance of puppets and antick ridiculous figures, which, as I was told, are of some kings, and other notable persons buried there, all adorned with imagery and other baubles.

Bridge.

On the north-side of *St. Jago's-hill*, and next to it, the general of the castle of *Mina* has a good large garden, handsomely divided by spacious walks, and rows of sweet and four orange, lemon, coco, palm, palma-christi, and other sorts of trees, and many extraordinary plants of the country; as also variety of herbs, pulse and roots from *Europe*. In the midst of the garden is a large, round, open, and curious summer-house, with a cupola-roof, several steps leading up to it. Some of the many sweet oranges that grow in this place, are but little inferior in taste to those of *Cbina*.

Benja, which divides this port of *Fetu* from *Mina*, is rather a creek than a river, reaches not far into the land; and it has been observed, that sometimes in dry seasons, the water of it is ten times saltier than the strongest brine, the soil thereabouts being very nitrous, and the creek shallow, which makes the sea-water there be sooner congealed into salt, than that of the ocean. The inhabitants of *Mina*, at such times, soon boil this water into salt, and make a considerable advantage of it. In the months of *May* and *June*, this water is as fresh as that which falls from the clouds; because then the rains are so great, that the streams fall from the neighbouring hills as fast as the tide comes in from the sea; so that here might be good conveniency for water-mills, there being water enough to turn them.

Very salt water.

The government of the coast is vested in the director-general, who always resides at the castle of *Mina*, taking upon him the title of admiral and general of *North* and *South Guinea*, and *Angola*; from whom all the governors, or chief factors, receive their commissions, and are accordingly subordinate to him, having no power to do any thing considerable

Govern-ment.

BARBOT. considerable without his consent. The most difficult and important affairs are cognizable, and ought to be laid before the council, consisting of the director-general, the fiscal, as well in others as in criminal cases, the chief factors, the ensign, and sometimes the accountant-general, who are the persons admitted to this council of *North* and *South Guinea*, as the *Dutch* call it. The factors of the out-forts are sometimes admitted, as extraordinary counsellors. Every member of this council has full liberty to offer his thoughts upon what is to be debated; but the sharpest of them will observe which side the general is inclined to, and never offer to thwart him, whatsoever they think, for fear of incurring his displeasure: so that the resolutions of the council seldom or never vary from the general's opinion; because he governs all on that coast, from the highest to the lowest, in an arbitrary manner, and can turn them out of their places, and send them away from the coast, without showing any reason for it. Thus, in reality the council is of no use; but to ratify the general's failings, and to secure him from being accountable for them. It therefore behoves the *West-India* company to bestow that post on a person of known integrity and disinterestedness; but it is hard to find a white raven.

General's
advan-
tages.

The general's salary is 3600 guilders *per Anz.* for the first three years, besides considerable perquisites out of whatsoever is traded on the company's account, all along the coast; so that when trade flourishes, his post is very considerable, not to mention the advantage he makes of such as trade under-hand. If continued in the post after his three years, he is allowed a third more salary for the first year; and so every year successively, one third more is advanced, till he is discharged. He also makes a considerable benefit of fines, confiscations, and other means, which are so considerable, that he

who enjoys the place some years, never fails of going home rich.

Having been well acquainted with the general, at the time of my being there, we had much discourse about the *French* and *Dutch* interlopers; arguing, whether it were not for the common interest of both companies, *French* and *Dutch*, that their ships should, as occasion offered, seize such ships of either nation, as ventured to trade on that coast. We had also the advice of his council upon that subject, who thought such a treaty ought rather to be made in *Europe*, between the directors of both companies, than on the coast of *Guinea* by their agents.

To conclude this chapter concerning the castle of *Mina*, I shall only add, that as it is the chief place the *Dutch* have on this coast, it is also the residence of the general, or governour in chief, the principal factor and fiscal; and there all their ships which come from *Europe* come to an anchor, and unlade: for which purpose, there are very fine warehouses to lay up their goods. The chief factor has charge of those warehouses, which is sometimes worth a considerable sum of money to him; and from thence all their other forts and factories are supplied with the goods they have occasion for. The *Blacks* resort daily to the castle with their gold; for which, after it is weighed, tried, and refined, they receive their commodities, none of which ever go out of the store-houses till they are paid for, the chief factor giving no credit, because he is answerable for all the goods he is entrusted with. Nor can he charge the presents usually made to the native merchants to the company's account; because the said company allows all their factors a certain advance, which is not only sufficient for making of the presents to the *Blacks*, but to leave them considerable gainers every year, which is done to encourage them to be the more diligent and faithful in the service.

C H A P. VI.

An introduction. French discoverers of Guinea. Portuguese discoverers thereof. They build the fort at Mina. Fables of theirs. Cruelty to the French. Behaviour of the Dutch in Guinea.

INTRODUCTION.

I Promised above to give an account of the taking of this famous castle of *St. George de la Mina* by the *Dutch*, for the better information and entertainment of the reader; and shall accordingly perform it as briefly as will be convenient, out of the historians of that nation. But before I enter upon that subject, I think it will be very proper to add something more than has been said in the introductory discourse to this work, concern-

ing the pretensions of the *French* and *Portuguese* to the first discovery of *Guinea*; as also of the behaviour of the *Portuguese* while they were sole possessors of the *Gold-Coast*: but first of the *French*, from such authors of theirs as have treated of it.

FRENCH discoverers of GUINEA.

SOME merchants of *Dieppe* having made French several trading voyages to cape *Verde*, discover and farther on to *Sestro-Paris*, on the *Pepper-* Mina- *Coast*

Coast of Guinea, in the year 1364, and in the reign of Charles V. king of France, in the year 1382, undertook, in conjunction with other merchants of Rouen, to send three ships to make further discoveries along that coast. One of those ships, call'd the *Virgin*, ran as far as *Commendo*; and thence to the place where the town of *Mina* stands, so call'd, either from the quantity of gold they got by trading with the *Blacks*, or their concluding that the country was very rich in gold mines. In the year 1383, they built there a strong house or factory, in which, they left ten or twelve of their men to secure it; and were so fortunate in improving their settlement, that in 1387, the colony being considerably enlarg'd, they built a chappel to it, and had a very good trade with the natives till the year 1413; when, by occasion of the civil wars in France, which involv'd the kingdom in such mighty calamities, the stock of these adventurers being exhausted, they were oblig'd to quit not only *Mina*, but all their other settlements at *Sestro Paris*, cape *Monte*, *Sierra Leona*, and cape *Verde*.

Proof of it. As a farther proof that the *French* founded the castle at *Mina*, they alledge, that notwithstanding the many revolutions, which have happened there in past years, one of the bastions is to this day call'd the bastion of *France*; and that on it, there are still some old arithmetical numbers to be seen, which are *Anno 13*, the rest being worn out or defaced by the weather: whence they infer, that their countrymen, who built that fort, did cut those numbers on the stone, as a memorial of the time when the castle was built, in the year 1383.

PORTUGUESE discoverers of GUINEA.

Their first adventure. THE civil wars of France distracting the nation, till the year 1490, the *Portuguese*, who then knew nothing beyond cape *Verde*, having heard of the mighty profit the *French* adventurers had made of their trade in *Guinea*, for almost fifty years together, fitted out a ship at *Lisbon*, in the year 1452, by direction of the *Infante Don Henry*, and in the reign of *Alphonso V.* king of *Portugal*, to make discoveries along the coast of *Guinea*.

This *Portuguese* ship happening to be on the coast, at the time of the great rains, and not being acquainted with the country, nor used to the climate, most of the crew fell sick, and therefore resolv'd to return to *Portugal*: but as they had no knowledge of the tides nor trade-winds, in those seas, the ship was driven to an island in the bight of *Guinea*, on the 21st of *December*, being the feast of *St. Thomas* the apostle; for which reason, they gave the island that name. Finding there plenty of necessaries for their

St. Thomas's island.

support, and their vessel being disabled BARBOT. from returning home without refitting, they form'd there the first *Portuguese* colony; and after some time, put to sea again, and arrived at *Lisbon* in 1454.

The discovery of this island, encouraged the undertaking of another expedition, to increase the new colony. Thence, in process of time, the *Portuguese* advanced to *Benin* in *Guinea*; and, at length, to *Acra* on the *Gold Coast*; where, having purchased a good quantity of gold, they return'd to *St. Thomas's* island. The governor thereof resolv'd to fit out three caravels, in the year 1453, with a considerable number of men, and materials to build at several places on the *Gold Coast*. These vessels proceeded as Portu- guese at Mina. far as *Mina*, forty years after it had been abandon'd by the *French*.

Marmol says, that *Santarem* and *Escobar* were the first that came upon that part of the *Gold Coast*, which is now called *Mina*, in the year 1471. King *John II.* of *Portugal*, to secure the trade of his subjects in those parts, sent thither ten caravels, in the year 1481, laden with all sorts of materials for building a fort, and a hundred masons, under the command of *James de Azambuja*; Azambuja lands there. who, upon his arrival there, sent advice to *Casamanse*, lord of the country, with whom he had before concluded a treaty of commerce, desiring he would come down to him to ratify it, as being advantageous to himself and subjects. Whilst *Casamanse* was coming, *Azambuja* landed his men, privately arm'd under their clothes, and immediately took possession of a proper place to build the intended fort; being a little hill, at some distance from *Casamanse's* residence, where were about five hundred houses. He set up a standard, with the arms of *Portugal*, on a tree, and erected an altar; at which, mass was said the first time in *Ethiopia*, for the soul of *Henry*, late *Infante* of *Portugal*, the first and chief promoter of the discoveries of *Nigritia* and *Guinea*, as is observ'd in the introductory discourse to this work. This happen'd on the feast of *St. Sebastian*, whose name was given to a valley, where the *Portuguese* landed. After mass, *Azambuja* was inform'd of the coming of *Casamanse*, and having rang'd his men in order, sat down in an elbow chair, having on a gold brocade waistcoat, and a gold collar set with jewels, all his followers clad in silk, making a lane before him, that the black prince might admire his grandeur. *Casamanse*, on his part, was not wanting to show his state, which appear'd by a great number of arm'd *Blacks*, with a mighty noise of trumpets, horns, tinkling bells, and other instruments, all together making a hideous noise. The principal *Blacks* were dress'd after their own manner, as they are to this

BARBOT. day, when they go to war, as shall be here-
 after described; and follow'd, each of them,
 by two pages, one of them carrying a buck-
 ler, and the other, a little round stool,
 their heads and beards adorn'd with gold,
 after their fashion.

His speech. After the first ceremonies and salutes on
 both sides, which took up some time, *Azambuja*
 made a long speech, expressing the
 great esteem the king his master had for *Casa-*
manse's person and country, and how earnest-
 ly he desired his, and his people's conversion
 to the christian faith; offering him his assist-
 ance and friendship upon all occasions, to
 which effect he had sent him thither, with
 a fleet well provided with men, ammuni-
 tion, and rich commodities: for the prefer-
 vation whereof, he hoped he would allow
 him to build a fort, for the carrying on
 of trade with his subjects, representing to
 him the many advantages himself and his
 state would receive thereby; for by that
 means, he would become terrible to his
 neighbours, and that many of the black
 kings would be glad to accept of such pro-
 posals, &c.

Builds a fort. *Casamanse* understanding the substance of
Azambuja's discourse, by means of an inter-
 preter, and being a man of good sense,
 made several objections to what he had
 said, endeavouring to divert him from the
 thoughts of building a fort, and to persuade
 him to be satisfied with trading as he had
 done before; but was at last prevail'd upon
 to consent to it. The next day *Azambuja*
 set his men to work, and the masons break-
 ing some rocks on the sea-side, the *Blacks*,
 whether it were out of a superstitious veneration
 they paid to those rocks, or that they
 could not approve of erecting a fort in their
 country, began to show their resentment;
 which *Azambuja* perceiving, he caus'd con-
 siderable presents of fundry forts to be dis-
 tributed among them, whereby they were
 all pleas'd, and the *Portuguese* carry'd on
 the work with such diligence, that the fort
 was put into a posture of defence in less than
 twenty days, and the tower rais'd to the
 first story; the materials abovementioned,
 which *Azambuja* brought over, being so fit-
 ted, that there was nothing to do but to put
 them together. This done, he sent home his
 caravels with a considerable quantity of gold.

The *Portuguese* found the *Blacks* very kind,
 and traded with them at what rate they
 would themselves for their goods; which
 was a great encouragement to the building
 of the aforesaid fort, to secure themselves
 against any attempts of the natives, or of any
Europeans in after-times: and thus to se-
 cure to themselves the whole trade of that
 rich country.

Peace between Spain and Portugal. The bloody war betwixt *Castile* and *Portugal*
 being ended by a treaty of peace at

Alcazoves, on September 4. 1479. excluding
 the unfortunate princess *Joanna* from the suc-
 cession to the crown of *Castile*; *Ferdinand*,
 who had secured that throne to himself, re-
 nounced his claim to the kingdom of *Portu-*
gal; and king *Alphonso V.* of *Portugal*, on
 his part, resign'd the title of king of *Castile*,
 he had before assumed. It was farther sti-
 pulated by that treaty, that the com-
 merce and navigation of *Guinea*, with the
 conquest of the kingdom of *Fez*, granted
 by the popes to the kings of *Portugal*, should
 remain to them, exclusive of the *Castilians*,
 who engaged not to trade, or touch in those
 parts, without permission from the court of
Portugal; and on the other hand, that the
Canary islands should entirely belong to
 the crown of *Spain*.

Manuel de Faria y Sousa, in his history, *Fabulous accounts.*
 pretends, that, contrary to these articles of
 peace, the *Castilians*, in the year 1481, sent
 a fleet to trade on the coast of *Guinea*; where-
 upon, king *Alphonso* of *Portugal* sent a squad-
 ron to obstruct them, under the command
 of *George Correa*, who met with thirty ships
 of *Castile* on the coast of *Mina*, and after
 a sharp engagement, obtain'd a compleat
 victory, bringing several of them to *Lisbon*.
 But this seems to be a groundless narrative
 of that author's, according to the usual van-
 ity of those people, no *Spanish* historian tak-
 ing the least notice of any such action; be-
 sides, it appears that the crowns of *Castile*
 and *Portugal* were that year 1481 in perfect
 amity, and jointly fitting out all their ma-
 ritime power against the *Turks*; and king
Alphonso died before the end of that year;
 besides, *Azambuja's* expedition, mention'd
 above that same year, contradicts this in-
 vention: so that there is not the least likeli-
 hood in that story. Nor do I find any more
 in what the same author says, that in the
 year 1478, the *Castilians* sent to the said
 coast a fleet of thirty-five sail, under the
 command of *Peter de Cobides*, who brought
 a great quantity of gold into *Spain*; such
 fleets were not at all usual in those days,
 and if any had been, other authors must have
 made mention of them: we will therefore
 add no more of such romantick relations,
 this being enough to give the reader a cau-
 tion, not to be too hafty in giving credit to
 vain-glorious writers.

King *John II.* of *Portugal*, in order to se-
 cure the whole trade of *Guinea* in the hands
 of his subjects, granted letters patents to
 some undertakers, himself joining in part-
 nership with them. Three ships were fitted
 out; and so uncertain are the accounts of
 these *Portuguese* affairs, that, notwithstanding
 the relation given above out of *Marmol*,
 some refer the erecting of the fort at *Mina*
 to this year: such is the confusion among those
 who pretend to write the history of that na-
 tion.

tion. However, it was king *John* gave that fort the name of *St. George*, and afterwards granted many privileges and franchises to such as should be willing to reside in it. He also gave it the name of a city, and caus'd a church to be built in it, dedicated to *St. George*. After this, the said king took the title of lord of *Guinea*, and commanded those who were employ'd to make farther discoveries along the southern coast of *Africa*, and, at every place of note, to erect a square monument of stone, six foot high, with his arms on it, and two inscriptions, one on each side, in *Latin* and *Portuguese*, containing the year, month, and day when that discovery was made by his order, with the name of the captain who commanded that expedition; and on that pedestal, a stone cross, cramp'd in, whereas, in former times, they used to set them up of wood.

Some years after, the king of *Portugal* form'd a *Guinea* company, with the sole privilege of trading there, excluding all his other subjects; which, at first, made a very considerable profit, and caus'd fort *St. Anthony* to be built at *Axim*; another small one at *Acra*; and a lodge at *Sama*, on the river of *St. George*; for the conveniency of drawing from those places, which were in a more fruitful and cheaper country, the necessary provisions for subsisting of the garison of *Mina*, which before was maintain'd by the king of *Portugal*, who reserv'd to himself the right of appointing a governour, and other officers, every three years, to gratify such of his subjects as had serv'd him well in *Europe* and in *Africa*, in his wars with the *Moors* of *Fez*, without making their fortunes.

Thus the garison of this place came to be commonly compos'd of leud and debauch'd persons, as well officers as soldiers, both of them used to commit outrages, and to plunder, or of such as were banish'd *Portugal* for heinous crimes and misdemeanours. No wonder therefore, that the histories of those times give an account of unparallel'd violences and inhumanities committed there by those unfatiable *Portuguese*, during the time that place was under their subjection, not only against the natives of the country, and such *European* nations as resorted thither, but even among themselves.

In the reign of *Henry III.* king of *France*, the civil wars there being at an end, the *French* again resolv'd to trade along the coast of *Guinea*, and accordingly resorted to the pepper and gold coast; and not being able to prevail upon the *Blacks* of *Mina*, to deal with them, those people being deterr'd by the threats of the *Portuguese*, they sail'd thence to *Acra*, upon intelligence, that the natives, provok'd by the barbarous usage of the *Portuguese*, had surpriz'd their little fort,

massacred the garison, and razed it to the ground, in the year 1578.

Barbarity towards the FRENCH.

FROM that time the *Portuguese* lost their credit and interest on that coast, when they had reap'd all the advantages of the *Guinea* trade for above a hundred years, which now dwindled away from them; other *European* natives contending with them, and by degrees becoming sharers in the wealth. But this was not without bloodshed, and particularly many of the *French* lost their lives, either at the hands of the *Portuguese*, or of the *Blacks*, who receiv'd an hundred crowns reward of the *Portuguese*, for every head of a *Frenchman* they brought, the *Portuguese* general exposing them on the walls of his fort. These barbarities practis'd for many years by the *Portuguese*, so terrify'd the *French*, that they again abandon'd the trade of *Guinea*.

As for the *Blacks*, the *Portuguese* treated them with the utmost cruelty upon all occasions, laying heavy duties on the provisions of their country, and on the fishery, and forcing the prime men among them, and even the kings, to deliver their sons to wait on them as servants, or slaves. Nor would they ever open their warehouses, unless there were forty or fifty marks of gold brought to purchase goods, when they compell'd the poor wretches to take any commodities they would give them, good or bad, and at their own price; those people not daring to refuse what was offer'd them: and if ever they found any base mixture among the pure gold, they immediately caus'd the offender to be put to death, of what degree, or condition soever he might be, as happened to a near relation of the king of *Commany*. If any of the *Blacks* durst buy goods of other *Europeans*, the said goods, if seiz'd by the *Portuguese* fiscals and waiters, were not only confiscated, but a heavy fine impos'd upon the purchaser.

The *Dutch* found no better usage from the *Portuguese*, when they had an opportunity, but would not desist from the *Guinea* trade, being encourag'd, by the mighty profit they found on that coast to bear with the outrages offer'd by those people, till at last they had their full revenge, when the two nations engag'd in war. Then the *Dutch* calling to mind how basely they had been treated by the *Portuguese*, at that time subjects to *Spain*, took from them, not only one half of *Brazil*, but also all the forts they had on the coast of *Guinea*, driving that nation thence for ever, by taking the castle of *Mina*, in the year 1637, and that of *Axim* in 1643, as shall be related in the next chapter.

BE-

BARBOT.

Portuguese decline.

Portuguese cruelty.

Portuguese Guinea Company.

A wicked garison.

French again at Guinea.

BARBOT.

Behaviour of the DUTCH in GUINEA.

BEFORE I proceed on that subject, the reader may perhaps be pleas'd to hear, what account the *Portuguese* authors give of the behaviour of the *Dutch*, towards the *Blacks* on this coast, since they first gain'd footing there. I will give the words of *Vasconcelos*, a *Portuguese* gentleman, and knight of the order of CHRIST, in his life of king *John II. lib. 2. p. 194.* The rebels, *says he, meaning the Dutch*, have gain'd more upon the *Blacks* by drunkenness, giving them wine and strong liquors, than by force of arms; instructing them, as ministers of the devil, in their wickedness, the more dangerous, where there is no virtue to oppose it: but the dissolution of their lives and manners, and the advantages the *Portuguese* of *Mina* have gain'd over them, in some rencounters, tho' inferior in number, have given the rebels so ill a reputation among the natives, that they not only contemn them, as infamous, but also as men of no courage and resolution. However, the *Blacks* being a barbarous people, susceptible of the first notions that are instill'd into

them, readily enough swallow *Calvin's* poison, spread among them, intermixed with merchandize; which their industry, taking the advantage of our negligence, or rather of our sins, vends about that coast, where they are by such means become absolute pirates. They also hold, without any other right or title, but force and violence, the fort at *Boutroë*, four leagues from ours, that is, at *Axim*; as also the settlements of *Cora*, *Coromantin*, and *Aldea del Tuerto*, at *Commodo*, and peaceably enjoy the commerce of *Mina*; where they purchase above two millions of gold yearly, and export all that can be furnished there by the *Fazars* and other nations, farther up in *Ethiopia*, who resort thither in great numbers. The quantity of merchandize, and their cheapness, has made the *Barbarians* the more greedy of them; tho' persons of honour and quality have assur'd me, they would willingly pay double for our goods, and are very covetous of them, as suspecting the others to be of less worth and deceitful, so that they buy them only for want of better. But enough of this author, the rest being nothing but vanity.

C H A P. VII.

First Dutch voyages to Guinea. They take the castle of St. George, at Mina; their behaviour there; their trade, &c.

I am now to speak of the taking of the castle of *St. George*, at *Mina*, by the *Dutch*, and shall therefore begin my account from their first voyage to the *Gold Coast*.

First DUTCH Voyages to GUINEA.

Occasion of them.

ONE *Bernard Ericks*, of *Medenblick*, having been taken at sea, by the *Portuguese*, and carry'd to the *Prince's* island, in the bight of *Guinea*, and hearing there of the rich trade they drove on the *Gold Coast*; being afterwards set at liberty, and returning to *Holland*, offer'd his service to some merchants, for a *Guinea* voyage; who accordingly furnish'd him with a ship, and proper cargo.

Ericks perform'd the voyage successfully, in 1595, running along the whole *Gold Coast*, where he settled a good correspondence with the *Blacks*, for carrying on the trade with them in future times. These people finding his goods much better and cheaper, than what they used to have from the *Portuguese*, and being disgusted at the violence and oppression of their tyrannical government, besides their natural love of novelty; provok'd the *Portuguese* to use them worse than they had done before, and so they continu'd till the year 1600, when

Blacks rise against the Portuguese.

the *Commendo* and *Fetu Blacks*, encourag'd by the *Dutch*, who supply'd them with arms and other necessaries, rose against the *Portuguese*, who had above three hundred men kill'd in that war, and were reduc'd for the future to keep themselves confin'd to the castle of *Mina*.

The *Dutch* who till then had found much difficulty to make settlements on the *Gold Coast*, notwithstanding their being coun-^{Dutch build}tenanc'd by the *Blacks*, resolv'd now to erect some forts on the coasts of *Benin*, and *Angola*. Then practising underhand with several of the kings and prime men along the *Gold Coast*, the king of *Sabou* gave them leave to build a fort at *Mouree*, three leagues east from *Cabo Corso*, which they finish'd in the year 1624, and gave the command of it to *Adrian Jacobs*, at the time when the crown of *Portugal* was at war with the *Dutch*, but possess'd by *Philip IV.* king of *Spain*; which monarchs had reduced it under their dominion the year after the death of the cardinal *Henry*, the last king of *Portugal* in the year 1578, who succeeded king *Sebastian*, kill'd in a battle against the *Moors* of *Fez* and *Morocco*. The said cardinal was eighth son to king *Emanuel*, and near eighty years of age when rais'd to the throne, which accordingly he enjoy'd not long.

Dutch routed by Blacks.

In December 1625, the Dutch made an attempt on the castle of *Mina*, with twelve hundred of their own men, and a hundred and fifty *Sabou Blacks*, under the command of their Rear-Admiral *Jan-Dirks Lamb*, who landed at *Terra Pequena*, or *Ampena*, in the country of *Commendo*, but were totally routed by the *Portuguese* auxiliaries, the *Blacks* of *Mina*, alone; those natives attacking the *Dutch* before they could form their body, at the foot of a hill, a little before sun-set, which was done in such vigorous manner, that the action was over before night, with the slaughter of three hundred seventy three soldiers, and sixty six seamen, besides all the auxiliary *Sabou Blacks*, and most of the *Dutch* Officers. *Lamb* their general, being wounded, was rescued by the little *Commanny Blacks*.

DUTCH take CASTLE ST. GEORGE at MINA.

Dutch contrive to out the Portuguese.

THE states-general, having some years after made over the property of fort *Nassau*, at *Mouree*, to their *West-India* company; *Nicholas Van Ypren*, their general at *Mouree*, made from time to time what interest he could with the *Black* kings along that coast to drive the *Portuguese* thence, and to settle themselves in their room, by means of large presents and many larger promises he made them, and succeeded so well as to foment a division among the very *Portuguese* garison in the castle of *Mina*. Having thus dispos'd all things for a change, and having gain'd the *Caboceiros* and captains of the town of *Mina*, to assist the *Dutch* in a second attempt upon the castle, he sent a full account thereof to the directors of the *West-India* company in *Holland*; who having some years before gain'd footing in *Brazil*, by taking of *St. Salvador* and *Babia de todos los Santos*, belonging to *Portugal*, had contriv'd all possible means to secure a place of arms on the coast of *Africa*; that being masters of both points, on the two opposite continents, they might have the absolute command of the ocean, and of the passage to the *East-Indies*; so to ruin the trade of the *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, *English* and all other northern nations. They had often fought out for such a place of arms, from cape *Verde* to the cape of *Good Hope*, but fail'd in their several attempts, and particularly in that I mention'd before, in the year 1625, against the castle of *Mina*, which was reckoned the most convenient for their designs.

Dutch sent from Brazil to Guinea.

At this time count *John Maurice* of *Nassau*, a near relation to the prince of *Orange*, was arriv'd in *Brazil*, being by the *Dutch West-India* company appointed governor-general of that country and of south *America*, with the consent of the states, and of the

prince of *Orange*, and being made equal in authority to the governor general of the *East-Indies*, having the sole direction of martial and civil affairs, religion, justice and commerce. With him went a Fleet of thirty two ships, twelve of them men of war, carrying two thousand seven hundred of the choicest soldiers. *Van Ypren* being inform'd of his arrival in *Brazil*, and conquests there, sent a vessel over to give him an account of the favourable opportunity then offer'd for reducing of the castle of *Mina*, and banishing the *Portuguese* from the *Gold Coast*, by the conquest of that strong place. Count *Nassau* sent him nine men of war, of his squadron, under the command of colonel *Hans Coine*, provided with all necessaries for such an expedition.

BARBOT.

This squadron arriving at cape *La Hou*, on the coast of *Quaqua*, June the 25th 1637, the commander immediately sent advice to *Van Ypren*, at *Mouree*, and proceeded himself with his squadron to *Iffeny*, there to expect that general's orders, which were to bring his squadron to *Commendo* road, to join him with two hundred canoes of *Blacks* and some transport ships.

Join these there.

Van Ypren gain'd over to his party most of the youth of *Commendo*, to whom he promis'd a considerable sum of gold, in case he reduced the castle by their assistance.

Thus the fleet proceeded towards cape *Corso*, and the forces landed the 24th of July, in a little bay, or creek, about half a mile west of *Corso*, in their bar canoes; every soldier carrying three days provision. They were in all eight hundred soldiers and five hundred seamen, besides the auxiliary *Blacks*, and march'd in three bodies; the first of them, being the *Van*, was headed by *William Latan*, the main body by *John Godlaat*, and the rear by colonel *Coine*. They all halted at the river *Dana* or *Dolce* to refresh themselves, and *Coine* being inform'd, that a body of a thousand *Mina Blacks* was posted at the foot of the hill of *Santiago*, to oppose his taking possession of it, as it appear'd by his march he design'd, besides that it was absolutely necessary so to do, that being the only place which could favour their enterprize, as commanding the fort; he detach'd four companies of fuziliers to beat them off: but instead of performing it, they were most of them cut in pieces by those *Blacks*, who struck off their heads, and carry'd them into the town, in triumphant manner. Hereupon major *Bon Garzon* was sent thither with another detachment, and having without much difficulty forded the river *Dana*, fell upon that body with such vigour, that he oblig'd them to abandon their post, and possess'd himself of it, with the loss of only four whites and ten blacks kill'd in the attack.

Gain a post.

BARBOT. But the major was afterwards attack'd there two several times, by the natives, endeavouring to recover the said post, whom he obliged both times to retire; yet it cost the life of *William Latan* and some more of his men, *Bon Garzon* pursuing the enemy down into the valley, between the mountains and the hill *Santiago*, where the rest of the *Dutch* forces join'd him.

The *Portuguese*, no longer able to keep the field against the *Dutch*, retir'd into the redoubt they had built on the hill *Santiago*. It was not long before they were attack'd in that place. Colonel *Coine* having caus'd two ways to be cut through the thickets, which cover one side of the hill, the one leading to the river *Dana*, and the other directly to the redoubt on the hill, two pieces of cannon and a mortar were brought up the hill, and mounted, on an advantageous spot, which commanded the castle so entirely, that ten or twelve bombs the *Dutch* threw from thence, were very near falling into the place.

In the mean time, another detachment of *Dutch* and *Commendo Blacks* was sent out, to attack the *Mina Blacks*, and afterwards the west-end of their town. The *Commendo Blacks* attempting to drive away some cattle, were in danger of being cut in pieces, had not the conduct of their officers prevented it, by keeping them close in a body along the river *Benja*, which covered them; so that the rest of that day was spent in skirmishing. The next day, the *Dutch* being reinforced from their main body, attacked the town of *Mina*, but were forced to retire by the great fire from the castle.

The day after, the general fearing lest delays should be prejudicial to his design, and disappoint the undertaking, summoned the castle as soon as it was light, protesting he would put all the garrison to the sword, if they refused to surrender immediately. The *Portuguese* governor demanded three days to consider on it; which was refused him, and so that day was spent.

The next morning *Coine* drew up his forces on the hill *Santiago*, and threw several bombs into the place, with little effect; but the following day, having caused his granadiers to draw nearer to the castle, the *Portuguese* beat the *Chamade*, and sent out two persons to capitulate, the articles being such as the *Dutch* general would impose, viz.

1. The governor, garrison, and all other *Portuguese*, to march out that day, with their wives and children, but without swords, colours, or any weapons, each person being allowed but one suit of wearing apparel.

2. All the goods, merchandize, gold, and slaves, to remain to the *Dutch*, except only twelve slaves allowed the inhabitants.

3. The church-stuff, which was not of gold or silver, allowed to be carried away.

4. The *Portuguese* and *Mulattos* to be put aboard the squadron, with their wives and children, and carried to the island *St. Thomas*.

Thus this famous castle of *Mina* was delivered up to the *Dutch*, on the 29th of August 1637; and in it they found thirty good pieces of brass cannon, nine thousand weight of powder, and much other ammunition. There was very little gold, and no great quantity of goods. This done, *Coine* returned to *Mouree*, with his forces, leaving captain *Walraeven* to command at *Mina*, with a garrison of 140 men, besides several *Blacks*, who had taken an oath of fidelity to them.

Coine, to make his advantage of the consternation the speedy conquest of the castle of *Mina* had spread along the *Gold-Coast*, sent a canoe, with a letter to the governor of the *Portuguese* fort, called *St. Antony*, at *Axim*, the most important post the *Portuguese* had on that coast, next to *Mina*, to summon him to surrender that place, before he came to attack it with his forces. The governor, who had more courage than the other at *Mina*, considering the *Dutch* could not well besiege his fort, by reason of the continual rains of that season, answered, that he was ready to give *Coine* a good reception, if he should pretend to besiege that place, which he was resolved to defend to the last extremity, for his king and master. This resolute answer obliged *Coine* to put off that enterprize to a more favourable opportunity; and the *Dutch* did not reduce *Axim* till the year 1642. *Coine* returned to *Brazil* with his fleet and forces, where count *John Maurice* of *Nassau* caused him to be received at *Olinda* and *Arracife*, under a discharge of all the cannon, and with all other marks of honour.

The *Dutch* now become masters of the important place of *Mina*, endeavoured to engross all the trade of the coast in their own hands; and to that effect, *Van Ypren* was called from *Mouree* to *Mina*, to make that his residence, as general of *Guinea* and *Angola*. He caused the castle to be repaired and enlarged, and by degrees made it much stronger, more beautiful, and of a greater extent, than when the *Portuguese* had it.

Behaviour of the DUTCH in GUINEA.

THE *Dutch* at first treated the *Blacks* of *Mina*, and the rest of the coast, very gently, carefing and presenting the chief of them: but when the *English* came to put in for a share of the trade of that rich country, and endeavoured to make an interest among the *Blacks*, in order to make settlements on that coast, the *Dutch* changed their former civility towards the *Blacks* into severity, to deter them from favouring the *English*. They also seized the *English* fort at *Cormentyn*, where the general of that nation resided, which was one of the motives for the war between them in the year 1666. The

Are repulsed.

Portuguese poorly submit.

Mean articles.

Mina taken by the Dutch.

Dutch engross the trade.

Towards the English.

Towards
the Blacks.

The better to curb the *Blacks* along the coast, and to engross the whole trade, they erected small forts at *Boetrou*, *Sama*, *Corfo*, *Anamabo*, *Cormentyn*, and *Aera*, pretending to the *Blacks*, they did it to protect and defend them against the outrages and insults of their neighbouring enemies of the inland country, who used often to attack them.

Being thus grown powerful, the more to keep down the *Blacks*, and prevent their attempting any thing against them, they laid duties on their fishery at *Axim*, *Mina*, and *Mouree*, forbidding them, under severe penalties, to hold any correspondence, or trade with other *Europeans*, as has been observ'd before; and proceeded to lord it over them so absolutely, as to take cognizance of all civil and criminal causes, and to assume the power of life and death over them; though, on the other hand, they are oblig'd to pay yearly acknowledgements to the native kings for the forts they have there.

Perceiving that, notwithstanding all these precautions, the *Blacks* were not deterr'd from trading with other *Europeans*, when occasion offer'd, they also abused the *Europeans* themselves, and continue so to do, to this very day.

The discontent of the *Mina* and *Commendo* *Blacks*, as well as those of *Fetu* and *Sabou*, was grown to such a height in my time, especially those at *Mina*, that they had actually broke with the *Dutch*, and for ten months kept their general close confin'd to the castle, without daring to come abroad, and had twice assaulted it, tho' without success, for want of understanding the art of war; having lost about eighty of their men, killing but four of the *Dutch*.

Not a day pass'd, whilst I lay thereabouts at anchor, but I had thirty or forty canoes from *Mina* and *Commendo*, all the *Blacks* coming to complain of the hardships the *Dutch* put upon their countrymen; keeping some of them for a long time in the bilboes, within the castle, expos'd stark naked to the scorching heat of the sun in the day, and to the cold dews in the night. I myself saw three of them in that condition on the land-batteries, show'd me by the then *Dutch* general; who told me, he had kept them so above nine months, as a punishment for their boldness and treachery, as having been concern'd in the conspiracy of the *Blacks* of *Mina* at that time, to surprize the castle of *St. George*, and to destroy it by fire, to which purpose they had actually gather'd a great number of the *Mina* men; but the intended design, being by him prevented, many of them were fled from the town to other places on the coast, after firing their houses.

In short, the *Blacks*, both here and at *Commendo*, continually entertained me with their grievances, and every one in parti-

Their dis-
content.

cular importun'd me to inform the *French* court, at my return, how desirous they were to see the *French* settled there, to protect them against the oppression they lay under.

BARBOT.

Being one morning at breakfast with the general, with whom I was pretty familiar, as being my old acquaintance; he spied through the gallery window several canoes of *Mina*, which were going aboard my sloop in the road to trade: whereupon he abruptly in a passion said, he would detain me, and seize the sloop, and had effectually done it, but that I desired him to send aboard, and enquire, whether I had not left positive orders with the master, to sell nothing to the *Blacks*; besides, that the fiscal was actually in the sloop, to observe what passed. For his farther satisfaction, I sold him the remaining part of the cargo that was in the sloop, for about ten marks of gold; and when I returned aboard, I had much ado to get rid of the *Blacks*, who were all much dissatisfied that I had sold those goods to the general.

The hard usage of the *Mina* *Blacks*, obliges many of them to fly from thence to other parts of the coast, which much lessens the trade of the *Dutch*; as does the great resort of other *European* ships on that coast: for I can remember, that some years there have been above fifty trading there, all at one time. Another detriment is occasion'd to them by the many settlements made on that coast, within these fifty years last past; and the *Dutch* general, at *Mina*, admits of no *Blacks* to buy goods, unless they can purchase the value of six marks of gold together.

I was told there, by some of the chief factors, that formerly they used to export thence above three thousand marks of gold yearly, and now, not above two thousand, when the trade is at the best.

They also used to export near eight thousand slaves from the whole coast, beginning at *Sierra Leona*, down to *Angola*, most of which they delivered at *Curassau*, whence the *Spaniards* had them at an hundred and one pieces of eight *per* head; besides vast quantities of elephants teeth, wax, *Guinea*-pepper, red-wood, cloths and other goods of the country.

Notwithstanding all this, I am convinc'd that the great charges the company is at, in building and keeping in repair so many forts and factories, with a sufficient number of garisons, and such a number of agents, factors, tradesmen, servants, labourers, and *Gourmet* *Blacks* in constant pay; as also the vast expence of so many wars successively against the natives and others; bribing the black kings, and paying large sums for auxiliaries and spies; presents, tolls, customs, and

BARBOT. and salaries to agents and servants in *America* and in *Europe*; with many more accidents and casualties, which fall in unexpectedly: all these things consider'd, the profits arising by this trade cannot be so considerable as some suppose it to be.

On the contrary, it may be concluded unreasonable to expect any thing but loss for any company, as I did make out to the *French African* company, who, perhaps, are much the better ever since, for driving their trade by shipping only along the *Gold Coast*, and in other parts of *Guinea* properly so call'd, without the charge of such settle-

ments ashore. An instance hereof they have in their trade at *Senega*, *Goeree*, and *Gamboa*, where, tho' the profits, at first sight, seem very considerable, yet by reason of the vast charges in maintaining garisons, and so many servants there, and in the *Caribbee* islands of *America*, we have seen the stock of that company quite exhausted, and two or three times successively renew'd. And I am apt to believe, the *Dutch West-India* company have no great cause to boast of their profit in *Guinea*, notwithstanding their vast trade there, considering their expences as above.

C H A P. VIII.

The kingdom of Fetu described. Mandinga kingdom. Cape Corfo. Ooegwa town. English and Dutch there. English fort at cape Corfo. Aguaffou village. Manfrou town. Danish fort.

Borders of the kingdom. **T**HE kingdom of *Fetu* or *Afuto*, as the *Portuguese* author *D. August in Emanuel de Vasconcelos* calls it, and some *English* *Fetou*, of which I am now to speak, borders westward on the river *Benja*, and the country of *Commendo*; northward, on *Atti*; eastward, on *Saboe*, ending below the *Danish* mount at *Manfrou*; and southward, on the ocean, being about five leagues in breadth. The present king's name is *Aben Penin Asbrive*. The kingdom is elective, the principal town of it is call'd *Fetu*, lying up the country.

Fine populous country. This country is so populous, that it strikes a terror into all its neighbours, especially those of *Commendo*, whom it once subdued. It has many well-built towns, full of inhabitants, abounds in corn and cattle, palm-wine and oil, and is adorn'd with smooth strait roads, set with trees on both sides from a mile or two beyond *Mina* to *Simbe*, a village about two leagues up the country of *Fetu*, so thick, that they shelter the traveller both from the sun and rain. All the hills and other lands near the fresh waters are cover'd with beautiful lofty trees, and the whole country reaps much advantage by being seated so near the chief residences of the *English* and *Dutch*.

Employments. The *Blacks* of this kingdom apply themselves, some to tillage; others to fishing, or boiling of salt; others to press oil and draw wine from the palm-trees; and others to trade, either on their own account, or as brokers for the inland *Blacks*.

Cape Corfo. This little kingdom has several villages on the sea-coast, the chiefest whereof is *Ooegwa*, at *cape Corfo*, which juts out into the sea in 4 deg. 49 min. of north latitude. This place is famous for the beautiful castle the *English* have built there, and for the plentiful market held every day in the

town, of all sorts of provisions, brought down from the inland country of *Fetu*, as also of considerable quantities of gold from *Fetu*, *Abramboe*, *Asiento*, and even from *Mandinga*; which last is above two hundred leagues up the country north-west from *cape Corfo*, as the *Ooegwa Blacks* report; adding, that the people of *Mandinga* are a sort of wild and bloody *Blacks*. Their capital city of *Songo* is in 10 degrees of north latitude, and about 6 degrees of longitude west from the meridian of *London*, according to a modern author, very rich in gold, much whereof is carry'd to *Tombut*, on the north side of the river *Senega*, as has been before observ'd.

O O E G W A T O W N.

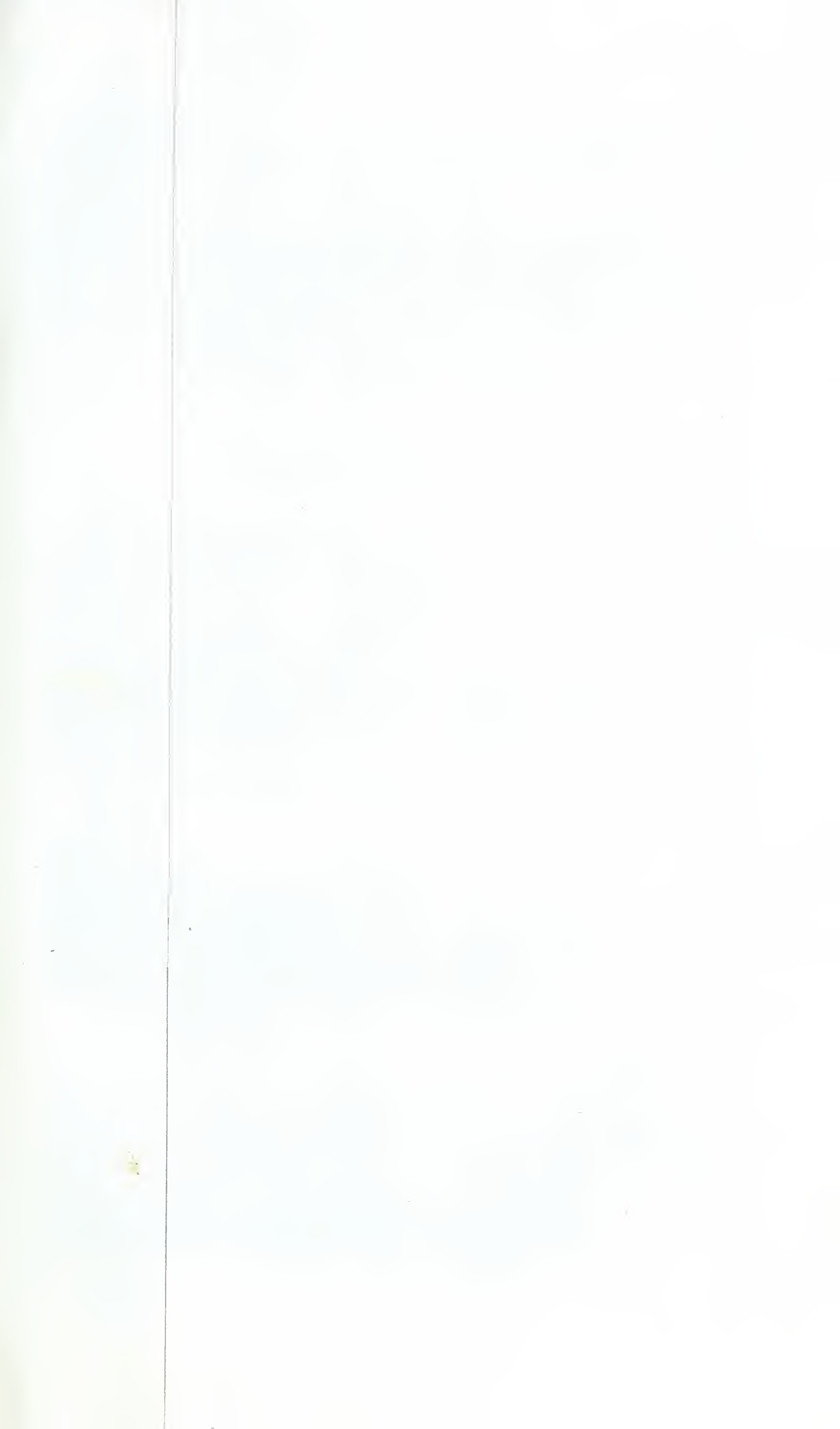
THE Town of *Ooegwa*, contains above five hundred Houses, divided by narrow crooked lanes, along the descent of the hills, appearing like an amphitheater from the coast. It is govern'd by a *Brasso*, and one *Griffin*, a *Cabocero*, and lies all of it under the command of the castle-guns.

The inhabitants are crafty and ready to cheat any man that is not upon his guard, and are nicely skill'd in debasing of gold; but naturally slothful, especially at tilling the ground, which produces every thing here as plentifully as at any of the other towns along the coast. They have a very filthy custom of laying their fish to corrupt for four or five days before they eat it; and easing themselves about their houses, and in any part of the town: which noisome stench together, must of necessity be very unwholesome, especially in the foggy weather, which has a sort of infection in itself.

E N G L I S H and D U T C H there.

I have already said, the *Dutch* had formerly a pretty good fort at *cape Corfo*, which

Admiral Holmes.



A VIEW OF CABO CORSO CASTLE



A The Negro's Town B The Landing place C A Large Canoe of abt 12 Tons

J. Scip. Sculp

which they bought of the factor of one *Carolof*, who had built it for the *Danish* company. That fort, in the year 1664, was destroy'd by the *English*, under admiral *Holmes*, after his expedition to fort *Wilsen*, at *Tacorary*, who afterwards took those of *Adia* and *Anamaboe*, belonging to the *Dutch*.

De Ruy-
ter.


The next year the *Dutch*, taking their revenge, as has been mention'd before, admiral *de Ruyter* came from *Gibraltar*, with a squadron of thirteen men of war, to the coast of *Guinea*, and setting upon the *English* there, destroy'd most of their factories, took *Cormentin* castle, *Tacorary* fort and other places upon that coast, and seiz'd on several ships, and the goods of the *English* company; in so much, that their loss was computed at above two hundred thousand pounds. By the treaty of peace, concluded after that war, it was stipulated, that the *Dutch* fort, at cape *Corso*, taken by the *English* in 1664, should remain to the *English*. Hereupon, in 1672, King *Charles II.* granted a new charter to sundry persons, who had subscribed to a new stock, for carrying on the *Guinea* trade, giving them the title of the royal *African company of England*, with the same privileges and exclusions, which the former company had, as I shall show in the supplement to this work.

ENGLISH Fort at Cape CORSO.

THE trade to *Guinea* being thus settled again, the new company several years after caus'd cape *Coast*, or *Cabo Corso* castle, to be built in the stately manner it is at present, being an irregular square, the largest and most beautiful on all that coast, next to *St. George of Mina*, with four flankers, and a large platform, on which are mounted thirteen pieces of cannon, being about eight pounders, pointing on the road and passage up to it; which can easily hinder any enemies ships anchoring there, and the small arms scour all the landing-place, behind the rocks that encompass it. On the battlements are ten guns, and twenty five on the flankers from a minion to nine pounders; and on a rock, call'd *Tabora*, twenty paces from the castle, are four, or six twelve pounders, in a round tower, garrison'd by about as many men, which serves to keep the *Blacks* in the town the better in awe, as well as to defend them from all other *Blacks* their enemies, that come from the inland country: tho' I look upon this tower as usefess, the castle being so high, that its cannon may sufficiently secure the town against any attempts of those people.

Danish
fort.

This castle is seated near the sea-side, about nine *English* miles east from *Mina*, and a short mile west from *Deen-Sthen*, or *Danish* mount, at *Manfrou*, on which stands the

fort of that nation, call'd *Fredericksburg*, BARBOT. quite overtopping the *English* castle at *Corso*,  as I shall observe hereafter.

The walls of *Corso* castle are high and thick, especially on the land-side, part thereof being of rock-stone and part of large bricks, which the *English* make, at some distance from the place.

The *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter* was sent by the states, to the coast of *Guinea*, to drive the *English* from several of their forts and settlements, of which they had possess'd themselves in 1664 by force of arms and surprize, under the conduct of admiral *Holmes* before-mention'd; who made himself master of all the places they had in north and south *Guinea*, except *Axim* and *St. George of Mina*. *De Ruyter* at his coming on that coast, being inform'd by the *Dutch* general *Valkenburg*, at *Mina*, how necessary it was for the advantage of the *Dutch West-India* company, to recover cape *Corso* from the *English*, that having no place of shelter left in *Guinea*, they might be oblig'd to give over the trade of *Africk*, and leave the *Dutch* sole possessors of it, he drew as near cape *Corso* as he could; but having well viewed the situation of the place, and finding he had only a small sandy reach to land his forces at, where an hundred men could easily repulse a thousand, and that if the fort could hold out but three days, his army would want provisions, it being very easy for the *Blacks* to stop all the passes and cut his men off from fresh water; besides, that the *Fetu Blacks*, among whom the fort is built, had refus'd to assist the *Dutch* with auxiliaries, and declar'd they would side with the *English*, if they were attack'd: for these reasons, I say, *de Ruyter* gave over the intended expedition, and could never sufficiently express his astonishment, that the *Dutch* should permit the *English* so easily to make themselves masters of such a place; and from that time it has ever continu'd in the possession of the royal *African* company of *England* to this day.

The natural situation, on a round head, Strong situation. jutting out into the sea towards the SSE, and its being encompass'd on that side and the SW by several rocks, and the sea it self, render it inaccessible on that side; the waves of the ocean continually breaking among those rocks.

The only landing-place is just under the fortrefs, in a small bay eastward, where the Landing-place. strand is clear of rocks, being a sandy flat, on which the *Blacks* run their canoes, without danger of splitting. The way thence is along the walls of the castle, to the principal gate looking W N W, up to the country. It has neither ditch, nor draw-bridge before it, nor so much as a portcullis, being only defended by the two round flankers on the

BARBOT. land-side, and a low small battery, mounted with six pieces of cannon.

Lodgings. The lodgings and apartments within the castle, are very large, and well-built of brick, having three fronts, which, with the platform on the south, almost make a quadrangle, answering to the inside of the walls, and form a very handsome place of arms, well paved; under which, is a spacious mansion, or place to keep the slaves in, cut out of the rocky ground, arch'd, and divided into several rooms; so that it will conveniently contain a thousand *Blacks*, let down at an opening made for the purpose. The keeping of the slaves thus under ground, is a good security to the garison against any insurrection.

A curious continu'd balcony runs along the buildings at the first story, with handsome stair-cases on the outside, at certain distances, on each front, for a communication between the lodgings of the garison; and under the balconies are several shops. Next the agent general's apartment is a large stately hall. There are also spacious storehouses, and counting-houses for the factors and other officers; some of which rooms were not quite finish'd in the year 1682. The then agent *Greenbil*, my very good friend, was diligently employ'd in finishing them.

Garison. The garison and other company soldiers amount to about a hundred whites, and near the like number of *Gromettoes*, with their respective officers, all clothed in red, and in the pay of the *Royal African Company*.

Water. They are supplied with water, in time of scarcity, from a large cistern, which holds above three hundred tun of rain, gathered in the wet season, from the tops and leads of the houses in the castle.

Fault of the fort. The only fault of this fortrefs is its nearness to the *Danish* mount, at *Manfrou*, which being high, and lying so near *Corso*, may batter it to ruin, with good large cannon. I have several times from the *Danes* fort seen the men walking in the place of arms, at cape *Corso*. The *English* are very sensible of this defect, and therefore endeavour by all means to live amicably with the *Danes*; and I believe would willingly persuade them to quit that fort for a sum of money.

Another. Another inconveniency for the castle of cape *Corso* is, its being built too near the three great hills, to the N W. and NE. of the town of *Corso*; where batteries might be easily erected to reduce it, by any nation, that were masters of the *Blacks* and their country. For this reason, the *English* make it their business to entertain a good correspondence with the chief of the natives, and make them considerable presents to

keep them firm to their interest; besides a sum of money they pay the king of *Fetu* monthly, very punctually, for the privilege of having the castle in his country.

The agent general of the *English* company, who bears the title of general of *Guinea*, from *Sierra Leona* to *Angola*; usually resides at *Castle-coast*, or *Corso*, where he keeps the great stores, and the accounts of the other forts and settlements on that coast; the trade whereof consists in gold, elephants teeth, slaves, wax, red-wood, *Guinea* cloths, &c. which might turn to considerable profit, were it well and justly managed. But I am apt to believe, want of virtue enough to withstand the temptations of opportunity and importunity of bad example, induces many of the company's servants to make no scruple of breaking the oath they take, not to trade for themselves directly or indirectly any way whatsoever; whereof many instances may be given. This, together with the vast number of interlopers and other foreign trading ships resorting to the coast every year, deprives the company of the best share of the commerce. How to remedy it, I leave to the directors of the said company. Certain it is, that few, who can live well at home will venture to repair to the *Guinea* coast, to mend their circumstances, unless encouraged by large salaries, and that a smaller number of factors be employ'd, as I have often represented it to the directors of the royal *African* company in *France*; whose trade daily decays, thro' the ill management of their servants in *Guinea*, who to their own vices, add those of the people, among whom they live and converse. And they need not go so far to observe the faults of those people to have matter of railing when they come home, considering, that nothing is baser, as *Seneca* writes, *Lib. 1. de moribus*, than to object that to another, which may be retorted upon one's self. And *St. Augustin's* confession, chap. 10. says, a curious sort of people, to pry into other men's lives, and slothful to mend their own. For none of us *Europeans* ever go to *Guinea*, but we are apt at our return to make horrid pictures of the manners and vices of the *Blacks*.

This must be said, once for all, that the generality of those who look for such employments, are necessitous persons, who cannot live at home; and perhaps most of them of a temper to improve all opportunities of mending their worldly circumstances, without much regard to the principles of christianity. For without reflecting on particular persons, it may be said, that what I have here asserted, is sufficiently made out by the irregularity of their lives, in those parts; and particularly as to lewdness with women, and excess of drinking, especially punch.

punch. And it is almost incredible how many shorten their days by such debauchery, and above all, the soldiers and workmen; as well as by ill diet and water, the want of proper remedies and able physicians; and the passing in canoes from one place to another, which has a danger in itself, besides that of the sea. The fondness of their beloved liquor punch, is so great, even among the officers and factors, that, whatever comes of it, there must be a bowl upon all occasions, which causes the death of many of them; and consequently the garison becomes very weak, the survivors looking poor and thin, not only of the soldiers, but of the officers and factors, whose countenances are shrivel'd and dismal, through ill diet and worfe government; either their stomach or their money falling short, when they have lived there some time. And should we form a judgement of the state of health in *Guinea*, by the number of *English* that die there, that country would have a more unhealthful name in *England* than in *France*. I am also apt to believe, that the excessive eating of flesh, so natural to the *English*, is very prejudicial to them in those parts; as I have often represented to some of the principal men at cape *Corso* castle, giving them directions how to live more regularly, which is certainly more agreeable to that intemperate unhealthy climate; viz. to abstain from the black women, to drink moderately, especially brandy, rum, and punch; and avoid sleeping in the open air at night, as many, when heated with debauchery, do, having nothing on but a shirt, thinking thus to cool, but, on the contrary, they murder themselves: for nothing is more pernicious to the constitution of *Europeans*, than to lie in the open air, as I have been sufficiently convinc'd by experience. Therefore, I did not only take care to avoid lying so expos'd, but always kept to my bed, as warm as I could well bear it; and, both night and day, wore a dress'd hare's-skin next to my bare stomach, for above two years together, which kept it in a good disposition, and help'd digestion very much; tho' I must own, it was sometimes, and especially in the excessive hot nights, very troublesome, and occasion'd much sweating.

The air. The air, tho' not so cold, is much thinner, and more piercing than in *England*, and corrodes iron much faster. The company's ships are supply'd with water from the cistern in the castle; and if that is out, from a large pond, lying at some distance towards the sea, between cape *Corso* and *Mina*, the *Blacks* conducting the boats thither, and rolling the casks backwards and forwards along the paths on the shore among the rocks, at a place call'd *Domine*.

Gardens. The gardens belonging to the agent and

other officers of the castle, are at some distance from it, towards the strand, and full of orange and lemon-trees; but have very few plants and herbs. In the midst of them is a square summer-house for their diversion. Another place, much like a garden, but all planted with coco-trees, is the common burying-place for the garison and officers.

The agent-general expects to be saluted by all ships that anchor in the road of cape *Corso*, not by firing of guns, but by lowering the top-sails down to the tops; and causing the platform of the castle to fire with ball on such ships, either *English* or foreigners, as omit to do so. At my last voyage thither, aboard the *French* man of war *le Folly*, I was not a little surprized after having saluted the castle with seven guns, and being answer'd with five, that, as we were coming to an anchor, they fired three guns at us with ball, one after another, which fell just at the head of the ship. Not knowing the meaning thereof, we held on our course about a mile farther, to *Manfrou* road, and sent ashore the next morning, to know whether there was any rupture betwixt *France* and *England*, which I was unacquainted with, tho' newly come from *Europe*. The general sent word, that if I would come and dine with him, I should be satisfied as to my question. He gave me a noble reception at my landing, the garison making a lane from the water-side to the castle gate, whither the chaplain conducted me; and the general, with his officers, receiv'd me at the gate, and order'd nine guns to be fired from the flankers. He then told me, he had positive orders from his superiors, to require all ships whatsoever, which anchor'd in the road, or pass'd by, within reach of his guns, to lower their top-sails. The anchoring-place is about two miles from the shore; where agent *Greenbil*, in the year 1660, made frequent observation, that the variation was 2 deg. 14 min. westerly. It generally flows here SSE. and NNW. upon the full and change. The water, upon spring-tides, rises about six or seven foot.

The shore about cape *Corso*, lies almost east and west, expos'd to the south. The country is hilly, though not very high, but close together, the valleys between being extraordinary narrow, most cover'd with a sort of low, but very thick shrubs. It is not above a tenth part of the ground that the natives till; and yet that, within six months after, is overgrown as before. The soil is easy to be till'd, and yields some hundreds for one; yet, so slothful are the natives, that if they have but one bad year, they are in danger of starving.

Some impute the earth's being so cover'd with shrubs, to the badness of the air, and to the rain-water they there keep in pits, which

BARBOT.

Striking to the castle.

BARBOT. which strains through the earth, and has a sweetish taste, with a mixture of acid like vitriol. Others ascribe it to the excessive rains; but it has been observ'd, that 'tis not only the wet which makes this country unhealthy. On the other hand, if a country which is all gravel, may be reckoned healthy, as are some parts of *Hampshire* in *England*, then that country should also be accounted such, there being every where a gravel or sand on the surface, and under it a sort of whitish marle, almost like fuller's earth.

Air. As I have said before, I know not what fault there is here in the air, more than at other places on the coast, tho' unhealthiness may in some measure proceed from the ground being cover'd with shrubs; whence, in the vales particularly, arises a certain fog or mist, towards night, and in the morning, which may distemper the air. But, as I said above, disorderly living and bad diet, are certainly the main causes that more men die there, than at other places on the coast. The air indeed is extreme hot, and so piercing at the same time, that it penetrates into a man's body, much more than in *France*, or *England*.

Toads and insects. About the latter end of *May*, some years, here appears a vast number of toads, which, some time after, all vanish. There are also some insects, the most remarkable a sort of spider, about as big as a beetle, in shape like a crab, with a strange visible orifice in the belly, whence the web proceeds.

Dancing season. Besides the daily market I have mention'd to be kept at the town of *Corso*, there is a very considerable one at *Abramboe*, a large town, about twenty seven miles northward from cape *Corso*; where by appointment of the king of *Fetu*, at a certain time of the year, is a rendezvous from all parts of his country, for public dancing, and it is call'd the dancing season, and lasts eight days. An incredible number of people repair to it from all parts, and spend all the day, and most of the night, in that toilsome diversion.

Sovereign court. At the same time, are also decided all suits and controversies, which could not be determin'd by the inferior justices, in their several districts. This supreme court is compos'd of the king of *Fetu*, his *Dey*, or prime minister, the *Geroffo*, and the *Brasso*, with two *English* factors of cape *Corso* castle. It is the agent's prerogative to send those agents to that court, and each of them is to have as many suits of clothes, as he stays there days, to appear every day in a different suit, which puts the company to three hundred pounds charges yearly.

AQUAFFOU VILLAGE,

IS very large, and lies west from cape *Corso*, being a market, where the *Blacks*

buy slaves to be kill'd and bury'd, at the funerals of their kings.

At my first voyage to cape *Corso*, I had a pretty brisk trade for slaves and gold; but at my return thither, three years after, I found a great alteration; the *French* brandy, whereof I had always a good quantity aboard, being much less demanded, by reason a great quantity of spirits and rum had been brought on that coast by many *English* trading ships, then on the coast, which oblig'd all to sell cheap.

There is generally good plenty of gold, but much of it is not pure, especially the *Cracra* and *Fetizo* gold.

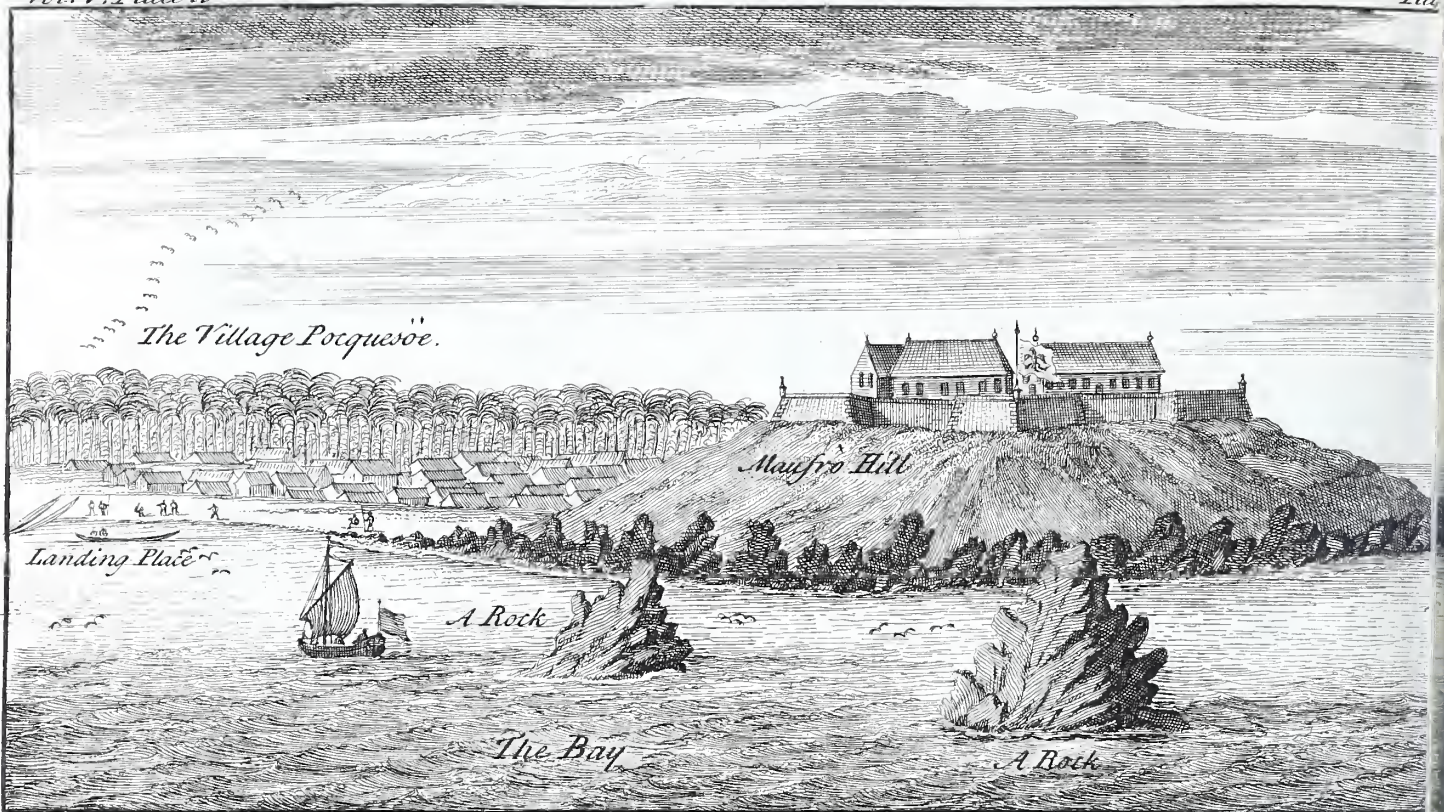
MANFROU TOWN,

IS another place in *Fetu*, almost round and seated below the *Danish* mount, about an *English* mile from cape *Corso*, on the strand; several large rocks near the shore, rendering the access on that side very difficult and dangerous, the sea running high, and its surges breaking upon those rocks.

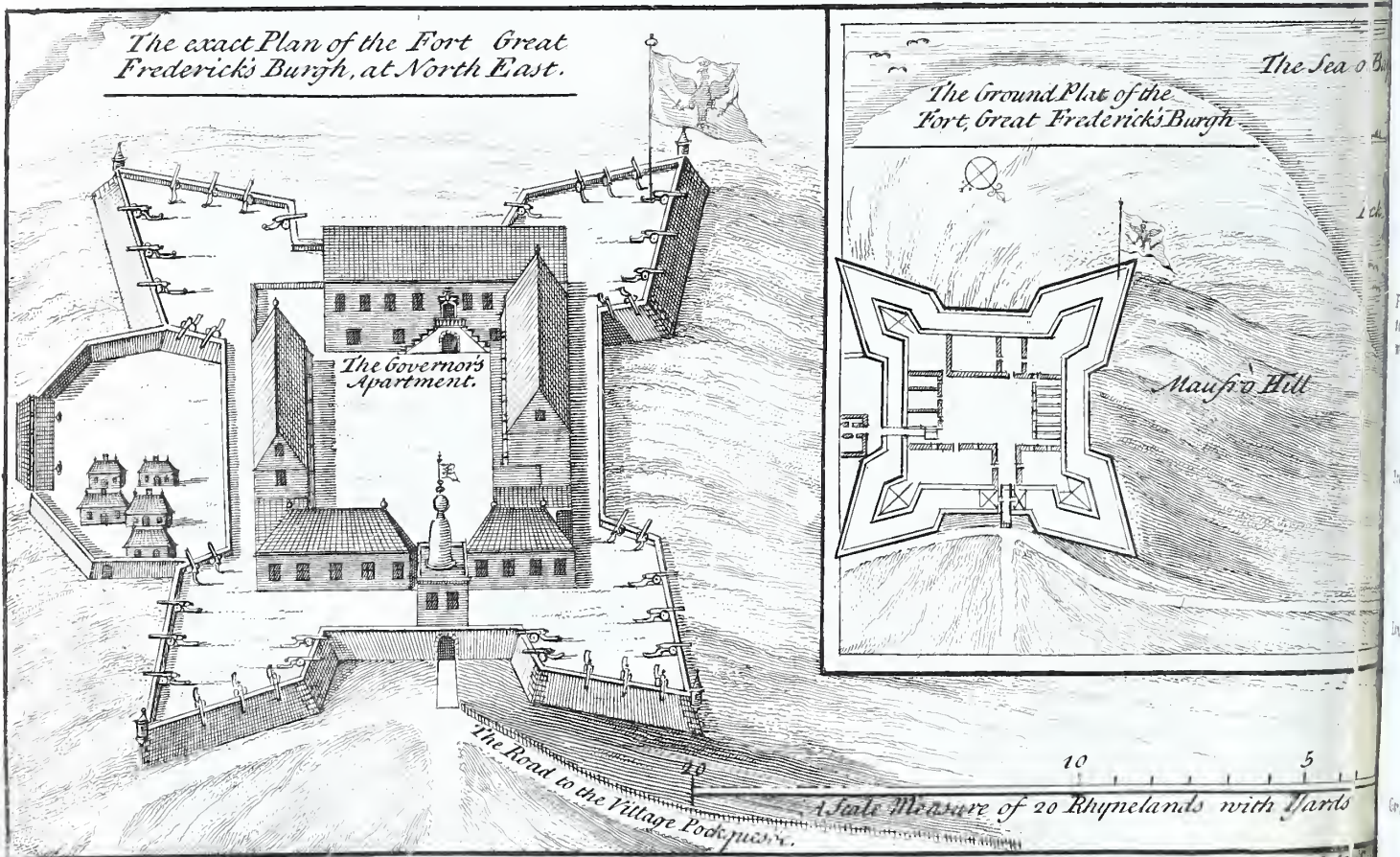
The town is not very considerable, most of the inhabitants being fishermen, husbandmen, or salt-boilers; besides some who act as brokers for the inland *Blacks*. Sometimes there is a pretty good trade with the *Blacks*, as also with the *Danes*, who having seldom above one or two ships in a year from *Denmark*, are often in want of many things, either for their own use, or to carry on the trade, in the proper season; and I have myself sold the *Danes* considerable parcels of goods for gold and slaves.

DANISH FORT.

THE *Danish* mount is above three hundred paces over, and level at the top. The *Danes* being formerly expell'd from *Corso* by the *Dutch*, made choice of that mount, as a proper place to build a fort, with little charge; the hill being it self a fort, by its situation and form, because very steep and high on all sides: and there accordingly they built the fort call'd *Fredericksburg*, almost on the top of the mount, being only a pretty large, almost triangular enclosure, or indifferent thick wall of stone and clay mix'd together, always falling to decay, with a round flanker towards the sea-side, and two other sorry small bastions to the land, of the same materials as the wall and curtains, one of them pointing east and the other west, towards cape *Corso*; on all which there are fifteen or sixteen old iron guns, in no good order. Within the enclosure, or walls, is a disorderly heap of old clay buildings, thatch'd, like those of the *Blacks*, and all out of repair. The *Danish* general's apartment has nothing in it worth taking notice of, unless it be an old gallery, which has a very fine prospect, both by sea and



The Prospect of the Danish Fort Great Frederick's Burgh, from the West, off at Sea.



and land, and a continual fresh air, from morning till night, being a S W. breeze, sometimes blowing so cold, that there is no enduring of it; for which reason, this place is reckoned much healthier than cape *Corso*.

PLATE II. I have here inserted the prospect of this fort.

A good regular fort, well stored and garison'd, on this mount, would be almost impregnable, by reason of its natural situation. As it is at present, there is no danger of its being ever reduced by the *Blacks*. The *English* at cape *Corso* must fare very ill, if ever the two crowns of *England* and *Denmark* should be engaged in a war; for the *Danes* can batter the *English* fort, and utterly ruin it, without receiving any damage themselves, for they entirely overlook and command it. The *English* royal *African* company would do well, if possible, to purchase that fort of the *Danes* at any rate, and to build there another stronger and more regular, to secure that post from falling into the hands of an enemy; for it would be a sure bulwark to their castle at *Corso*, as the *Dutch* now keep their fort *Coenraedsburg*, on the hill of *Santiago*, for the greater security of their castle of *Mina*.

Garrison. The garison in the fort is answerable to the place, being sometimes about twenty white men fit for service, besides the *Grometto Blacks*. It is generally observ'd, that of all the *European* nations, which live on that coast, the *Danes* lose most men in proportion, tho' settled in the best air; which is ascribed to their ill diet and government, wherein they exceed the *English* of cape *Corso*, being often in want of money to buy the most necessary things for their subsistence, and great lovers of hot liquors, which quite spoil their stomachs.

Fatal place to Danish women. It has been also observ'd, that *Danish* women cannot live long there, being commonly subject to a prodigious loss of blood, by a distemper peculiar to their sex; as lately happened to a general's wife, who had not been there a year.

Road. The best roads for ships at *Manfrou* is due south from the fort, in thirteen or fourteen fathom water, good holding ground. The *English* of cape *Corso*, pretend the road is within their limits.

Landing. The easiest place to land there, is on the east-side of the hill, to boats remaining at anchor at a distance, without the rocks, and waiting for the canoes of the *Blacks* from shore, to carry them over the breaking sea, which sometimes is dangerous.

Garden. The *Danish* general has a fine spacious garden for his diversion, on the N E. side of the fort, about half a mile from it, stored with great variety of trees, and plants, and particularly orange and lemon-trees. In the midst of it is a large stately summer-

house, where he entertain'd me one after-noon very nobly, and gave me the diversion of a mock fight among *Blacks*, representing their true manner of engaging in battle, whereof I shall give a particular description in its proper place.

Whether it be usual with the *Danes* to treat strangers sumptuously, or whether it is only peculiar in those parts, I must own their entertainment was magnificent, and we had sometimes above twenty healths drank at a meal, five or seven guns firing to each of them, according to the dignity of the person; which made me admire the batteries could stand such frequent firing, being so ill built, and so much decay'd.

The *Danes* having assisted the *English*, in their expedition against cape *Corso*, in 1664, were allow'd to have a factory on the N W. side of the town *Ooegwa*, with the *Danish* colours on it. There they kept a factor for some years to carry on the trade, but it was afterwards abandon'd, so that they have now only the settlement at *Manfrou*, on the *Gold Coast*; for their former fort at *Acra*, which when I came thither before, was still in their possession, and where I traded considerably for gold and slaves, with the then governor *Olricks*, is now in the hands of the *Portuguese* of *St. Thome*, who bought it, after the murder of the said *Olricks*, by a *Grecian* of his company, as I shall observe in another place.

By what has been said of the business the *Danes* have on the *Gold Coast*, it may be concluded their *African* company makes but a very inconsiderable advantage of it, and that through the unfaithfulness of their servants; for scarce any one, who is sent over from *Denmark*, as a person of known integrity to the company, as chief or general, lives long on the coast, but is either snatch'd away by a natural death, or by the contrivance of his inferiors, assisted by the *Blacks*, the better to compass their own designs.

Thus it sometimes comes to pass, that a gunner of the fort, or other such mean person succeeds in that post, and so manages affairs according to his small capacity, or rather to his wicked inclination to enrich himself in as short a time as may be; knowing he must shortly be remov'd, or discharg'd by the company, his command being only *pro interim*; or that he may be serv'd by his inferiors, as his predecessor was before, every one endeavouring to make his interest with the *Blacks*, by large promises of gratuities, if they can once arrive at that supreme post, at any expence of blood and money.

Of the two *Danish* generals I knew there during my voyages, the first had been the gunner of the fort, the latter, a lieutenant, as he said himself; but others told me he had been the other general's servant, a brisk, bold,

BARBOT. bold, daring well-set man, and very young ; both which advanced themselves by the aforefaid means. The first was murdered in his turn ; but what became of the other I know not, having left him there, acting the part of a general : yet am apt to believe, he did not enjoy it long. I was told there of an unparalleled inhumanity of his. The book-keeper refusing to comply with him in the manner of keeping the books, he procured some villanous *Blacks* to accuse him of several misdemeanors and breach of trust, for which he was tried by a set of men, both *Whites* and *Blacks*, as is usual there, all of them corrupted. The poor man being thus convicted, and sentence of death pronounc'd against him, was immediately

set to make his own coffin, and then shot to death.

The *Danish* company pays a yearly acknowledgment to the king of *Fetu*, for fort *Fredericksburg*, and have allow'd a vote in the election of a general to be chosen there upon occasion *pro interim*, when that post becomes vacant. This is the occasion of the great abuses so frequently committed there, and of men's lives being so much exposed ; good men being made away, to make room for villains.

The country beyond the *Danish* mount is all hilly, high and close, and little of it cultivated ; but rather most of it cover'd with shrubs and woods, through the slothfulness of the natives.

C H A P. IX.

Saboe kingdom described. Fort Nassau. Product and trade. The Fantin country ; Anichan, Anamabo, Agga, or Adja. Great and little Cormentin villages. De Ruyter's actions against the English. Other smaller villages.

S A B O E Kingdom.

Length and breadth.

THIS little kingdom of *Saboe* is about two leagues in breadth along the coast, reckoning from the foot of the *Danish* mount, to about two *English* miles below *Mouree*, where it joins to the country of *Fantin* ; and about twice that length, up the country northward.

Saboe town.

The town of *Saboe*, where the king resides, is about two leagues and a half up the inland, being a large populous place. There are three maritime villages, *viz.* *Icon*, or *Congo*, half a league east from the *Danes* hill, where are still to be seen on two hillocks, the ruins or remains of a fine stone house the *Dutch* had formerly there, on which they display'd their colours to keep away other *Europeans*, for fear of lessening their trade at *Mouree*.

Icon.

Mouree.

The second maritime town is *Mouree*, seated on a large rocky flat point, jutting out a little way towards the SSE. exactly in the fifth degree of north latitude. It is neither so large or populous as *Mina* ; but well inhabited by fishermen, who go out most mornings in four hundred canoes, or more ; and at their return pay the fifth of the fish they take, to the *Dutch* factor there, as a duty imposed on the natives, in like manner as is practised at *Axim* and *Mina* : a prerogative which none of the other *European* nations have assumed over the *Blacks*, on any part of that coast ; and which shows how the *Dutch* have extended their authority over those *Blacks*.

Abundance of *Accanez Blacks* have lodgings in this town, the better to carry on their trade with the *Dutch* and natives.

The houses stand scattering at a distance from one another ; and it is very ill walking on the rocky ground between them. This place, in former times, was called the burial-place of the *Dutch*, because of the great numbers of them that died there, since their first settling at fort *Nassau*.

F O R T N A S S A U.

THIS fort was so built, as fully to command the town of *Mouree*, which lies about it, almost in a circle, except on the east side, where it is defended by the sea. It was built in the year 1624, at the cost and by order of the *States-General*, and called fort *Nassau*, in honour of the family of the princes of *Orange*. Afterwards the states gave it up to the *West-India* company. The first structure of it was slight, the batteries being only of turf, which was frequently ruined by the mighty rains, and so the garison exposed to the insults of the *Portuguese* at *Mina*, who used all their endeavours to obstruct the designs of the *Dutch* ; whilst they, the better to establish their interest, used all means to gain the favour of the kings of *Saboe*, to be by them protected against the *Portuguese*, wherein they were successful enough : those natives having for a long time constantly adhered to them, as being the first *Europeans* they were acquainted with ; and in order to cultivate a good correspondence, sent two envoys into *Holland* to the directors of the *West-India* company many years ago.

After the *Dutch* had made themselves masters of the castle of *Mina* ; they caused a half-moon to be cut off from fort *Nassau*, and

The Prospect of Fort Nassau,

I have here added this small Prospect of Fort Nassau



Fort Nassau, from the ENE

at Mourée, seen from the Sea.

to supply some omissions in the other below.



and put it into the good condition it now is, being almost square, the front somewhat larger than the other sides, and all the works of good black stone and lime. It has four batteries, on which are twenty four guns; the garison being forty white men, besides the hired *Blacks*. The walls are very high, the curtain extends to the two sea-batteries; being so spacious and convenient, that it may be easily made equal to the castle at cape *Corso*, for commanding at sea. It is also adorn'd with four large square towers, at the four angles; and at the gate is a drawbridge, covered with a gallery to contain several men to scour it, with their small arms. The lodgings within the fort are neat and convenient; and in short, this is the best place the *Dutch* have in *Guinea*, next to the castle of *Mina*. The view of it is very pleasant, and exactly represented

PLATE 12. here in the cut.

The *English* commodore *Holmes* took this fort from the *Dutch*, in 1664, as has been before mention'd; but admiral *de Ruyter* recover'd it from them again in 1665, with the assistance of nine hundred *Mina Blacks*, sent him by *Valkenburg* from *Mina*. He improv'd the fortifications to the condition here laid down, and garison'd it with *European* soldiers, and fifty natives.

Garden.

The *Dutch* chief factor's garden is on the west side of the fort, at a small distance, and reckoned the finest on all that coast; being adorn'd with curious walks, summer-houses, and seats, and plentifully stored with trees and plants; besides much variety of falliting and pulse: but has the same fault as the other gardens at *Mina* and *Manfrou*; which is, its being close hemmed in by great hills.

PRODUCT and TRADE.

THE kingdom of *Saboe* produces great plenty of *Indian* corn, potatoes, yams, palm-oil, bananas, oranges, lemons, and other fruit, wherewith near an hundred canoes are daily laden at *Mouree*, for *Acra* and *Axim*, but mostly with palm-oil. The natives are accounted the most industrious, pains-taking *Blacks* of any in these parts; either in tilling the ground, fishing, or trading with the *Europeans*, and the *Accanez* people, by whom a great quantity of gold is brought down hither, to buy goods, fish, and salt.

Industrious Blacks.

Dutch arbitrary.

The *Dutch*, by usurping so much authority over these people, have of late quite lost their affection, and very much of their trade; sowing division between the king of *Saboe*, and the inhabitants of *Mouree*, who are forbid by the *Dutch* to pay him any duties: for which reason, that prince will willingly assist any other *European* nation with two thousand *Blacks* to beat the *Dutch* out of their fort.

The father of the present king of *Saboe* BARBOT. had long wars with the *Atti* and the *Accanez Blacks*, his neighbours northward, occasion'd by his intolerable exactions; but the present king, being of a peaceable and less covetous temper, has appeased all those troubles. The number of the *Atti Blacks* is much greater than that of this king's subjects; and yet it often happen'd in the wars, that the *Sabou Blacks*, who are dextrous in the use of fire-arms, routed them, and brought down several heads, both of the *Atti* and *Accanez Blacks* to the *Dutch* factor at *Mouree*.

The best landing-place at *Mouree* is at a bay, just under the cannon of the fort, on the E.N.E. side of it; which must be with the help of canoes, as is practised at many other parts of this coast.

The FANTIN Country,

BORDERS westward on *Saboe*, at the *Its limits.* iron hill, which is about an *English* mile in length, having on the top a delightful walk, so close shaded by the trees, that it is reported to be somewhat darkned at noon-day. Northward this country extends its limits to *Atti*, *Aqua*, and *Tongua*; on the east to *Acron*; and on the south it is bounded by the sea, along which it extends above ten leagues. The principal villages along the shore are, *Anichan* or *Ingenisian*, *Anamabo* or *Nomabo*, *Aga*, *Cormentin*, *Amerfa*, *Little Cormentin*, *Aqua*, *Laguyo* and *Mountfort*; besides some others of less note, from the last above-named to cape *Ruyge-boeck*; in all which places there are four thousand fishermen, or upwards.

Sea-towns.

The capital town *Fantin*, from which the country has its name, lies five leagues up the inland, where there are many other villages scatter'd about it.

Capital.

This country is a sort of common-wealth, under the direction of a *Braffo*, signifying a commander or leader. He is in the nature of a chief governor, having the greatest power of any man in the dominion; but is kept in awe by the old men, somewhat in the nature of a parliament; and acting as they think fit, without ever consulting the *Braffo*. Besides this general assembly, every part of the country has also its peculiar chief, who sometimes will scarce own the *Braffo* for his superior, he having only an empty title without any power.

Governments.

The *Blacks*, tho' generally a treacherous sort of people, naturally base, and great cheats in other things, as well as in adulterating gold; yet drive a great trade with all interlopers, without regarding the *English* and *Dutch* factors settled in the country, especially at *Anamabo* and *Cormentin*, at the former of which places the *English* have a castle, the *Dutch* one at the latter; of both

Trade.

BARBOT. both which I shall soon speak. Neither of those *European* nations dare oppose the natives trading with interlopers or others, for fear of being ruin'd themselves; for those *Blacks* are desperate, and can bring together eight or ten thousand men in a very short time: besides, that they may shut up the passages to the *Accanez* and other nations northward, which drive a great trade to the sea-coast, as well for *European* goods, as for fish and white salt, of which last vast quantities are sent to *Accanez*; for which privilege those people pay a certain duty in gold to the *Fantinians*. Most of that salt is made by the heat of the sun, in a large lake, not far distant from the town. There is no doubt, but those *Fantinians* are a very formidable nation; and were it not for the continual divisions among themselves, they might prove very troublesome to their neighbours.

The inland people employ themselves in tillage and trade, and supply the markets with fruit, corn, and palm-wine; the country producing such vast plenty of maiz or *Indian* wheat, that abundance is daily exported, as well by *Europeans*, as *Blacks* resorting thither from other parts. Here is a sort of palm-wine, called *Quaker*, signifying the same as in *English*, having an extraordinary exhilarating quality, when plentifully drank; and is sold for double the price of the common sort, the *Blacks* having so great a value for it, that there is seldom enough to answer the demand.

This country is also very rich in gold, slaves, and all sorts of provisions.

ANICAN or INGENISIAN Village,

LIES about three quarters of a league from *Anamabo*, on a little hill, two leagues east from *Mouree*. The *Dutch* had a factory there formerly; but finding the trade did not answer the charge of maintaining it, and the *English* and *Portuguese* having got footing there, they abandoned it.

The *English* have a factory there at this time, defended by two pieces of cannon, and two or three white men, with some *Grometto Blacks*, and a flag, but very little or no trade.

The *Portuguese*, since the year 1679, cast up a redoubt of turf for their security, the commander whereof, *Laurence Perez Branco*, has ten or twelve of his country-men to defend it. His trade consists in tobacco and pipes, *Brazil* sweet-meats, soap, rum, and such like *American* commodities; but I cannot imagine what advantage he can make of it, unless he buys *European* goods of the interlopers, or has them sent from *Holland* by the *Jews*, who know how to get *Portuguese* passages; and such ships, when they come upon the coast, are received, as if they really came from *Portugal*.

The village it self is very inconsiderable, nor is it worth while for a ship to come to an anchor in the road, which is half way betwixt it and *Anamabo* castle; so that this last may be easily seen from it, tho' seated on a low ground.

ANAMABO or JAMISSIA,

IS a pretty large and populous village, about a small league from *Cormentin*, and two leagues and a half from *Mouree*, divided into two parts; the one inhabited by *Mina* fishermen, and the other by those of *Fantin*, who pay a duty to the *Braffo* of *Anamabo*, for the liberty of fishing there; for which reason the town can furnish as many arm'd men, as the whole kingdom of *Saboe*, or that of *Commendo*; though this be but a fifth part of the people of *Fantin*.

The natives are generally desperate villains, and must be narrowly look'd to in dealing with them, and their gold well examin'd, being for the most part adulterated.

The village lies under the cannon of the *English* castle, lately built there, instead of an old house, which stood there in 1679, the mud-walls whereof are still to be seen before the castle. This is a small, neat, compact fort, as here represented in the cut; being rather a large strong house, defended by two turrets on the one side, and two flankers on the other next the sea, all built with stone, brick and lime, and seated on a rock, about thirty paces from the strand; having twelve good guns and two pattareroes mounted on it, and commonly garison'd by twelve white men, and eighteen *Grometto Blacks*, under a chief factor. The lodgings within are convenient, and there are proper warehouses.

The landing at *Anamabo* is pretty difficult, the shore being full of rocks, among which the sea sometimes breaks very dangerously. The ships boats anchor close by, and the people are carry'd ashore in canoes, which come out from the town, to a narrow sandy beach, just under the full command of the castle, enclos'd with a mud-wall, about eight foot high, within which are houses of the same structure for the *Grometto Blacks*, and others of the company's servants. This wall, I was told, would be pull'd down, when the castle was quite finish'd, and one of brick built in the place of it.

The earth here is very fit for making of good bricks, the oyster-shells afford good lime, and there is plenty of timber for building.

The country about this place is full of close hills, beginning at a good distance from the town. There are five together, higher than the rest, which are a good landmark

Palm-wine.

Dutch forsake it.

English sbere.

Portuguese.

Base natives.

English fort.

PALTE 13.

Landing place.

Materials for building.

The Prospect of the English Castle, at Anamabou.



A. The Landing place B. The Port within the Rocks C. The Entry of the Port

J. Kip Sculp

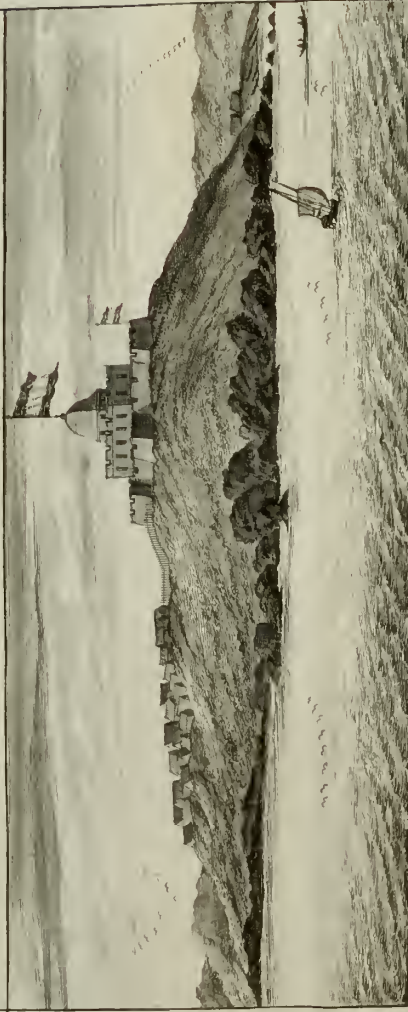




The Fort Fredericksburgh formerly to y^e Danes and now Fort Royal English at Mansfoe. Page 173



The Fort Amsterdam at Cormentyn belonging to y^e Hollanders Page 177



The Fort James, English at Accra



mark to know *Anamabo*, from some leagues to the westward. There is great variety of trees, affording a very pleasant prospect. Here is the best palm-wine of all the coast of *Guinea*, of the sort abovemention'd, call'd *Quaker*. There is also great plenty of maiz, and an infinite number of parrokeets, about as big as sparrows, their bodies a curious green, and their heads and tails of a most beautiful red; some whereof I carry'd to *Paris*, to present to some of the blood-royal of *France*. These birds are sold there for a crown a dozen; but they are so very hard to keep alive, that not one in twenty survives the long voyage to *Europe*.

I have there eaten excellent green cabbage; as also *Papas*, a green fruit, about as big as a little melon, which taste like collyflowers. The greatest inconvenience there, is, that they must fetch fresh water from two leagues distance, by means of their slaves.

The road at *Anamabo* is generally full of *English* ships, or those of other nations, anchoring there to trade, or else for corn or other necessaries; but more especially for slaves, which are sometimes to be had in considerable numbers: and there are great quantities of corn for the ships that have bought slaves at other places along the coast, or at *Fida*, *Calbary*, *Rio Real*, &c. This great concourse of ships to *Anamabo*, very much obstructs the company's trade with the natives, whom, as I observ'd above, the *English* factors dare not in the least contradict; but are rather obliged to bear with them, and sometimes so infested, that they are close confined to the castle, without daring to stir abroad. Nay, if the *Blacks* dislike the *English* chief factor, they send him away in a canoe to cape *Corso*, or oblige him to pay a heavy fine.

The great wealth of the *Fantineans* makes them so proud and haughty, that an *European* trading there must stand bare to them.

The maiz or *Indian* wheat sells there by the cheft, at one *Akier* of gold. The cheft contains about three bushels. When there is a great demand or scarcity, it rises to two and three *Akiers*. In plentiful years and times of peace, it has been sold for ten, and even for eight *Takoes* of gold, which is not three shillings *English*.

AGGA, or ADJA village,

IS divided into three parts, each of twenty-five or thirty houses, about half a league from *Anamabo*, has but a very inconsiderable trade, and is very dangerous to land at, the sea always running there very high. The country about it produces very good cotton.

The *Danes* and the *Dutch* had each of them a fort there formerly. How the *Danish* fort came to be destroy'd I do not find; but on the ruins of it, the *English* have built

a factory of turf, kept by two white men, *BARBOT*, some *Grometto Blacks*; besides a factor, who displays the *English* colours.

The *Dutch* fort was only a bare redoubt, destroy'd by the *English* in 1665; being blown up the same day the *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter* attempted to land at *Anamabo*; but could not do it, being hinder'd, both by the breaking of the sea, and the great fire of the *English*, assisted by the *Fantin Blacks*, from behind the rocks, which there cover the shore; as also of the cannon from the fort. The *English* at *Agga* not imagining that the *Dutch* should miscarry at *Anamabo*, but rather concluding they would infallibly land there that day, and immediately march towards them, in their way to *Cormentin* fort, which they had in view, undermined the said fort at *Agga*, and left a match of such a length to the powder, as they thought would burn till the *Dutch* came to the fort, and then blow them up, when they had taken possession of it: but the effect did not answer, for the place blew up, without doing any other damage, no body being near it.

The *Dutch* writers complain of inhumanities, or, to use their own expression, barbarities committed by the *English* against their men, when they took that small fort from them, and the other they then had at *Anamabo*.

LITTLE CORMENTIN village,

LIES somewhat to the eastward of *Agga*, *Dutch* being so poor and inconsiderable, that it deserves no account to be given of it, but for the fertility of the country round about, and the *Dutch* fort *Amsterdam*, which commands it. This was the chief residence of the *English*, till they were drove out by admiral *de Ruyter* in the year 1665, as I shall presently observe; but much enlarg'd and beautify'd by the *Dutch*, in 1681 and 1682, being, as here represented in the cut, a PLATE 141

square fort, built with hard rock stone and lime, strengthened by three small, and one fine large battery, mounted with twenty pieces of cannon; and within is a very large square tower, in the midst of it, design'd to have a cupola on it, where the flag-staff stands. There are very good lodgings, and all offices for the service of the commander and garison, consisting of twenty-five white men, besides *Grometto Blacks*. The breastworks are large, and the prospect from the top of the tower delightful, overlooking all the sea and the country. Large convenient cisterns are made in it to hold rain-water. The buildings were not quite finish'd, when I was there last; and the *Dutch* ingeneer was pleas'd to advise with me about several things relating to the place.

The fort is strong by nature, as standing on a high rocky hill, in most places steep and craggy,

Papas fruit.

Slaves and corn.

Pride.

Price of corn.

Cotton.

English factory.

BARBOT craggy, and only accessible by a lane cut into steps along the descent of the hill.

DE RUYTER'S *actions against the ENGLISH.*

TO say something of admiral *de Ruyter's* expedition against this place, I find it was undertaken against his inclination, he having been sent by the states-general from *Gibraltar*, where he then lay, with a squadron of thirteen men of war, to reduce the *English* fort at cape *Corso*. That being found impracticable, the *Dutch* general *Valkenburg*, then present at the council of war held on board the admiral, after the reduction of fort *Nassau* at *Mouree*, and the disappointments at cape *Corso* and *Anamabo*, most earnestly pressed, and used all possible arguments, to attempt the taking of the fort at *Cormentin*; as so prejudicial to the commerce of the *West-India Company*, that he undertook to prove it did more harm to the *Dutch*, than *Holmes* himself had done the year before, during his whole expedition. The enterprize being resolv'd on, and *Valkenburg* having sent admiral *Ruyter* a reinforcement of four hundred canoes full of arm'd *Blacks* from *Mina*, the *Dutch* fleet came to an anchor in the road of *Cormentin*. The bay or port there, tho' spacious, being very dangerous to land at, and the coming out as bad, *de Ruyter*, on the 7th of *February* 1665, sent a detachment of nine hundred of his own men, supported by the body of *Mina Blacks* above mention'd, to land at *Anamabo*, which the *English* had taken, as well as *Agga*. These forces being come near the shore, the *Cormentin Blacks*, who were drawn thither, and posted behind the rocks and bushes along the shore, fell on them so furiously, that the *Dutch*, not able to stand them, and the fire from the cannon of the *English* castle, and suspecting they had been betray'd by the *Brasso* of *Anamabo*, stood about again with their boats and pinnaces to sea, and row'd back with all their might to the squadron.

*Dutch re-
puls'd.*

*Assisted by
the Blacks.*

De Ruyter was no way dismay'd at this disappointment, the *Blacks* of *Anamabo* and *Adja*, who had been wrongfully suspected of acting in concert with the *English*, sending just then to assure him of their fidelity, and promising the next day to join his forces, and assist him in taking of *Cormentin* fort. They were better than their words, bringing along with them three thousand *Fantinean Blacks*, their allies, whom they had hired for that service.

*Land at
Agga.*

These forces were landed without any disaster, at *Agga*, between *Anamabo* and *Cormentin*, in a fair calm day, which much facilitated the debarkment; for in blowing weather it could not have been perform'd, the sea there rolling and breaking in a violent manner. Being there join'd by the

auxiliary *Blacks* of *Agga* and *Fantin*, they march'd in good order along the strand, each *Black* having a white handkerchief about his neck, to distinguish him from those of *Cormentin*, and arriv'd about noon before the *English* fort, which *Valkenburg* summon'd to surrender immediately, and, at the same time, caus'd a body of his forces to advance to a rising ground, just without reach of the cannon of the place, being led by some *Blacks* of the town, whom he had gain'd to his party. The besieged made a terrible fire upon them, as they approach'd, and frequent sallies, which for a time stop'd the progress of the vanguard; many of the *Dutch Blacks* being kill'd, in so much that the passes were almost stopp'd with their bodies. Most of this execution was done by three hundred *English Blacks*, commanded by one *John Cabessee*, a desperate brave fellow. The main body at last coming up, most of those *Blacks* were either cut in pieces, or retir'd with precipitation, and in very disorderly manner to the fort. *Valkenburg* then order'd the town to be set on fire, which for a while took away the sight of the fort, from the *Dutch*, the smoak blinding them, whilst they appear'd as impatient and resolute to attack the place, as the *English* were full of consternation; which was so great, that soon after, seeing the forces advance in good order with grenades in their hands, and a mortar to give the assault, they not only struck their flag, but without any other ceremony open'd the gate. Thus the *Dutch* took possession of the fort, at so small an expence as sixty two marks of gold to pay the auxiliary *Blacks* at *Fantin*, and the *Brasso* and *Caboceiros* of *Anamabo* and *Adja*.

The famous town of *Great Cormentin* lies a cannon-shot N W. of fort *Amsterdam*, on a high hill, being so large and populous, that it well deserves the epithet of great; the inhabitants, merchants, traders, and fishermen excluded, amounting to eight hundred, or a thousand men. The country about it is hilly and fruitful.

The lands about *Little Cormentin* produce plenty of several sorts of fruit and corn. The air is very wholesome. The natives brew excellent beer made of maiz, or *Indian* corn, as luscious as ale, and call'd *Petaw*. They bake *Bananas* into bread and biscuit, as also maiz, for their common food.

In former times, *Anamabo* and *Cormentin* were two of the principal trading places on that coast, for the *Dutch* and *English*; by reason of the great resort of *Accanez Blacks*, who used to come down to each of those places, in little caravans: but the unhappy differences between those two *European* nations, their wars and assaults upon each other,

other, in the years 1664 and 1665, along the coasts of *North* and *South Guinea*, did them both great damage, and obliged the *Dutch* to retire to *Mouree*, and the *English* to *Cormentin*; where, during the short time they were possess'd of fort *Amsterdam*, they were so severe to the natives, who liked the *Dutch* government, as having been long used to it, that they and the *Accanez Blacks*, who lived there as factors, intreated the *Dutch* general at *Mina*, to settle a factory at *Agga*; the same which was afterwards taken from them by the *English* in 1664, and blown up in 1665, as I have already mentioned. The *English* on their part, to thwart the *Dutch*, endeavoured to corrupt the *Brassos* of *Fantin* and *Accanez*, with considerable presents, that they might be induced to expel the *Dutch* from *Agga*. The subtle *Blacks* received great sums of money, paid them by the *English*, without performing the condition for which they were given; and considering that the jealousies between the *English* and *Dutch* in point of trade, occasioned their purchasing the goods of both at a much easier rate, they were well pleased to see the *English* build a small fort at *Anamabo*, to rival the *Dutch* at *Mouree* and *Agga*.

Crafty
Blacks.

Whatsoever places the *Dutch* and *English* possess in the country of *Fantin*, neither of them has any power there; for when those crafty turbulent people think fit, they secure all the passes in such manner, that not one merchant can possibly come down from the inland country to trade with the *Europeans* on the coast; and not so satisfied, they obstruct the bringing of any provisions to them, till they are forced to buy a peace at a dear rate.

Pleased
with the
Dutch.

When *Cormentin* was taken from the *English*, in the year 1665, as was said above, the people of *Fantin* expressed much satisfaction to see the *Dutch* settled there again; and their reasons were, for that the *English* governor had much incommoded them with his garison; that they thought the *Dutch* better to trade with; and that their goods were cheaper than the *English*.

Exact up-
on them.

However, they have now gained a point upon the *Dutch*, who formerly made an agreement to give them a good sum of gold, besides

three hundred gilders for every one of the *BARROT* company's ships, which for the future should bring any goods thither, slave-ships only excepted; and this in consideration of their assistance in recovering fort *Amsterdam*, and other services: but now those crafty *Blacks* will make no difference betwixt slave-ships and others, obliging them to pay for all alike. They also extort a good sum from the *English* yearly, and thus treat both those nations alike.

Mouree, *Anamabo*, *Anichan*, and *Cormentin* are places where vast quantities of *European* goods are vended, especially linnens, slyziger, copper, iron bars, old sheets, brandy and rum, pewter basons, muskets, bugles, beads of several sorts, powder, &c.

Amersa, *Aqua*, *Languyo*, *Montfort*, and some other small villages farther eastward, on the *Fantin* shore, as far as *Acron*, have but a very inconsiderable trade. *Aqua* lies on a little river, two leagues east from *Cormentin*; the land about the village is low and flat, it produces plenty of *Indian* corn, and has good fresh water and wood for ships that want.

Laguyo is still two leagues farther east from *Aqua*, on a rising ground, descending towards the shore, has a little trade for slaves, and some gold, but not of the purest.

Montfort again east from *Laguyo*, affords some slaves and maiz.

The other smaller villages to the eastward of this last, are little frequented by *Europeans*, the inhabitants being very poor fishermen, who carry their fish aboard ships, as do also those of *Laguyo* and *Montfort*; yet most of those fishermen will boast to the ships crews of the great plenty they have ashore of slaves and gold; which is done only to amuse them, that they may stay longer in the road, and buy their fish, for several sort of toys and pedlars ware. The *English* ply at all those places more than any other *Europeans*, and from thenceforward to *Acra*.

The language of the *Blacks*, from *Axim* to *Fantin*, along the sea-coast, is almost one and the same; whereof I intend in time to give a small vocabulary, of several most familiar words and phrases, with the *English* of them.

CHAP. X.

The country of Acron described; that of Agonna or Augwina; that of Acra or Acara. James fort belonging to the English. Crevecœur, Dutch fort. St. Francis Xaverius of the Portuguesé.

ACRON COUNTRY,

Bounds
and go-
vernment.

LIES between that of *Fantin* and *Augwina* or *Agonna*, on the sea-shore, running eastward to about the famous cape, called *Monte del Diablo* or the *Devil's Mount*.

It is divided into great and little *Acron*, the former part lying farther up the inland, and being, as to its government, a sort of commonwealth. Little *Acron* is a petty kingdom. The two countries have no dependence

BARBOT. dance of each other, but live in perfect amity, under the protection of the *Fantineans*, which makes those people live in peace, tilling their fruitful country to such purpose, that it constantly affords them a plentiful crop, disposed of by them to other nations round about.

King of Acron. At the time of my being there, the king of *Little Acron* was a civil good-natur'd man, about fifty years of age, or better, and reputed one of the wealthiest on the *Gold-Coast*, tho' he wore no better clothes than any of his indifferent subjects. This is rather an anarchy than a monarchy, for the king can do nothing, but with the consent of some of the prime men of the country.

Product. The country abounds in deer, hares, pheasants, partridges, and many other sorts of beasts and birds.

Apam village. It has a little village on the coast, called *Apam*, inhabited by fishermen, but very conveniently seated for trade, only that the *Blacks* are not very tractable. It stands a little way up a salt river, abounding in fish and fowl, and running about two leagues up the land.

Yellow wood. There grows the same sort of yellow wood, which I mentioned to be at *Acoba*, in the midst of cape *Tres Pontas*, as proper for making of fine chairs and tables.

The country of *AGONNA* or *AUGWINA*,

Extent and limits. **B**Egins at, or about the above-mentioned *Monte del Diablo* or the *Devil's Mount*, by the *Dutch* called *Ruyge-boeck*, distant about a league or better eastward of the salt-river of *Acron*, and extends thence eastward along the shore to *Anonce* in *Aquamboe* or *Acara*. On the north it borders on *Sonquay*, and southward on the ocean, along which it stretches about fifteen leagues; in which space there are several towns and villages, as *Dajou*, *Polders-bay*, *Mango*, *Wiamba* or *Simpa*, *Old Berku* or *Barracou*, *Jaccou*, *Innya*, *Lampa*, *Succumma*, *New Little Berku*, and *Koechs Broot*, a high round hill, in form of a sugar-loaf, about two leagues west from *Acra*. All very dangerous places to land at, the sea rolling and breaking violently along the strand.

A queen. The country of *Augwina* is as fertile and pleasant as that of *Acron*, in all respects. In my time it was governed by a woman, of great courage and wisdom; who, to keep the whole power in her own hands, liv'd unmarried. She was about thirty-eight years of age, and took upon her the title of queen.

The inhabitants say their country has the advantage of a very fine large fresh-water river, abounding in oysters and other fish, and the banks of it stored with all sorts of monkeys and baboons, as big as any on the coast of *Guinea*. This river, I suppose, lies a little east of *Berku*.

Dajou and *Polders-bay* are places of no consideration.

Mango is famous for its situation near *Monte del Diablo* or the *Devil's Mount*, which is very high, like a lofty cape. It had the name given it by the *Portuguese*, from the sacrifices the *Blacks* offer there to the devil, as they pretended; but since we have no instance of any *Blacks* on the *Gold-Coast*, that pay any veneration to that evil spirit, we may conclude the *Portuguese* are in the wrong as to this point. However that is, this mountain is very rich in gold, which the *Blacks*, after violent showers, gather in considerable quantities, the rain washing it from among the sand. The *Dutch* gave this mount the name of *Ruyge-boeck*, because being very high, they often saw it at a distance, long before they could reach it, in sailing along the coast from east to west; the wind being constantly, most of the year from morning till night at S W. and a very fresh gale, the tide commonly setting to the eastward, so that it requires much time to turn it up.

The *French* and *Dutch* used formerly to trade at *Mango*; but since the natives have addicted themselves to falsifying of the gold, much more than at other places on the coast, both those nations have forsaken that place. The people about this village breed great herds of cattle, and especially cows and bullocks, which they carry up and down the coast for sale. The women are there very jolly and handsome, especially those of *Bremba*, and much sought after by the men of the coast for wives. The country about it yields plenty of maiz and palm-oil.

Wiamba or *Simpa* stands on the ascent of a hill, in the bulging of the land, very agreeably seated among trees. The *English* factory, being a double stone house, was ransacked by the *Blacks* in 1679, and the factor had much ado to save his own and his men's lives; happily making their escape in the night to cape *Corso*, where I saw him land, much wounded and all embred in his own blood. This place is easy to be known from the sea, by the two *English* houses yet standing, without any roof, near the shore, and about two hundred paces from *Wiamba*; which is a small village of about thirty houses, seated in a flat low ground, with large meadows beyond it, enclosed with hedges, and farther up the country are several lakes. In the fields are to be seen large herds of five hundred deer together, and very large deformed monkeys and baboons. Here is also great plenty of poultry, as also bar-canoes for *Fida* and *Ardra*. The village of *Wiamba* is chiefly inhabited by fishermen. In time of war there is very little trade, but the situation is good for it in peace.

Berku or *Barracou*, the principal town of the *Augwina* coast, is seated on a mount, five

Dajou and Polders-bay.
Mango.
The Devil's Mount.

Handsome women.

Wiamba village.

Berku village.
five

five leagues west from *Acra*, abounding in tame fowl, and much cheaper than elsewhere on the *Gold-Coast*. The *Blacks* here drink a sort of beer, called *Petaw*, made of *Indian* wheat, in taste and colour like *English* small-beer, but more luscious.

This *Barracou* or *Barracoe* is a proper place to settle a factory or fort for trade, and pleasant enough to live at, being in a plentiful country.

Language. Their language is different from that of the western parts of the *Gold Coast*, but they understand the others.

Smiths. The natives are expert at works in gold and iron, making curious gold rings and chains, and very fine armour and weapons; which they sell along the coast, and particularly at *Acra*.

Whilst the *Portuguese* lorded it along this coast, the *French* used to trade to it; which is the reason that the *Blacks* still remember many *French* words, especially of the *Norman* dialect.

Here are as great numbers of pariokeets as at *Anamabo*.

Little Berku lies about a league and a half east of *Barracou*, on a small river.

The coast. The coast from *Cormentin* to *Monte del Diablo* or the *Devil's Mount*, extends SE by E. about twelve leagues, and thence to *Berku* nine leagues; and from *Berku* to *Acra* river about nine leagues more.

The country eastward of *Koeck-broot* hill is low and flat towards the sea, but hilly up the inland: some leagues still farther to the eastward, 'tis covered with shrubs and little trees, the land dry.

Good trade. I have already observed, that all the above-mentioned places of *Acron* and *Augwina* are well seated for trade, when they are not at war with their neighbours; for when they are, there is little gold and few slaves to be had. The *Acra Blacks* come down to this coast to trade, when they hear there are ships riding, that have a well fortified cargo, of such goods as they have occasion for, viz. faves, old sheets, coesvelt linnen, bugles, iron and brandy. A good slave sells there; as at all other trading places on the *Gold-Coast* westward, at the rate of one *Benda* of gold, which is two ounces.

Natives. The people of *Augwina*, in general, are bold and warlike, well skilled in fishing, and at many works in gold and iron; but more especially at making curious gold chain-rings.

The kingdom of *ACRA* or *ACARA*,

IS tributary to and dependant on the king of *Aquamboe*; and tho' the greatest part of its territories lie up the country, yet are they commonly described among the kingdoms of the coast, because of the great commerce with them, and their king's extend-

ing his power over the *Blacks* along the sea, BARBOT for above twenty leagues, notwithstanding that these have kings of their own; and therefore they are adjoined to this country of *Aquamboe*.

This *Acra* kingdom, which lies next on the coast, borders westward on *Augwina*, from which it is parted by a small river; northward on *Aboura* and *Bonoe*; eastward on *Labade* and *Ningo*; and southward on the ocean; being about sixteen leagues in compass, and almost round, scarce two leagues and a half lying to the sea, and on it three villages, which are *Soko*, *Little Acra*, and *Orfaky*, each of them under the cannon of an *European* fort, viz. *Soko* under the *English* fort *James*; *Little Acra* under the *Dutch* fort *Crevecœur*; and *Orfaky* under that of *St. Francis Xavierius*, now belonging to the *Portuguese*, but before to the *Danes*, and by them called fort *Christiaenburg*; all three of them reckoned among the best on the coast.

These three fortresses are situated in the compass of less than a league and a half ground, each on a rocky headland, advancing a little way upon the strand; where it is very dangerous landing; except at *Acra*, at which place it is not so difficult, at the first and last quarters of the moon, with the help of bar-canoes.

The three *European* forts have but little authority over the *Blacks*, and serve only to secure the trade, the *Blacks* here being of a temper not to suffer any thing to be imposed on them by *Europeans*; which, if they should but attempt, it would certainly prove their own ruin. On the other hand, considering the boldness and warlike disposition of those *Blacks*, it is strange they ever permitted *Europeans* to build three such good forts so close together: but so great is the power of money, as well in that golden country, as in all other parts of the world, that the late king of *Acra*, about forty years since, being gained by considerable presents the *Danes* and *Dutch* made him, and by the kindness his subjects showed to white men, granted the liberty at first asked of him, for each of them to build a stone house, to settle a factor in, under the obligation of seven marks of gold yearly, for each house. The houses being thus built, the *Danes* and *Dutch* never gave over caressing the natives, and insinuating to them, that whereas they were continually assaulted in their own country by the restless *Aquamboes*, their mortal enemies, it would be for their safety to permit them to turn those houses into forts, which would protect them and their families with their cannon against those bold and incroaching *Blacks*. By these means they prevailed to have those places put into the condition they now are. The first that obtained this privilege of the king of *Acra* were the *Dutch*,

BARBOT. who bought a proper place for a fort of him, which they built with a ware-house of rock stones, sixty-two foot in length and twenty-four in breadth, with plank floors laid on joists, and the roof cover'd with tiles; all the buildings encompassed with bulwarks, and the walls made with port-holes for guns. Some time after, the *Danes*, and, at last, the *English* had the good fortune to be allow'd building of forts there. To say the truth, those forts, upon some occasions, have proved a good refuge to the natives; especially when the king of *Aquamboe* conquer'd *Acra*, in the year 1680, when, had they wanted that secure retreat, few or none of them had been left alive, or at best, in any condition to drive the trade they now have; which is considerable, notwithstanding the great number of families that have removed thence to *Lay*, *Popo*, and *Fida*, as their king *Fourri* has done to *Fetu*, being a near relation to *Aken Penin Asbrive*, king of *Fetu*, to deliver themselves from the arbitrary power of the king of *Aquamboe*, whose soldiers frequently plunder this and other countries; being countenanc'd by their haughty sovereign, who never fails to espouse all their quarrels.

Unity of
three com-
panies.

It might be reasonably supposed, that the three several companies trading there, might be apt so to clash among themselves, that the consequences would be fatal to each in particular, and to the whole commerce in general; but experience shows the contrary, here being such plenty of gold and slaves, that none of them is in danger of wanting. Besides, that each fort is stock'd with commodities, which the other has not; and that often helps to promote trade, which is here so considerable, notwithstanding the calamities of war, or famine, this country has long labour'd under, that it may well be said, this place alone furnishes more gold and slaves, than the whole coast besides. And could the *Akim* and *Aquamboe Blacks* agree, as they are continually at variance, about the annual tribute the former demand of the latter, by virtue of their feudal right over them, the trade would be yet greater, at *Acra*, than it is: but the *Aquamboes* will by no means submit to it, lest a concession of this nature might, in time, cost them the loss of their whole country; and their king is such a politician, as to sow discord between the governors of *Akim*, by means of fair words and large gifts, whereby he preserves his country in peace, and in a condition to enjoy a beneficial trade.

To say something more particular of each of those maritime villages and forts at *Acra*.

Soko.

Soko is to the westward of the other two, and of less consequence, being only a parcel of about an hundred scattered houses, at a distance from one another.

Little Acra, which is about half a mile east of *Soko*, was pretty handsome and commodious, being a market-town well govern'd, and much resorted to; but the *Aquamboes* burnt it a few years since, scarce sixty houses being left standing. *Fourri*, king of *Acra*, chose rather to live at this place, than at *Great Acra*, which is up the inland; and I was there several times with him in 1679. He was a man of a good mien, a great friend to *Europeans*, but of too restless a spirit, which at last occasion'd his ruin, having too powerful a nation to contend with: as were the *Aquamboes*, who, in conclusion, obliged him to abandon his dominions, as has been said.

Orfaky is not so considerable as I have formerly seen it, the *Aquamboes* having also destroy'd and ruin'd it. Most of the inhabitants of these three villages have left them, since the irruptions of the *Aquamboes*, and settled themselves and families at *Popo*, near *Fida*. The three *European* forts, at *Acra*, are built much after the same manner, and alike in bigness: but to say something of them more particular.

JAMES FORT belonging to the ENGLISH,

AT *Soko* is a square, having four batteries, the walls high and thick, especially on that side which is next the *Dutch* fort, being of rock-stone and lime; but too slightly built to resist the excessive rains of the wet season. The lodgings are close together, being a sort of platform, with a square tower, and a little spire on it, where the *English* flag is hoisted. I saw only eighteen little iron guns mounted on the batteries. The garison consists of twenty white and thirty black men.

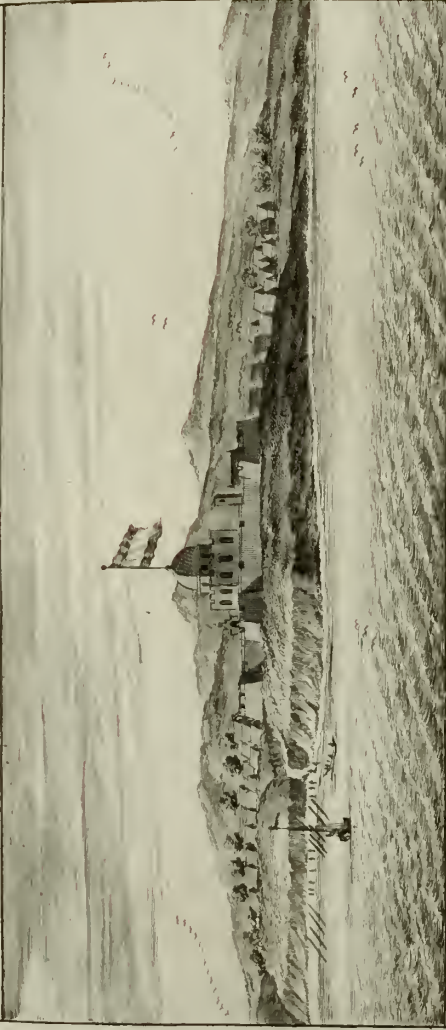
Its situation is very advantageous, being on a large rocky head-land, out in the sea, as you see it here represented in the cut, having the village of *Soko* on the north, at a small distance. It is scarce possible to land dry here at any time of the year, the sea perpetually rolling and breaking on the strand; so that you must of necessity be wash'd, if not overset.

THE DUTCH FORT CREVECOEUR,

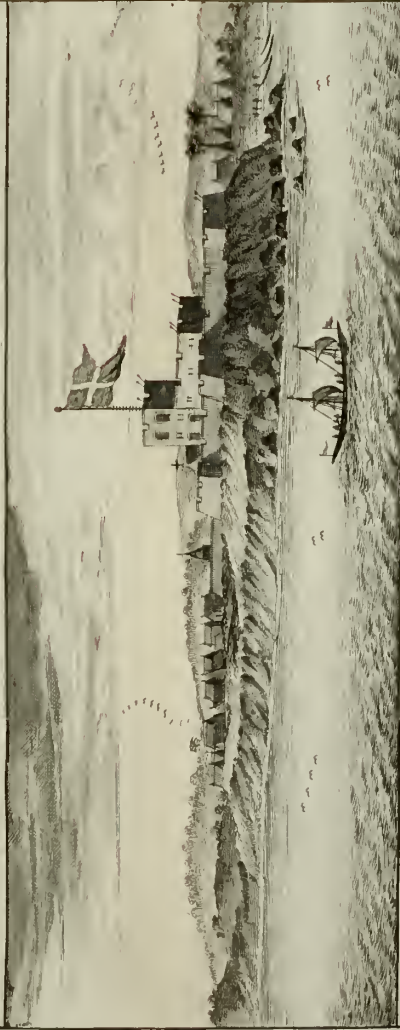
WHereof we here give a prospect in the cut, is seated about half a cannon-shot from *James Fort*; and, like it, on another large rocky head-land, which jutting out into the sea, renders it the stronger on that side: and tho' boats and pinnaces can come up to the strand in safety, almost at any time, yet the landing is well defended by the guns of the fort, and the small arms of the garison.

It is square built, with four batteries, which, as well as the curtains, are of rock-stone and lime, but neither very thick nor high;

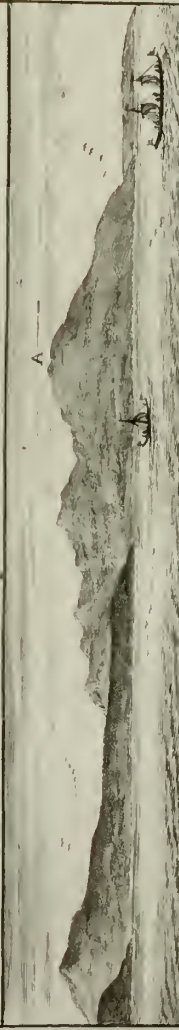
The Dutch Fort Cinxreccour at Accra



The Danish Fort Christiaenburgh, at Accra 1797. 183



Cape Ruigehoek or Duyvelsbergh the high hill. A. being at N.E. 3 Leagues.



The Prospect of the Village and Coast of Lany, the Mount Redonda being at NNE as it stretch, being one League at Sea 1797. 188



high, so that it cannot endure much battering; and the *English*, from *James Fort*, might soon reduce it to a heap of rubbish with their cannon, in case of a rupture between the two nations, tho' it is much larger than their fort. Within it, is a large flat square house, with a platform, and on it, a turret with a cupola, on which, the *Dutch* flag is display'd, as at all other forts on the coast, as soon as any ships appear at sea. The lodgings are pretty neat and convenient, both for the officers and garison, which consists of fifteen white, and twenty-five black men. It has a good handsome gate towards the north, overlooking the village of *Little Acra*, and the road that leads to *Great Acra*. The gate is secured by a *Corps de Garde* and two barriers, but no ditch or pallisadoes before it, which is the fault of all the forts along the coast, none excepted. The *Blacks* being wholly unskill'd at taking of strong holds, and generally running away, or lying down flat when the cannon is fired, those outward defences are look'd upon as unnecessary charges. There are fourteen pieces of cannon, and some pattareroes on the batteries. The situation of the fort is such, that it enjoys a better air than the other two east and west of it.

FORT ST. FRANCIS XAVERIUS,

IS the only place the *Portuguese* have on the coast, and that but of late, being at the village of *Orsaky*, a short league east from *Acra*, built much after the same form and manner as the other two, to the westward of it; but, in my opinion, much stronger, and more spacious, the curtains and batteries more solid and lofty. The tower and lodgings are also larger, with a good *Corps de Garde*; and a spur at the gate, which overlooks the village. The *Portuguese* have rais'd the said curtains and batteries three foot higher than they were when possess'd by the *Danes*. It has twenty-four iron guns mounted, and a few pattareroes; and the garison consists of forty-five white men: for they will admit of no *Blacks* among them, being hated by them here, as well as at all other places on the coast. Several families are removed from the village to several other parts, either on their account, or because of the *Aquamboe* wars.

They have also built a chappel in the fort, where mass is said by a black priest, ordain'd by the bishop of *St. Thome*. Besides, they have much improved the lake, lying at some distance from the fort, and parcel'd it out into divisions, to make salt, in the same manner as they do at *Setubal*, and in other parts of *Portugal*. This lake was formerly a consecrated place, and one of the deities of the inhabitants of *Orsaky*, which

may be one cause of their aversion to the *Portuguese*. I have here given a prospect of the whole. BARBOT.
PLATE 15.

The *Danes* built this fort, as was said above, and named it *Christiaenburg*, in honour of their king then reigning. In 1679, it was governed by *John Olricks* of *Gluckstad*, a worthy person, with whom I was very intimate: him the treacherous *Blacks* inhumanly murder'd, at the instigation of a *Greek*, who had liv'd there some years under him. That villain, some time after, sold the place to *Julian de Campo Barreto*, formerly governor of the island of *St. Thome*, for a sum of money, not exceeding seven marks of gold. *Barreto* was the same person I had known three years before at *Ilba de Principe* or the prince's island, in the gulph of *Guinea*. How he behaved himself towards his garison, I cannot well say; but when I was at *Acra*, in the beginning of the year 1682, they had revolted, and kept him confined in the upper part of the tower of his fort. He being much a gentleman, and known to me before, as I have just observ'd, I caus'd myself to be carry'd thither by *Blacks* in a hammock, from the *Dutch* fort, to pay him a visit; but the *Portuguese* chief factor, who commanded then in the place, would not allow me the liberty of any discourse with him, or any more than to salute him at the window of the room he was confined to above-stairs, from a considerable distance, without admitting me into the fort. The *Portuguese* factor came a little way out of the fort, to tell me he could answer for what he had done, and if the prisoner were willing to go over to *Europe* with me, he might do it; but *Barreto* sent word by a *Black*, that he could not leave his post without a special order from the king of *Portugal*, and desired me to take care of his letter he sent to that court, which I promis'd, and perform'd some time after, when I return'd to prince's island. He also sent word, he hourly expected a *Portuguese* man-of-war from *Lisbon*.

The *Portuguese* garison was then in a miserable condition, in want of all sorts of provision, and even bread; and all the goods in their warehouse did not amount to the value of sixty pounds, as I was told at the *Dutch* fort; and that the *Portuguese* gave out, they had spent above an hundred marks of gold, to put the fort into the good condition it then was. I was also inform'd, that the *Danes* of *Fredericksburg*, near cape *Corso*, had in vain sollicit'd the *Portuguese* to restore the place to them, paying them what it cost, and reasonable charges, which could not amount to near what they pretended; but the *Portuguese* would not hearken to their proposals, and still keep possession of the fort.

The

Conveniences in it.

Danish fort sold.

Portuguese imprisoned their governor.

Portuguese not below'd.

Their miserable condition.

Chappel and salt-lake.

BARBOT. The *Danish* company might have made very considerable profit by its trade here, were it not for the revolutions which have happened at several times, and the infidelity of their servants, as I have already observ'd; for this fort being the last place on the *Gold Coast*, where there is a brisk trade, and much gold, most of the *European* ships generally part with the remainder of their goods at any rate: which is a good opportunity for the company's servants to drive an advantageous underhand trade for themselves, during the vacancies of the post, upon the decease of a governour, or chief factor.

Scarcity. The three forts of *Acra* are subsisted by the provisions they fetch from cape *Corfo*, *Manfrou*, *Anamabo*, and *Cormentin*; the country all about them, for a great way, lying waste, having been ruin'd by the wars with the *Aquamboes*; which occasion'd such a scarcity of corn, that a chest of maiz, of two bushels, was rais'd to ten pieces of eight.

Pure gold. The gold of *Acra* is of the purest sort, much like that at *Axim*, which comes from *Egweira*. Most of it is brought down thither from the country of *Abonee*, and that of *Quakoe*, which is beyond the other, and very rich in gold; the natives whereof, passing through *Aquamboe* in their way down, drive the greatest part of that trade. In time of war, it furnishes so great a number of slaves, that it amounts to, at least, as many as are sold all along the rest of the coast.

Plenty of slaves.

This country is continually in war with some of the neighbouring nations, which are very populous, and from whom they take very many prisoners, most of whom, they sell to the *Europeans*. The slaves are commonly purchased for coesvelt linen, flyziger, lywat, sheets, sayes, perpetuanas, firelocks, powder, brandy, bugles, knives, top-sails, nicannees, and other goods, according to the times. The natives carry those commodities to *Abonee* market, which is four leagues beyond *Great Acra* northward, for the *Accanex* people, who resort thither three times a week; as do other *Blacks* from the country of *Abonee*, *Aquamboe*, and *Aquimera*, who all buy those goods of the *Acra* men, at such rates as they think fit to put upon them, the king refusing to permit those strangers to go down themselves to the *European* warehouses on the coast; for which reason, those *Blacks* pay often double the value for what they buy. The king has there an overseer, who has the power to set the price on all goods, between buyer and seller. This general overseer is assisted by several officers to act for him, where he cannot be present himself. Those employments are much sought after there, as being both honourable and advantageous; because, both the king's and their perquisites are very considerable.

The principal town of *Great Acra* lies about four leagues up the country, at the foot of the hilly land, which is seen at a great distance off at sea.

The land, from the sea-shore, to about three leagues inland, is pretty level and even, and a good sporting ground for hares, rabbits, squirrels, wild-boars, red and fallow deer, wild goats, pintado hens, and other fowl. What large and small cattle they have, is brought from *Labade*, at a small distance eastward. There is such plenty of hares among shrubs and bushes, which grow very thick, that the *Blacks* kill them with sticks, and the *Europeans* take them with spaniels; but their flesh is very insipid.

The soil is a pale red and fat mould; producing little or no fruit, and very few trees; but it yields yams, and several sorts of beans and pease. The country beyond the flat is hilly.

It is worth observing, that in the flat country, beyond the *European* forts, there are abundance of ants nests, which those industrious insects have rais'd above the rest of the ground in a most amazing manner, several of them rising like sugar-loaves, three foot high, or better: of which, I shall hereafter speak more at large. These ant-hills, not improperly deserving to be call'd turrets, look, at a distance, like the salt heaps in the isle of *Rbe* in *France*, at the beginning of the salt-season.

The *Blacks* here do not much regard fishing, or boiling of salt, tho the country affords great plenty of it; leaving that altogether to the others along the coast, who nevertheless find time enough to trade with the *European* ships repairing to their roads.

I have already taken notice, that these people are continually at war with some one or other of their neighbours; it must not be therefore concluded, that they make it their whole employment, but only one part of it. All the *Blacks* in general are soldiers, as long as the war lasts, if they are able to bear arms, or have any given them by their chiefs; but as soon as the war is ended, every man returns to his peculiar employment. Among the fishermen, there are but few soldiers, because they living under the protection of the forts, are not so frequently attack'd by the enemies, and therefore seldom provided with arms.

The *Blacks*, who are of a turbulent nature, and do not care to live without war, when they want employment in their own country, because it is at peace, go serve in any other neighbouring country where there is war; and these are more particularly accounted soldiers by profession.

Before I leave *Acra*, I must warn sailors to weigh their anchors in the road every two or three days, because the ground being

full

Advice to sailors. full of rock-stones, the buoy ropes, and the cables are apt to be cut, about eight or nine foot from the anchor. Thus we lost a sheet-anchor in that road; and many other ships, before and after me, have had the same fortune. The fresh SW. gales, which generally blow from morning till night, except in the rainy season, from *May* till *September*, cause the sea to swell high, and the tide setting eastward very rapid with the wind, ships work very hard on the cables, and render it very tedious and troublesome to get up the anchor in the day-time; which is much easier done in the night, the weather being calmer.

In the wet season, the tide sets as the wind and moon rule it; for two or three days before and after the new and full moon, the tide sets up to the westward, as it also does after it has blown hard at NE. and

E NE. and the wind returns to SSW. and SW. Then the tide, for twenty-four hours, will run upwards against the wind, as has been found by experience, lying before *Corso*, *Anamabo*, *Cormentin*, and *Acra*.

The king and chief *Blacks* of *Acra* were, in my time, very rich in slaves and gold, through the vast trade the natives drove with the *Europeans* on the coast, and the neighbouring nations up the country. These people, in their flourishing peaceful times, possess more wealth than most of those before spoken of put together; and yet these natives of *Acra* being much addicted to war, with their inveterate enemies the *Aquamboes*, have been at last overcome by them, and their country ruin'd and finally reduced to a province in the years 1680 and 1681, as has been mentioned in its place.

CHAP. XI.

The kingdom of Labade described. That of Ningo. Of the inland countries. The kingdoms of Igwira. Great Incaffan. Incaffia-Iggina. The territory of Tabeu. The kingdom of Adom; and countries of Mompa, Waffahs, Vanqui, Quy-Foro, Bonoe, Atti, Accany, Akam, Aqua, Sanquoy, Abonee, Kuahoe, Tafoe, Aboera, Quakoe, Cammanach, Bonoe, Equea, Lataby, Acarady, and Infoko.

LABADE kingdom,

Small extent.

IS so small and inconsiderable, the whole circumference of it being but four leagues, that it scarce deserves any notice should be taken of it, in this description of the *Gold Coast*, but for its touching upon the sea, betwixt *Acra* and *Ningo*, and that only for one league in length along the shore; in which space there are two villages *Orsou*, and *Labade*. This last is a large populous place, enclosed with a dry stone-wall. The situation is pleasant, betwixt fine meadows and plains. The inhabitants of both villages are generally husbandmen, tilling their ground, and looking to their sheep and swine, which they bring from *Lay* poor, then fat and sell them to the people of the *Gold Coast*, and at *Acra*, with considerable profit. They make salt of the sea-water for their own use; but few of them apply themselves to trade, which is inconsiderable among them, as having little gold to dispose of. The country is govern'd by its petty king.

The kingdom of NINGO,

Name, limits, &c.

BY the *French*, is call'd *Lempi*; and, by the *English*, *Alampoe*; the prince of it bearing the title of king of *Ladingcour*, tho' he, and his subjects, have an entire dependence on the king of *Aquamboe*, who lords it over them so absolutely, that the slightest faults are often punish'd with death. This country borders westward on *Labade* and

Great Acra, at *Equea*; eastward, on *Soko*; and southward, on the sea of *Guinea*; extending about thirteen leagues along the coast NE by E. from *Labade* to *Lay*. Its principal villages on the coast, are *Ningo the Lesser*, *Tema*, *Cincho*, *Brambro*, *Pompena* or *Ponny*, *Great Ningo*, *Lay* or *Alempy*, and *Occa*, all barr'd places, and very difficult to land at.

I shall confine myself to speak only of *Cincho*, *Great Ningo*, and *Lay*, which are generally places of commerce, the others having little or none; tho' in 1680, the *Dutch* used to trade to *Tema* or *Temina*.

Cincho is five leagues east from *Acra*, a place resorted to from the beginning of the last century; tho' now the inhabitants apply themselves much to fishing, to supply the market at *Spice*, which is a large town up the inland, for which they pay no duty to the king. The *Blacks* here commonly buy much linnen, and several sorts of cloth for the country trade; as do all the other inhabitants of the coast, from hence to *Rio da Volta*. Their language differs from that of *Acra*. The land affords plenty of provisions, and abundance of fine large oranges.

Great Ningo lies five leagues farther east again, and can scarce be seen from the road, no more than *Cincho*; nor does the land afford any notable mark to know it by, besides the high mount call'd *Redondo*, standing due north from *Lay* up the country, which

BARBOT. being brought to bear north as you go from *Cincho*, you will be then exactly in *Ningo* road; which will be confirm'd by the inhabitants, who commonly use to come out in canoes as soon as they discover a sail coming from the westward. This place sometimes affords a brisk trade of slaves and gold, for coesvelts, printed callicoos, &c. The gold is generally brought to the *Blacks* of *Ningo* and *Lay* from *Quakoe*, a country lying above them up the inland, and abounding in that precious metal. The *Blacks* of this village, and the country about it, drive a trade of cattle, which they fatten in their pasture-grounds; and either the *Gold Coast Blacks* come for it, or they carry it along the said coast, and to *Acra*, where they make thirty crowns of a bullock.

Lay vil- lage. The town of *Lay* is two leagues east from *Great Ningo*, and appears from the road at NNW. of mount *Redondo*, six leagues up

PLATE 15. the country, as may be seen by the prospect thereof in the cut here adjoin'd. The mount is very large, and in the shape of a sugar-loaf.

Cliffs and strand. The shore about *Lay*, is all nothing but high steep cliffs near the sea, in several places rent asunder, and in some, adorn'd with palm and other trees at some distance from each other; and before the cliffs, runs a fine white sandy strand of a moderate breadth.

The town stands on the ascent of a little hill, looking towards the north, so that very few of the houses can be seen from the road. The inhabitants are pretty civil and fair traders, but so suspicious, that they will scarce venture aboard any ships without hostages first sent ashore.

Natives jealous.

When the *Aquamboes* are at war with the *Achim Blacks*, these people have a considerable number of good slaves to dispose of; for whilst those two inland nations make war, most of the prisoners are convey'd to *Lay* and *Acra*, and sold to the *Europeans*, who resort thither. The *Achim Blacks* commonly carry their prisoners to *Lay*, and the *Aquamboes*, theirs to *Acra*, where they sell them to *Europeans* for cauris or bouges, sayes, perpetuanas, coesvelt cloths, sliziger linnen, bugles red and yellow, knives, firelocks, powder, chints, salampores, &c.

Way of trading.

One *Santi*, a famous *Black*, used to manage the commerce by the king of *Lay's* appointment; he settled the prices of slaves according to their sex and age, as also of the *European* goods; then hostages being given on both sides, he sends the slaves aboard the ships by degrees, as they are brought down from the inland country to the town, and receives goods from the *Europeans* in proportion to the number of *Blacks* shipp'd off at each time, and thus a ship is often furnish'd with four or five hundred *Blacks* in a fortnight or three weeks. In my time, a

good male slave might be bought there from fifty-five to sixty pounds of cauris or shells, and sometimes they advanced to seventy.

The *French*, *English*, and *Portuguese* ships ply most at this coast, to purchase slaves and provisions. Notwithstanding the great numbers of slaves I have mentioned to be transported from these parts, it sometimes happens, when the inland country is at peace, that there are none at all; as it happen'd to me in the year 1682, when having lain three days before *Lay*, I could not get one, nor was there any likelihood of it at that time, as the abovementioned *Black Santi* told me; and yet, but two months before my arrival there, one of the men of war of our little Squadron got three hundred slaves in a very short time, which shows that the trade is very uncertain.

Trade uncertain.

The inhabitants of *Ningo* and *Lay* have a good trade at *Spice*, a large inland town. They have also a peculiar way of catching fish in the night-time; along the strand, by means of round wicker baskets fastened to long poles, holding the pole in one hand, and in the other, a lighted torch, made of a sort of fierce burning wood. The fish generally make towards the light, and so are taken in the baskets. Among other sorts of fish taken, there are extraordinary large thornbacks.

Fishing by night.

The best riding before *Lay*, is when mount *Redondo* bears NNW. the ground sandy mixt with very small stones.

Best road.

The country of *Ningo*, *Lempy*, or *Alampoe*, is flat and low, populous and fertile, and particularly stored with cattle, viz. cows, sheep, and swine, besides poultry, which are continually bought up there, to be carry'd along the *Gold Coast*.

Cattle.

The fishery on the sea is inconsiderable, because the shore is high and difficult of access; but the want of sea-fish is abundantly made amends for by the great plenty there is in lakes and rivers.

Of the INLAND COUNTRIES.

HAVING, from my first entering upon this work, resolv'd to give a compleat description of *North* and *South Guinea*, as far as it is known to us; I now, in pursuance thereof, design to give some short account of the inland countries lying farther up above those of the *Gold Coast* already described; tho' in treating of the maritime countries, something has been occasionally said of the others, as matters offer'd themselves; and in the map of the *Gold Coast*, I have given the position of the most noted inland countries.

I desire the reader will accept of what I offer in good part, and put the best construction upon it, if any thing should seem to him extravagant or preposterous, none of

of the *Europeans* dwelling along the coast, having ever ventured far up the land, that I could hear of; so that what account can be given of it, is taken from the most intelligent *Blacks*, particularly as to the remotest countries, it being extraordinary difficult and dangerous, if not altogether impossible, for *Europeans* to venture so far into such wild savage countries, where the roads are, for the most part, narrow and hard to find, being in most parts hid with woods, and overgrown with shrubs: besides, being every where pester'd with robbers, in many places quite desert, without any dwellings or subsistence to be found, or any carriage of horses, carts, or the like; all which, together with the treacherous disposition of the inhabitants, and the excessive heat of the days in the summer-season, being the properest time for travelling, and the continual heavy rains in the winter, is in my opinion sufficient, adding the danger of ravenous wild beasts, which swarm in those countries, to deter the boldest and most resolute man from undertaking such journeys, especially considering they are to be perform'd a-foot.

To proceed methodically in this description, I must return to the beginning of the *Gold Coast*, as far as *Awine*, which I take to be near *Adom*, the first on the *Gold Coast*. The *Blacks* of that country usually return large quantities of fine and pure gold to *Iffeny*, and other parts along the coast. They are very civil, and the fairest dealers of all the *Blacks*; so that it is a pleasure to trade with them.

The kingdom of IGWIRA,

Limits and wealth.

BOrders southward on that of *Atzym* or *Axim*, and *Little Incassan*; northward, on *Great Incassan*; and eastward, on *Mompa*. It is accounted extraordinary rich in gold, and that of the purest sort, commonly dug out of the ground, or taken from the bottom of rivers, most whereof come down in small streams or torrents from the vast high hills, separating *Incassan* and *Igwira*, which streams are form'd by the excessive rains of the wet season, washing the ground, and carrying down what gold lies near the surface of the earth; and the rivers of *Igwira* being all choak'd with rocks and falls, bearing away the mould with great swiftness, the rich metal which is among it, by its natural weight sinks to the bottom, and for the most part among the aforesaid rocks and falls; where the *Blacks* commonly dive for it, because there, in process of time, it gathers into little heaps.

Fine gold.

Most of this fine *Igwira* gold is convey'd to *Axim*, or to *Iffeny*, as occasion offers; for which reason, those two maritime places have generally the finest gold of all the coast; either because it passes through few

hands before it comes thither, *Igwira* con-
fining on those territories; or, for that the *Blacks* in general are more honest, and less covetous than at many other trading places on the coast, where the mystery of adulterating gold, is known to perfection.

BARBOT

Two *Blacks* of *Commendo* went some years ago into *Igwira*, with *European* goods, to trade, and made a very good hand of them, as they reported; but the roads between *Commendo* and that country, being very seldom free from robbers, and the distance great, and several nations being in the way, which always guard the passes through their liberties, and extort heavy duties for the liberty of trading: these things, I say, consider'd, there are few who care to venture frequently between *Commendo* and *Igwira*.

Dangers in travelling.

I observ'd, in the description of the river *Cobra* near *Axim*, that the *Portuguese*, in former times, made a considerable advantage of their trade in this *Igwira* country. How the *Dutch* factory at *Axim*, having driven the *Portuguese* from thence, manages that affair now, is a secret to all the world besides themselves; but it is beyond all doubt, that they, who are such cunning traders, must find a very considerable return there.

The kingdom of GREAT INCASSAN

HAS for its boundary, on the south, that of *Igwira*; on the east, those of *Waf-sabs* and *Vanqui*: and unknown countries on the west. The natives of it, 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 Commendo* or *Iffeny*; and oftner to the latter, as being much nearer to them than the other.

The kingdom of INCASSIA IGGINA,

ON the south, reaches to that of *Great Incassan*; on the east, to those of *Waf-sabs* and *Vanqui*; but to what parts it extends north and west, I could not learn. The natives have no manner of correspondence with the *Europeans* at the coast; and therefore it is quite unknown beyond the next neighbouring nations.

The little territory of TABEU

HAS *Anta* on the south; *Adom* on the west and north; and *Commendo* or *Guaffo* on the east; being separated there from it by a little river. The *Blacks* of *Tabeu* drive their trade with the *Dutch* at *Sama*, carrying thither corn, poultry, fruit, plants, and other things of the product of their country. The *Portuguese* of *Mina* used formerly to draw the subsistence of their garrison from thence, as well as from the country of *Axim*.

BARBOT.

The Kingdom of ADOM

HAS *Tabou* on the west, *Guaffo* on the south, *Wassabs* on the north, and *Abramboe* on the E N E. The *Blacks* of this country generally turn their trade to *Little Commendo*, when the passes are not open, and the rocks clear from robbers between them and the coast, either to *Axim* or *Boutroe*, whither they otherwise resort.

The Country of MOMP A,

IS utterly unknown, but said to extend westward to *Igwira*; northward to *Great Incassan*, *Wassabs* and *Adom*; and eastward to *Anta*.

That of WASSAHS,

HAS *Vanqui* on the north; *Quy-Foro* and *Abramboe* on the east; *Great Incassan* on the west, and *Incaffia-Iggina* on the north-west. It is famous for the great quantity of gold brought out of it, tho' it has but few rivers; and therefore some say the natives bring that metal from other remoter parts. The land is generally barren, and produces nothing considerable, which is the reason that most of the inhabitants make it their chief business to gather gold, to purchase *European* goods, and so drive a trade with their neighbours.

The Territory of VANQUI,

IS bounded on the west by *Incaffia-Iggina*; on the south by *Wassabs*; on the north by *Bonoe*. The natives have the art of weaving fine stuffs with gold, which they sell to the people of *Accany*, who again sell them to the *Arabs*, inhabiting about the famous river *Niger*, as also to the people of *Gago* and *Akam*, north of them.

The Kingdom of AQUAMBOE,

EXtends to *Adom* and *Wassabs* on the west; to *Guaffo* on the south; to *Accany* on the north; to *Atty* on the east, and to *Fetu* on the south-west. 'Tis a very populous country, and of great commerce; great numbers of the natives constantly resorting to *Mouree* to exchange their gold for linnen and iron; and some of them keep their families there altogether, acting themselves as brokers for many of their countrymen, who are considerable dealers.

These *Aquamboes* are naturally brave, resolute and warlike, and for the most part at variance with the *Accanese*, by whom they for many years past had been much infested; they having made several inroads into *Aquamboe*, destroying all with fire and sword. They are now at peace, which 'tis likely will not last long, there being such a natural aversion to each other.

The Land of QUY-FORO,

TOuches *Wassabs* westward; *Abramboe* southward; *Bonoe* northward; and *Accany* eastward. 'Tis a very barren country, and the people generally of a small capacity and simple, having no trade on the coast.

That of BONO E,

REaches westward to *Vanqui*; southward to *Quy-Foro*; eastward to *Accany* and *Inta*. The natives never go down to the coast any more than those of *Mompa*.

The Territory of ATTI,

HAS *Abramboe* on the west, *Fetu*, *Sabou* and *Fantin*, on the south, and *Daboe* on the north. These people had formerly a great trade with the *Dutch*; but being empoverish'd, and almost exhausted by their long wars against *Sabou*, their main employment now is tillage, the country being naturally very fertile. They have some sort of dependance on *Accany*, whose inhabitants can hinder them from trading on the coast, when they think it for their advantage, and they are a people sufficiently inclined to engross all the traffick of those countries. To this effect, they have settled a great market at *Accany*, on certain appointed days in the year, whither a multitude from the neighbouring countries usually resorts to buy iron, which the *Accanese* bring from the coast.

The Kingdom of ACCANY,

IS commonly distinguish'd by the names of *Accany-Grande*, or the Great, and *Accany-Pequeno*, or the Little.

Accany-Pequeno, or the Little, is said to *Little Accany* extend on the west to *Quy-Foro* and *Bonoe*; on the south to *Daboe*, *Atti*, and *Abramboe*; on the north to *Inta*; and on the east to the kingdom of *Akim*, or *Atchim*. The great town of *Daboe* is near the frontiers, next to *Atti*.

These *Accanese* are famous for the trade *Pure gold*, they drive not only on the coast, but up the inland. These *Blacks*, in company with those of *Cabesterra*, a country between them and *Saboe*, used to bring down the gold of *Affiante* and *Akim*, together with some of their own, to trade upon the coast; and that which they sold there, was so pure and fine, that to this day the best gold is by the *Blacks* from *Commendo* to *Wiamba*, called *Accany Cbica*, or *Accany gold*; because it was never any way mixt, like that of *Dinkiara*.

These people are naturally of a turbulent *Warlike* temper, haughty and warlike, which makes *Blacks* them either much fear'd or loved, by their neighbours round about, and every where entertain'd cost-free by them, when they travel

travel through their countries. Their usual weapons are an *Affagaya*, or javelin, a buckler and a scymiter. The language is much the same as that of *Fetu*, *Atti*, *Saboe*, *Abramboe* and *Fantin*, only somewhat softer and more agreeable to the ear.

Merchants. The *Accanese* merchants carry all the goods they buy at the coast by land, on their slaves backs, to the markets at *Atti*, *Saboe*, and other places up the country, paying the duties at the passes, to the respective governors of those countries and territories, through which they travel. Many of them can still speak some few words of *Portuguese*, and the *Lingua Franca* they learnt of their fore-fathers, when the *Portuguese* had the whole commerce on that coast. This *Lingua Franca* is a corruption of *Italian*, *Latin*, *French*, and *Portuguese*.

Dinkira country. The country of *Dinkira*, or *Dunkira*, lies above ten days journey by land from *Axim*, and five from *Mina*, due north, having *Cabesterra* on the east, *Adom* on the west, and *Accany* on the north. The roads to it from *Axim* and *Mina*, are very bad and winding, which makes it double the distance in travelling thither, that it would be, were they good and strait: whether the *Blacks* will not or cannot remedy that inconvenience, is uncertain.

It was formerly a country of a small compass, and not very populous; but the natural valour of the natives has enlarged its borders, and raised its power so high, that its people are fear'd and honour'd by all the nations round about, except those of *Affiante* and *Akim*, who are still more potent than they.

The inhabitants of *Dinkira* are vastly rich in gold, as well brought from other parts as what their own mines afford; the first sort whereof they get, either by plunder, or by trade, wherein they are infinitely more expert than any other *Blacks*.

When the roads to the coast are free and open, the *Dinkira* merchants come together, with the *Accanese*, as I said before, either to *Sama*, *Commendo*, *Mina*, or cape *Corso* castle, according to the distance of the places where they live at home. If the passes happen to be stop'd in the inland country, they go farther up the coast; by which means, those upper factories have a brisk trade in their town, and plenty of gold, when it falls short at the middle forts of the coast.

The *Dinkira* gold is commonly very fine, but too often mix'd with *Fetiche* gold, which is a sort of composition of several ingredients, in some very odd shapes, as I shall particularly describe hereafter.

Intra territory. The territory of *Inta*, or *Affiante*, which a modern author supposes to be one and the same, is limited on the west by *Mandinga*;

on the north by unknown regions; on the east by *Akim* and *Acbam*; and on the south by *Accany*. Nothing can be said of this country, which is utterly unknown, for want of correspondence; but that it is very rich in gold, some parcels whereof are brought down to the *Gold Coast*, in peaceable times, by the *Accanese* who trade thither, when the roads are open. It lies well for the trade of *Iffeny* and *Axim*, as being seated towards the head of the river of *Suiero da Costa*.

Akam, *Akim*, or *Abim*, or *Accany-Grande*, *Great Accany*, borders westward on *Accany-Pequeno*, or *Little Accany*; on *Aqua*, and *Sonqua* southward; on *Inta* and *Achbara* northward; and on *Aquamboe* and *Quakoe* eastward.

If we may credit some of the *Accanese Blacks*, it is of so great an extent, that it reaches to the *Barbary* coast, which must be mistaken for the river *Niger*; because being very wide, the *Blacks* may perhaps look upon it as a sea; and it runs from east to west, just between thirteen and fourteen degrees of north latitude, being about two hundred seventy leagues from the *Gold-Coast*, directly northward: for should they really extend to the *Barbary* coast, properly so called, this country must reach to the *Mediterranean*, across the vast continent of *Africa*, above six hundred leagues directly north from the *Gold-Coast* to the kingdom of *Algier*, through the countries of *Gago* and *Guber*, placed by the best geographers between the *Accanese* lands, and that famous river; and these countries are reckon'd very populous, and to have a great trade. This country was formerly a monarchy, and now a commonwealth, after several changes and revolutions in the government, which renders it the less formidable to its neighbours, because of the factions and divisions the republican government is subject to; and especially among the *Blacks*, where interest is no less prevailing than in other parts, and many love to fish in troubled waters: and therefore this country, for want of unity and a good understanding among the natives, is not so powerful as formerly.

Most of the gold of this country, is generally convey'd to *Acra*, and thence to the western roads and forts of the coast, very fine and pure, without any mixture or corruption.

The *Blacks* of *Akim* are very proud and haughty, and as rich again in gold and slaves, as the *Little Accanese*; for which reason they pretend to some superiority over them. The natives drive most of their commerce towards the countries lying along the *Niger*, being those of *Gago* and *Meczara* on the north of them. *Gago* is a large kingdom, abounding in gold, a great quantity whereof

BARBOT. whereof is sent to the kingdom of *Morocco*, with caravans, by the way of *Tombut*. The *Accanese* trade also with their other neighbour nations, as *Affiante* and *Akam*, this latter lying north, the other north-west from them, where they sell abundance of their short cloths and other goods for gold. They also sometimes repair to the markets at *Abonee*, near *Acra*, and there, as well as at *Little Accany* buy *European* goods those *Blacks* carry from the coast.

The Territory of **AKAM,**

HAS *Inta*, or *Affiante* on the west; *Akim* on the south; unknown lands on the north; and on the east *Quakoe* and *Tafoe*. The *Europeans* on the coast are utter strangers to the natives of this country.

AQUA,

EXTENDS to *Atti* and *Daboe*, on the west; to *Fantin* on the south; and to *Akim* on the north. It is a small country, and has some dependance on the king of *Fantin*.

SANQUAY,

BORDERS southward on *Fantin*; northward on *Akim*; and eastward on *Augwina*. The *Blacks* of this nation use to come down to *Monte del Diablo*, or the devil's mount and *Dajou*, on the coast, to buy sea-fish, to supply their markets, and are very considerable gainers by that trade; tho' the fish is commonly rotten, before it can be carry'd so far up. This land pays some acknowledgment to the king of *Augwina*.

Rotten fish
sold.

AQUAMBOE,

HAS for its boundaries, *Abonee* and *Aboera* on the east; *Akim* on the west; *Quakoe* on the north; and *Agwana* on the south. They have no commerce with the *Europeans*.

ABONEE,

IS a territory of a very small compass, shut in on the west by *Aquamboe*; on the south by *Augwina*; on the north by *Aboera*; and on the east by *Great Acra*, and part of *Aboera*. It is only remarkable for the extraordinary market held at *Great Acra*, where the natives give constant attendance, as does a great throng of *Blacks* from the other neighbouring parts.

KUABOE,

IS confin'd westward by *Akam*; southward by *Aquamboe* and *Akim*; northward by *Tafoe*; and eastward by *Aboera*, and *Cammanach*. We know nothing of the inhabitants, but that they are reputed a treacherous false people.

TAFOE,

JOINS on the west to *Akam*; on the south to *Kuaboe*; and on the east to *Cammanach* and *Kaboe*. 'Tis a rich country in gold, which they sometimes carry to *Abonee* market, and sometimes to *Mouree*.

ABOERA,

MEETS with *Aquamboe* in the west; with *Cammanach* and *Kuaboe* in the north; with *Abonee* and *Great Acra* in the south; and with *Bonoe* in the east. The natives are rich in gold, which they dispose of at *Abonee* market.

QUAKOE,

BORDERS on *Cammanach* and *Little Acra* southward; and on *Tafoe* westward. The inhabitants carry much gold to *Abonee*, *Acra*, and *Great Ningo*.

CAMMANACH,

EXTENDS on the west to *Kuaboe*; on the north to *Quakoe*; on the south to *Aboera* and *Bonoe*; and on the east to *Equea*, *Lataby*, and *Little Acra*. The natives apply themselves mostly to tillage, and dispose of the product of their land, particularly the maiz, or *Indian* wheat, among their neighbours.

BONOE,

IS limited by *Aboera* on the west; by *Cammanach* on the north; by *Agrana* and *Acra* on the south; and by *Equea* and *Ningo* on the east. The main business of the inhabitants is husbandry, especially sowing of *Indian* wheat.

EQUEA,

IS bounded westward by *Bonoe*; northward by *Cammanach*; and southward by *Ningo* and *Lataby*. They also sow *Indian* wheat, which is their sole business and trade.

LATABY,

ON the west touches *Equea* and *Cammanach*; on the north-east *Little Acra*; *Ningo* and *Labbade* on the south. This country is renowned for its markets, tho' they are not quite so considerable as that of *Abonee*; but very great quantities of goods from many parts are sold in them.

ACARADY,

HAS *Cammanach* on the west; *Quakoe* on the north; and *Lataby* and *Ningo* on the south. The *Blacks* from this country carry much gold to *Abonee* market, and it is reckoned as fine and pure as that of *Accany*.

INSOKO,

ACCORDING to the account the *Accanese* give of it, is a country distant five days journey from the coast; its southern borders little

little known, because scarce frequented, by reason the roads generally swarm with thieves and robbers. The natives of it are notable 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, as also for *Haerlem* cloth. The *Accanese* say, that those *Blacks* know not what copper or gold are, having never seen those two metals in their country.

All the abovementioned kingdoms and territories in general, are not so woody, as the country about *Cormentin*, and the others higher on the gold coast, nor so fruitful. By what I have said of them, it may well be concluded, that they are for the most part extraordinary rich in gold; but particularly *Inta*, or *Affiante*, *Awine*, *Iguira*, *Dinkira*, *Akam*, and *Accany* afford vast quantities; most of the gold traded for along the whole

coast coming from those parts, where there are many rich mines of that metal, besides what the natives draw from their neighbours, by way of trade, which is a very considerable quantity. *Mandinga*, *Gago*, and *Tafoe*, furnish them with very much in exchange by goods, or by way of plunder; and these again, besides what their own land produces, receive it from many unknown countries northward, on both sides of the *Niger*: those places, according to the accounts of all authors and travellers, producing an immense store of gold.

I might now proceed to treat of the several sorts of gold, and the ways of digging, gathering and trying of it; but have thought fit to refer that to another place, where it will be as proper, that I may not interrupt the description of these countries, especially those along the sea-coast, as best known to *Europeans*.

C H A P. XII.

The land along the coast in general. Seasons and unhealthiness of the Gold-Coast. Tornadoes; stinking fogs, harmatans. Cold in Guinea. The country fatal to Europeans.

The LAND in general.

THIS country for the most part, near the coast, may be reckoned wild and savage, being very woody, and covered with shrubs and bushes; and particularly about *Axim*, *Sama*, and *Commendo*, where the roads are so crooked and narrow, that two men cannot travel a-breast; and the woods so thick, that they strike a horror into such as are not used to them, the light of the sun scarce penetrating through them: not to mention the multitudes of desperate villains and robbers, which commonly pester the ways. However, in many places there are very large pleasant fields and vales, fit to breed all sorts of cattle. The soil is generally fat, of a pale brick-colour, very proper to sow *Indian* wheat. In other places it is also sandy and gravelly, as about cape *Corso*.

The country along the coast, from cape *Tres-Pontas*, to near *Acra*, is most hilly, gradually rising more and more up the inland, till it becomes almost mountainous. The soil is for the most part extraordinary fertile, and produces abundance of *Indian* wheat, millet, rice, potatoes, yams, oranges, lemons, coconuts, palm-wine, bananas, plantans, and ananas; but least of the last.

There is plenty of four-footed beasts, and fowl, both of those natural to the country, and others transported thither by the *Portuguese* from *Brazil* and *St. Thome*, which have multiplied exceedingly in the

space of two centuries; of which creatures, more shall be said hereafter in its proper place.

The land is here and there water'd with large and small rivers, some of the former very pleasant and beautiful; as the river *Cobra*, those of *Boutrou*, *Sama*, and others farther eastward, which supply the natives with vast quantities of good fresh fish, besides furnishing them with much gold.

The sea along the coast, affords no less variety and plenty of excellent fish, and yields abundance of salt, by boiling its water to a consistence; both which turn to a very considerable profit and advantage, not only to the *Blacks* inhabiting the coast, but to innumerable multitudes for several hundred leagues farther up.

Having propos'd to myself to treat hereafter, by way of supplement, of the seasons and monsoons of *Nigritia* and *Guinea* in general, as also of the winds, rains, &c. I shall at present only say something of the seasons and unwholesomeness of the *Gold-Coast* in particular, as it lies between the fourth and fifth degrees of north latitude, which occasions some special difference to be here taken notice of.

Seasons and unhealthiness of the GOLD-COAST.

THE year is generally divided into two seasons, summer and winter, good and bad, or high and low seasons, according to the several ways used by the *Europeans*, who live

BARBOT

Dismal roads.

Produce.

Animals.

Rivers.

Two seasons.

BARBOT. live there, to express themselves; none of them taking notice of any autumn or spring; because the heats continue more or less throughout the whole year, and the plants and trees are perpetually green.

Summer. The summer usually commences about the beginning of *September*, and lasts the five following months; and the winter holds the other six months of the year, which are also subdivided, into two rainy, two misty and rainy, and two windy and rainy months. Not that we are to suppose that every two of those months are altogether rainy, misty, or windy; but because during each of those subdivisions, the winds, mists, or rains are predominant in their turns. It is also to be observ'd, that these seasons do so alter some years, that the misty or rainy months may fall, perhaps, a whole month later than is usual; and therefore it may be also reckon'd that the summer season commences at the latter end of *September*, and the winter in *April* following.

The *English* call these two seasons winter and summer; the *French* the high and the low season; and the *Dutch*, the good and bad times.

When the seasons commence. The best observation of the time when the rains begin on the *Gold-Coast*, is made by agent *Greenbill*, who brings it to about the 10th of *April*. "This, says he, may be generally observ'd, from fifteen degrees north, to the same number of south latitude, that they follow the sun, with five or six degrees, and so proceed with him, till he has touch'd the tropick, and returns to the like station again." This he makes out by the following instance, *viz.* cape *Corso* castle is in four deg. and fifty five min. north; about the 12th of *April*, the sun has there about twelve deg. north declination; at that time the rains begin and continue in that latitude, till he has perform'd his course to the greatest obliquity from the equator, and return'd to the like position south. The same he supposes may be understood of other places within the tropicks.

Length of days. The days and nights are there all the year about much of the same length; the sun almost at all times rising at six in the morning, and setting at six in the evening; but he has been up almost half an hour before he is perceived by the people there, who at his setting also lose sight of him almost half an hour before he is quite under the horizon.

Heat. During the summer, thus reckon'd to begin with *October*, and to end with *March*, the heat is very violent and scorching, but particularly in *December* and *January*, which are commonly the driest months in the summer, and consequently the heat more intense: and indeed it could not be endur'd, especi-

ally by such as are newly arriv'd there from *England* or *Holland*, whose bodies are not so well dispos'd, as those who have lived upon the spot some time, were it not for the fresh gales of wind, blowing regularly every day from nine in the morning till night, when a north-east breeze, by the *Blacks* call'd *Bofoe*, takes place; being a hot air from the land, which causes people to sweat excessively in their beds, as I have mention'd it, speaking of the ships in the roads.

February and *March* now and then afford gentle rains, and sometimes heavier showers, attended with tornadoes, more frequent in these than in the other four summer months.

April, *May*, and *June* have the most of these tornadoes, and are therefore the most hurtful months to the *Blacks*, as are those of *July* and *August* for their thick and stinking fogs, which occasion more sickness at that time than in summer: for the long violent rains, falling like floods, more particularly in those months, attended with frequent tornadoes, lightning, and dreadful claps of thunder, alternately intermixt with thick mists and fogs, do so corrupt the air, together with the stench that is in and about the towns and villages of the *Blacks*, as I have before observ'd, do all together much prejudice the state of health; insomuch, that not only new comers, but even those who have been long on the coast, cannot possibly avoid partaking of those malignant effects.

As for new-comers, few of them at first fail of being seiz'd by a sickness, which carries off very many, tho' perhaps fewer in some places than in others: for where the wind blows continually very fresh, and the *Blacks* make the least stench, such places are certainly most wholesome; as for instance, *Boutroe*, *Zacundee*, the *Danish* mount at *Manfrou*, *Wiamba*, and *Acra*. As, on the contrary, those places which are generally most subject to rains, as particularly *Axim* is reckon'd to be so more than any other place along the coast, are the most unhealthy.

The TORNADOES,
WHICH the *Portuguese* call *Travados*; *Horrid*
the *Blacks*, *Agrombretou*; and the *forms.*
French, *Travades*; commonly follow the sun, which attracts them. They are fierce storms of wind, rising on a sudden from the east and south-east; and sometimes from the north, with some points of the west, but not so frequent, intermix'd with dreadful repeated claps of thunder, and terrible lightning, vast showers of rain falling like a flood, and an extraordinary darkness even at noon-day. Some of these last an hour, others two or more; and as soon as over, the weather immediately becomes as clear and fair

as before. If any happen in the good season or summer, as there do now and then, tho' generally not so violent as in the winter, yet they are more incommodious both to land and sea-faring people, being commonly follow'd by cold rains, so heavy and violent for several days successively, that they seem to threaten a second deluge.

These tornadoes, if not timely taken notice of by ships under sail, will certain overset any large or small vessel; or drive them ashore, if not well moored; or at least, split their sails, or bring the masts by the board. But they never fail to give warning time enough to prepare against them; yet they do not always follow after that warning. The manner of it is thus: a very black cloud appears far off, in which, if there be several white spots, the wind will be most; if not, the rain will prevail. This is the saying of the sailors, and therefore not always infallible. This is certain, that the tornadoes very much help such ships as are bound to the windward, if they are not too violent; for then they can steer by them a direct course, whereas otherwise, they must ply it up, continually tacking, which proves very tedious. The same advantage is made of a *Harmatan*, of which, and the tornadoes, I shall say more in the supplement.

Unwholesome Fogs.

THERE being a continual chain of hills and mountains from one end to the other of the *Gold Coast*, there rises every morning, in the valleys betwixt them, a thick, stinking, and bituminous mist or fog, especially near rivers or watry places, which spreads itself all over, and falls so thick on the earth, that it is almost impossible for *Europeans* to escape the infection, whilst they sleep, their bodies being more susceptible of it than the natives. These unwholesome mists rise every night throughout the whole year; but especially in the winter season, and then most in *July* and *August*, as was said above. It is no wonder, that such fogs, together with the intolerable stench about the habitations of the *Blacks*, and all the abovemention'd intemperances of the climate, the continual rains, excessive heats of the day, the fierce lightning, and the horrid frequent claps of thunder; it is no wonder, I say, that all these united, should make the air unhealthy and pernicious to human constitutions, and more particularly to *Europeans*.

It is to be observ'd, that though, during the six months of the summer season, the heat is very violent, and sometimes scorching and intolerable; yet the other six months of the winter season are so different, that sometimes a fire could be well endur'd, the weather being often much like *September* in *France* or *England*, and evenings pretty cool,

which happens also even in the summer season, more especially at the time of an *Harmatan*, which is a dry north or north-east wind, call'd by the *Portuguese Terreno*; that is, the land-wind, because it comes from the landward and overpowers the sea-breeze.

HARMATANS.

AN *Harmatan* will last two or three days, and sometimes four or five, but seldom so long: yet such a one we had, lying off *Boutroe*, in *January* 1682. It blew a sharp piercing cold air, no sun appearing all the while; but the weather was thick, close, cold, and raw, which very much affected the eyes, and put many into an aguish temper, so violently piercing the naked bodies of the *Blacks*, that I observ'd many I had then on board, look'd at a distance as if they had been all over strew'd with meal, and shiver'd as in an ague. Nor is it any wonder that the natives, who are used most of the year, and even of their lives, to a scorching air, should be so tender and sensible of a sharp piercing wind, coming so suddenly on them, when the *Europeans* themselves, who are used to cold climates, can scarce endure it, but are sensible of the effects thereof, tho' close confined to their chambers, with a gentle fire and strong restoratives to keep up the spirits.

The latter end of *December*, all *January*, and part of *February*, are subject to these *Harmatans*, as the *Blacks* call them; but *January* most of all. Those which happen in *February*, do not commonly continue long; and they are never known before or after the times here mention'd.

During the time of an *Harmatan*, all persons whatsoever, white or black, without any exception, are obliged, by the sharpness of the air, to keep confined to their houses, or chambers, without stirring abroad, unless upon very urgent occasions: for the air is scarce to be endur'd, because it suffocates, obliging people to draw their breath often, and short; and they are forced to correct the acuteness of it with some sweet oil; without which, it would be difficult breathing as at other times.

This sharp piercing air is as prejudicial, if not more, to beasts or cattle, than it is to men; and certainly destroys many of them in a very short time, if not drawn together betimes into some close cover'd place: which, for this reason, the *Blacks* generally provide before-hand, being acquainted with the proper season of these *Harmatans*, and knowing they never miss coming, sooner or later. An experiment was made at cape *Corso*, of the sharpness of the air, on two goats; which were not exposed to it above four hours, before it kill'd them. Besides, the joints of floors in chambers, and the decks and sides of ships, as far as they are above water, did open so wide, that a caulking

BARBOT iron could be thrust in deep between the seams, continuing so all the time the *Harmatan* lasted; and as soon as it was over, those joints and seams closed again of themselves, as if they had never open'd.

Advantage of them. These *Harmatans* generally blow from East to ENE, and are the most steady fresh gales that are observ'd to blow, never attended with thunder, lightening, or rain, or at least very rarely. They generally turn the tides from their constant course, which is east, to the west, and impel them with a great force; which change, as well as that of the *Tornadoes* before-mentioned, is advantageous to ships bound from the east part of the coast to the westward; which is here call'd the *upper coast*, as the eastern part is named the *lower*.

The land-wind is seldom known to blow here in the winter season; that which then constantly reigns, and pretty fresh, is from the SW. to the WSW. along the coast downward; which drives the tide strongly to the East, and ENE. rendering the navigation tedious and toilsome to those who are bound from *Fida* and *Ardra*, to cross the equinoctial. Being once in the bight or gulph of *Guinea*, upon such a voyage, I observ'd, that when we steer'd SSE. we made but an ENE. course.

Cold in GUINEA.

THE high winds which blow fiercely in *July* and *August*, occasion cold weather, tho' coming from the South and SSW. as they then generally do, causing a sharp, raw, foggy air, with a great stench on and near the land. The sea then runs high, and rough. Some years there are such fierce and boisterous storms in the country, that thousands of trees are either torn up by the roots, or split.

Great storms.

Frost.

The cold is also said to be so sharp at night, that many have been persuaded it froze; the earth, which is commonly very moist, by reason of the dew, appearing on the contrary dry and whitish, and ink found frozen in the houses. This is not at all improbable; for I have met with such cold weather under the line, that one of our men made use of his gloves and a muff he happen'd to have among his apparel.

Infectious air.

In the good season, I have observed the effect of the corrupted evening air to be such, that in two hours it corrupted a piece of fresh meat, so that the next morning it swarm'd with maggots, as soon as the sun came to shine upon it; and even on woollen clothes, that lay out all night, the vermin would breed: nor could we keep the fish just taken out of the water, sweet above four hours. By this we may guess what effect the air of the high season, or winter, may have on such bodies, and consequently on human nature.

Notwithstanding I have before said some-
thing to the same purpose, I think myself oblig'd here again to warn sailors, that they do not lie down on the decks uncover'd, as they are too apt to do after working hard; or perhaps drinking brandy, punch, or any other strong liquor, which may occasion them to sleep so all the night: for it is ten to one, but that in the morning they will find themselves so stiff and cold, as not to be able to stir from the place; which casts them into fluxes, of which few or none recover. It behoves them therefore carefully to avoid lying abroad, and uncover'd in the night; and masters of ships ought strictly to forbid it, if they value the success of their voyages, many stout and brave men having perish'd miserably after this manner on the coast of *Guinea*: and thus voyages, which might otherwise have been advantageous, have prov'd destructive to the adventurers, for want of hands to carry the ships home with all diligence, which is a main point towards a good voyage. But of this more in another place.

In *September* the winds usually blow from the south during the day, driving away the stench up the inland; and the north wind returning commonly at night, carries it off again to sea. This month of *September*, by degrees drives away the winter season, and generally concludes with fine clear weather, and great heats.

The gold coast lying between the tropick and the line, it is easy to guess what dreadful thunder it must be subject to, which is most in the winter season. The lightening is sometimes so frightful, that it really looks as if the world were going to be consum'd by fire. The sheets of lead nailed on the sides of a gallery, over the seams of the ship I was in, were in some places almost reduc'd to nothing; and it is recorded at *Mina*, that in the year 1651, gold and silver were melted in bags, which remain'd untouch'd.

GUINEA fatal to EUROPEANS.

THESE things consider'd, it is no wonder that the coast of *Guinea* should yearly consume so many *Europeans* living ashore; especially if we consider their way of living, being utterly unprovided of what should comfort and nourish them; having wretched medicines, unskilful surgeons, and no support of nourishing diet and restoratives. The common sort, at best, can get nothing but fish, and some dry lean hens, and were they able to pay for better, it is not to be had; for all the oxen, cows, sheep and poultry, are lean, tough, and dry; nothing being good but spoon-meats. As for the chief officers, they are commonly pretty well supported with better food; as either having

Danger of lying abroad.

September drives away winter.

Dreadful lightening.

Wants in Guinea.

having it sent by their friends in *Europe*, or buying it of *European* ships that trade on the coast, or else receiving presents of good poultry, salt meat, *French* and *Madera* wine, neats tongues, gammons, all sorts of pickles, preserves, fruit, sweet oil, fine flower, choice brandy, &c. with good fresh medicines and restoratives. Besides, they are not oblig'd to be expos'd to all sorts of weather, either to the scorching air of the day, or cold evening-dew; nor to hard labour, or going from one place to another in canoes; or, which is worse, passing over bars, and the breaking of the sea, wherein, as I have said before, there is a hazard besides that of drowning; or if they have occasion to do this sometimes, they are presently shifted and comforted with restoratives: whereas the common sort, especially canoe men, labourers and soldiers, are expos'd to all sorts of fatigues and hardships upon every command, without those comforts and supports which officers have. Besides all this, they are generally men of no education or principles, void of foresight, careless, prodigal, addicted to strong liquors, as palm-wine, brandy and punch, which they will drink to excess, and then lie down on the bare ground in the open air, at the cool of the evening, without any other covering but a single shirt; nay some, and perhaps no small number, are over-fond of the black women, whose natural hot and leud temper soon wastes their bodies, and consumes that little substance they have: tho' such prostitutes are to be had at a very inconsiderable rate, yet having thus spent their poor allowance, those wretched men cannot afford to buy themselves convenient sustenance, but are forced to feed on bread, oil, and salt, or, at best, to feast upon a little fish. Thus 'tis not to be admir'd that they fall into several distempers, daily exposing their lives to danger, very many being carry'd off thro' these excesses, in a very deplorable condition, by fevers, fluxes, cholicks, consumptions, asthma's, small-pox, coughs, and sometimes worms and dropsies: of all which diseases, I shall say more in another place.

But it is not only the inferior sort who are guilty of this irregular course of life; there are too many of the officers and heads, who, the greater their salaries and profits are, the more eager they are to spend them extravagantly, in excessive drinking, and other vices, never minding to keep something by them to procure fresh provisions at all times for their support. Nay, some of them run so deep in debt, to gratify their disorderly appetites, that their pay is stopped, or made over by bond, before it becomes due; so that several, who do not die there, return home as empty in the purse

as they first went out: and it very seldom happens that any make their fortunes, except the commanders in chief of forts, who have the best opportunity of laying up; or those who make no account of the solemn oaths they have taken, not to trade for their own proper account, directly or indirectly; which oath is generally administer'd to every person employ'd by any of the *African* companies in *Europe*. Yet many of them openly profess they went not thither for bare wages; and I fear the number of such is not small in every nation.

How unwholesome soever the *Gold Coast* is, the *Europeans* who do not reside ashore, but are constantly aboard the ships, are nothing near so liable to the malignity of the corrupted and infectious air, provided they be any thing cautious and careful of themselves; and especially if they avoid the frequent opportunities which offer ashore, of hard drinking, and having to do with black women; and if they take heed to shift themselves often aboard, after being wet, or having work'd hard in the hold of the ship: to which purpose most of them wear only a pair of drawers, or thin breeches, leaving the rest of their bodies quite naked.

The sea-breeze, during the day, is a great refreshment to them, notwithstanding the scorching heat then reigning; and the ships generally riding two or three miles from the shore, the stench of the town, and the mist of the night, is seldom carry'd so far from the land, by the north wind which then blows. Besides, they are much better fed aboard than the common people are ashore.

The natives are seldom troubled with any distempers, because being born in that unhealthy air, and bred up in sloth, and that stench, those things little affect them; and when the *Tornadoes* happen, which are attended with great claps of thunder, flashes of lightning, and violent rain, by them very much dreaded; they keep very close within doors, and under shelter, if possible, being sensible of their dangerous effects on human bodies: or if they cannot avoid being exposed, their skins are so supplied by daily anointing with palm-oil, that the weather can make but little impression on them, the pores being stopped, and not so open as in white men.

The common diseases of the *Blacks* along the whole coast, are the small pox and worms; the first of which sweeps away great numbers every year, and the latter grievously afflicts them in several parts of their bodies; but more especially in the legs, and occasions extraordinary pains. I shall say more of these and other distempers the *Blacks* are subject to in another place.

Excesses
of Euro-
peans.

BARBOT.

Advantages of being aboard.

Natives healthy.

Diseases of Blacks.

BARBOT.

C H A P. XIII.

Husbandry; maiz, or Indian wheat, and other grain; roots; gardening; sugar-canes; fruit; palm-wine trees; wild trees; and making of salt.

HUSBANDRY.

Two bar-vests.

THEY have generally two feed and two harvest-seasons on the *Gold Coast*. The first feed-time is at the latter end of *March*, and the first harvest in *August*. The second feed-time is immediately after the first harvest; but they do not sow much at this time, because of the dry weather which follows it, till the next harvest, which is at the latter end of the year: for the *Indian* wheat does not come up well without much rain.

Tillage.

When the seed-time is at hand, every *Black* marks out the spot he likes, which is usually on rising grounds, near their towns and Villages: and having promised to pay the usual rent to the officers appointed to that purpose, the kings being lords of all the lands; the head of a family, assisted by his wives, children, slaves, if they have any, sets fire to the shrubs and bushes, which for the most part overspread the earth, or else cut them close to the ground; for they will seldom bestow the pains of grubbing up the roots, for which reason they soon sprout up again: yet they think it sufficient for sowing their seed to turn up the ashes of the shrubs and bushes with the earth slightly, which they do with a sort of tool or spade, call'd *Coddon*, and are so dextrous at managing it, that two men will dig as much land in a day, as one plow can turn over in *England*. This being done after the same manner by all the inhabitants of the village, they let it lie eight or ten days, after which, all persons being thus prepar'd, and the day for sowing appointed, which is always on a tuesday, that being their festival or sabbath, they begin that day, by sowing the land of the *Brasso*, or chief of the town, he being present; and when it is done, treating the *Blacks* with a sheep and abundance of palm-wine, in the field, which is done in honour of their deity, spilling a great deal of wine on the ground, to be a plentiful crop. The next day, and so the rest successively, are spent in sowing their own corn, one ground after another, till all is done; still feasting one another by turns, and drinking all the while in the fields. They plant this corn, as we do beans, making little holes in the ground, and putting seed into them.

Scaring of birds.

This grain commonly springs out in eight or ten days after 'tis sow'd. When 'tis grown up to a man's height, and begins to blossom, they commonly build a hut, in the middle of the field, made of reeds, or such

like materials; tho' this they do more particularly for millet, or other smaller grain than the *Indian* wheat; and in it they keep some of their children or slaves all the day, till harvest-time, to scare away the birds, who otherwise, being so very numerous in that country, would spoil and destroy the millet, whose reed is not so thick, nor cover'd with leaves, as the *Indian* wheat is; and therefore much more exposed to those grain-devouring birds than the other. When they think it is ripe, they cut it down with a sort of sickles or hooks, and let it dry on the ground for above a month; after which, they lay it up in heaps or small reaks, cover'd with the dry leaves of the corn, which are long and broad, either within their houses or without.

MAIZ, or INDIAN WHEAT, and other Grain.

THIS sort of *Indian* wheat, generally produces one, two, three, and sometimes four ears, each of them containing four, or five hundred grains, more or less; so that according to this prodigious increase, one grain yields a thousand, fifteen hundred, and sometimes two thousand grains. It is very strange, considering this increase, that the *Blacks* should ever know any scarcity, and sometimes a famine; but it is for the most part occasion'd by their sloth, they being generally careless, void of foresight, and not providing for casualties.

In peaceable times, a thousand stalks of *Indian* corn are sold for about five shillings *English*, and in some parts for a third or fourth part less.

There are two sorts of this corn, red and white, the latter most beautiful, but the former accounted the best; and when beaten small and cleansed, it makes indifferent good bread, tho' somewhat heavy for want of yeast, or leaven. If it were well ground, bolted, and baked, as is done by the people of *Bearn*, and some other parts of *France*, who use this sort of corn very much, the bread would be good. The leaves of the maiz or *Indian* wheat dry'd, are proper food for cattle in winter, and so used in the province of *Bearn* aforesaid.

The *Portuguese* first enrich'd these *African* countries with the *Indian* wheat, or maiz, bringing the seed from the island of *St. Thomas*, in the bight of *Guinea*, to the *Gold Coast*; where the soil proved so proper for it, that it has been ever since the main subsistence of the *Blacks*, not only on the coast, but

BARBOT

but far up the inland: besides the vast profit those people yearly make, by selling it at the *European* forts, and to the slave ships; as also to all the other nations about them.

Names of it.

The name of *Maiz* is properly *Indian*, given to this grain by the natives of *America*, where is great plenty of it. The *Portuguese* call it *Milbo Grande*, that is, great millet, and *Indian* wheat; the *Italians*, *Turkish* wheat; and the *French*, *Spanish* wheat. It is positively asserted, that before the *Portuguese* came to this coast, the natives neither used, nor so much as knew of bread, made of any sort of corn; but only such as they made of yams and potatoes, and a few roots of trees: which may be credited, without any difficulty, because it is well known, that to this day there are several countries in *Guinea*, which have very little or no *Indian* corn, or millet, the *Blacks* there feeding on the afore said roots.

Millet.

The second sort of grain, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Milbo Pequeno*, which is the common millet, is also very plentiful on the *Gold Coast*, being like coriander-seed, as I have fully described it, in the first book of this work, chap. 4. and shall now only add, that it is here made into bread, as well as the other, and somewhat resembles the smaller sort of rye in *England*. It is well tasted and very nourishing; but not so much sown as the *Indian* Wheat, for which reason it is one half dearer.

Both these sorts are sow'd along the *Gold Coast*, but least of all at *Axim*, as I observ'd in the description of that place, and therefore always dear there: but the countries of *Anta*, *Anamabo*, and *Augwina*, in fruitful years and peaceable times, yield prodigious quantities; insomuch, that at *Anta* a thousand stems, or stalks of *Indian* wheat, are sold for six, seven, eight, nine, or ten *Takoes* of gold, each *Takoe* being about four-pence farthing *English*; and a sack, at most, does not exceed twenty-two pence.

Corn cheap.

On the contrary, in time of war it is dearest; sometimes yielding an ounce of gold, which is four pounds sterling: a very excessive rate, and might easily be remedy'd, would the *Blacks* sow more than what is necessary for the year's consumption: but their natural slothfulness is such, that they seldom exceed that quantity.

'Tis generally observ'd, that *Indian* corn rises from a crown to twenty shillings betwixt *February* and harvest, which I suppose is chiefly occasion'd by the great number of *European* slave ships yearly resorting to the coast, especially *English* and *French*; the *Dutch* being generally better victual'd than they, and being obliged to buy corn, which carries off some thousands of chests yearly.

Rice.

The third sort of grain on the *Gold Coast* is rice, but not common all over it; there

being very little near the shore, and the most at *Axim* and *Anta*. Higher up the coast, towards *Iffeny*, and farther westward about cape *Palmes* and *Sestro*, a ship may be easily loaded with it, perfectly clean, under a penny, and even three farthings a pound: whereas what is at *Axim*, *Anta*, and other parts of the *Gold Coast*, foul and unsifted yields above a penny a pound. It is well for the inhabitants of *Axim*, that their soil is so proper for rice, to make some amends for their want of *Indian* wheat, and that they lie not far from *Abocroe*, *Ancober*, and *Anta*, which are able to supply them with that grain.

The rice-harvest is usually in *September*, tho' it be sow'd in *January*. I have been told, it was first brought from *India* to the coast: I have said more of it in the first book, to which I refer the reader.

The *Blacks* of this coast make bread of these several sorts of grain, either of *Indian* corn alone, or mix'd with millet; and sometimes they put rice to it, or make their bread of this last alone: but they have not the true art of baking, so that their bread is generally clammy and heavy; for they have neither yeast nor leaven to make it light and pleasant: But of this I shall say more when I come to speak of the employments of the women.

The bread made of rice only, is very white, but heavy. That which is made with millet, is the brownest of all, but clammy, and not very pleasing. That which is made of maiz only, after the *Portuguese* fashion, is pretty good; but if mix'd with millet, 'tis incomparably more grateful, and eats much like rye-bread in *Europe*, as I have said before; and is of the sort most used on the coast.

The *Negro Blacks* in some places, have a particular way of baking this sort of bread; so that it will keep sweet two or three months.

The boys and girls usually eat the maiz in the ear, roasted a little over the coals, or laying the loose grains on a very hot large stone. Some are of opinion, that the use of this grain thus roasted, heats the blood, and causes a sort of itching and scabbiness in such as have not been long used to it. We see in holy scripture pretty often mention made of the use of roasted grains or corn among the *Israelites*.

ROOTS.

BESIDES maiz, millet, and rice, the *Blacks* use yams; a root which grows in the earth like carrots, commonly twelve or fourteen inches long, and as much in thickness or circumference, and others more, having seen some that weigh'd eight and ten pounds a-piece. They are here of a reddish yellow colour without, and snow-white within;

Yams.

Eee

within;

BARBOT. within ; they shoot out a long green leaf, near the form of *French* beans, with little prickles. The *Blacks* so order this leaf, that it twines up poles appointed for that use ; and by it they know when the fruit is at maturity, at which time they dig it out of the earth ; and it will keep sweet for a considerable time. The *Yams* never grow without some of the fruit it self be planted.

This root either boil'd or roasted, serves the *Blacks* instead of bread ; and even the *Europeans*. The natives commonly boil it, and when peel'd, eat it with salt and oil. Its taste is much like that of earth-nuts, and is dryer and firmer, tho' not quite so sweet.

The country of *Anta*, is well provided with this kind of roots. But that of *Saboe* hath the greatest plenty, and they are sent in the season by thousands at a time to the other places, about it. *Comendo* and *Mouree* are also pretty well stored ; they cost there about fourteen shillings a hundred, but at other places where they are sent for from thence, they yield much more.

Potatoes. Potatoes, a root of an oval form, as large commonly as turneps in *Europe*, shooting forth green leaves, running along the ground, are plenty enough on sundry parts of the coast, but especially at *Saboe*. And next to it in the lands of *Anta*, and I think at *Comendo* also, but dare not be positive. This root, which is perfectly white within, is very sweet, and eats much like our good chefnuts of some southern parts of *France*, call'd *Marrons*, being boil'd or roasted under embers ; and I think their sweetness here exceeds that of the *Barbadoes* potatoes, so much praised in the *Leward* islands of *America*. From the branches of this root planted in the ground, in a little time grow potatoes : the *Blacks* eat them as heartily as bread.

BEANS.

THERE are five, if not six sorts of *Beans* ; three of which are the most remarkable, in that they grow under the earth.

Three sorts. The first sort of beans then, is in figure and taste, something like our garden-beans in *Europe*. The second sort, is a size larger, growing in cods, about half an ell long ; the beans are of a bright red colour. The third sort, is almost like those very small beans, call'd *princesses*, but of a deeper red : this sort is very good, nourishing and delicate food. These three sorts grow like *French* beans in *France* or *England*, either propt up, or creeping up by a hedge.

Subterraneous beans.

The first sort of the pretended subterraneous beans, is small, and call'd there, by the *Dutch*, *Jojoeties*, running along the ground, enclosed in long slender husks. They eat well, when green and young.

The other sort grows on bushes like our gooseberries, are shell'd like green peas, and require a good quantity to make up a dish, but are neither soft nor sweet.

Another sort, which is call'd *Gobbe-Gobbes*, grow together in a cod under the earth, shooting out a small leaf above its surface, and are accounted the worst of beans, tho' eaten by many.

The second sort of earth-beans, call'd *Angola* beans, as being but of late brought over from thence, and transplanted hither, if fryed like chefnuts, is a very agreeable sort of eatable.

The last sort, growing under the earth also, are the best of all the above species of beans, if they must pass for beans, rather than for earth-nuts ; being eaten raw out of hand, and taste not much unlike hazle-nuts. These pretended sorts of beans are commonly broken in pieces, soaked in water, and squeez'd in a cloth. Their liquor boil'd with rice, passes every where in this country for milk, and when season'd with butter, cinamon and sugar, will not easily be taken for any other thing by those who are not acquainted with it.

GARDEN-WARE.

THE *Salad Herbs* and *Cabbage*, which the *European* gardens afford, in some parts of the *Coast*, are of the seeds brought from thence ; and thrive pretty well in some grounds, if well cultivated and look'd after, especially *Roman* lettuces, melons, and cabbage, which are very delicious.

The wild purslain is very plenty every where, and a good refreshment to the *Europeans*, especially sailors, to make broth ; more particularly to the *French*, who generally are fond of pottage, wherever they go.

Here is also a sort of *Pulse*, called *Telié*, the plant and leaf not unlike that of *Rape*. It has something of the fourish taste like *Sorel*, and is very stomachical.

There are above thirty several sorts of green herbs extraordinary wholesome, which are the principal remedies in use among the *Blacks*, as being of wonderful efficacy ; as likewise some sorts of *Roots*, *Branches* and *Gums* of trees, which if well known in *Europe*, would perhaps prove more successful in the practice of physick, than other things in common use ; or at least the use of these herbs, &c. would prove more successful here on the sick *Europeans*, frequenting this coast, than our physical preparations brought from *Europe* can do, because they have lost most of their virtue, before they reach the coast, and are commonly corrupted. It were therefore to be wished, that some *European* physician would take a voyage into *Guinea*, to enquire into the

the nature of these plants, no other person being so proper for it.

SUGAR-CANES,

ARE found here and there, growing wild and uncultivated, some twenty fathoms high or more; but not so sweet nor so full of juice, as they are commonly in the *Leward* islands of *America*, because, as I suppose, they are not rightly managed and planted as they should be. The country of *Anta*, as I said before, has the most of that sweet plant, and undoubtedly as the soil is of its nature, the sugar-canes would improve to advantage, if well cultivated.

PEPPER and GINGER.

THE *Malaguetta*, or *Guinea* pepper, of which I have spoken at large, in the description of the river of *Sestro*, in the first book of this volume, grows also here, but not in any quantity; either on shrubs in red shells or husks, or on another different figure of plant, not unlike large grass-reeds.

Ginger is not so common on the coast; it grows only at some places, but in very inconsiderable quantity.

The *Pimento*, or *Spanish* pepper, is very plenty here, and of two sorts, great and small; it grows on shrubs, somewhat like, tho' little less, than gooseberry bushes in *Europe*. Both sorts are first green, but afterwards change colour, the small to a beautiful red; and the large to a red and black. They are both much hotter than common pepper, especially the smaller sort, which is not above the quarter part of the size of the other: but the plant or bush on which it grows is six times as high, and wider extended, than the other. This *Pimento* keeps well pickled in vinegar, but in lime-juice is as good again, being more corroborating to the stomach, and very wholesome.

Here is another fruit on shrubs, much like *Cardamum*, in figure and taste; if it be not really the right sort.

STINKING TOBACCO.

ARRAGON, and *Tobacco* plants, are in great plenty, especially tobacco, but of a very sorry sort generally: for it stinks so abominably, when used in the pipe, that 'tis almost impossible even for those who are not very nice, to stand long by the *Blacks* when they smoke: and yet they like it wonderfully. It is mostly spent by the inland people; for the inhabitants of the coast have frequent opportunity to get *Brazil* tobacco, from the *Portuguese* trading there; and this tobacco, tho' not very pleasant, and very strong, is far more tolerable than that of *Guinea*.

The *Blacks* of both sexes, are so very fond of tobacco, that they will part with

the very last penny, which should buy them ^{BARBOT} bread, and suffer hunger rather than be without it. The *Portuguese* know how to make their advantage of this people's greediness of tobacco, as do the *French*, who bring to the coast some quantity of *St. Domingo* tobacco; both sorts being twisted like cords about the bigness of a small finger, of which they often make five shillings per pound, tho' it is sold commonly by the fathom measure, one fathom of *Brazil* weighing about a pound.

Another thing the *French* especially bring most to the coast, is *Garlick*: 'tis scarce to be conceived how greedy the *Blacks* generally are of it, so that they purchase it at any rate, for fish or even gold; and I can aver I have myself made five hundred per Cent. by it: but not in any quantity. Whether it will grow in this country or not, I am ignorant, as well as concerning onions. It never came to my thought, to enquire into it. But I am apt to think it will not, any more than several other fruits and green herbs common in *Europe*, which never come there to perfection.

FRUIT.

THE fruit *Kola*, by the inhabitants of *Kola* the coast, call'd *Boesi*, grows here, as in *North-Guinea*: but not so plentifully. The *Europeans* of the coast call it, cabbage-fruit. I refer, for a farther description of it, to what I have treated thereof in the preceding book, speaking of *Sierra Leona*. The *Blacks* are of opinion here, as well as there, that chewing of it helps to relish water, and palm-wine. They do also commonly eat this *Kola*, with salt and *malaguetta*; the sole virtue of that sorry fruit, is its being diuretick: but otherwise it's very harsh, and almost bitter; and draws the chewer's mouth almost close. Some pretend this *Kola* agrees exactly with the taste and virtue of the *Indian Betele* or *Anca*.

The *Ananas* is a fruit common to this ^{Ananas} country, as well as to *America*, and other parts of the world; and generally much commended for its lusciousness and flavour, and I think must be accounted the best of the fruits of *Guinea*.

The natives of the *Canary Islands* where it grows mostly to perfection, call it *Ananosa*; the *Brazilians*, *Nava*; those of *St. Domingo*, *Fajama*; and the *Spaniards*, about *Rio de la Plata*, *Pinas*, in regard of the form it has of a pine-apple. There are two sorts of ananas, at *Brazil*. But we know only of one sort here on the coast, which is nothing near so delicious and large as the ananas of the *Caribbe Islands*, especially of *Dominica*, one of the *Antilles*, or *Leward* islands of *America*.

BARBOT. This fruit is commonly at maturity in *March* and *April*; and, as it happens to other fruits, some are large and others small: here they are about a span long, and about the same thickness, which is much smaller than I have seen many in the *Leeward* islands, where I dare affirm they are twice as big as those of *Guinea*.

The plant there grows not above a foot and a half in height, and the stalk half a foot. It somewhat resembles the large *Semper-vivum*, with this difference, that the ananas shoot their leaves upwards, being neither so broad, so thick, nor so green as the *Semper-vivum*, which is always of a very beautiful green; besides that the leaves are garnish'd on each side with sharp prickles, and are of a deep yellow colour, somewhat inclining to green, and somewhat like *Aloe*-leaves.

Between the *Ananas* leaves, before the fruit appears, grows a blossom, about as big as a man's fist, which is very green, but adorned with an extraordinary beautiful red crown, and surrounded with small leaves, that render it very agreeable to the sight. This blossom by degrees grows into an *Ananas*; which at first is green, accompanied with yellow leaves, but in ripening changes to a perfect yellow: when the *Ananas* is to be eaten, the said leaves that surround it, are to be cut off with the shell, or rind. The crown, or at least a part of it, remains firmly fixed to the fruit, tho' changed to a yellowish colour. Before and round about the *Ananas* small sprigs shoot out, which are planted to continue the species of this vegetable.

The people in the hot countries of the *East* and *West-Indies*, account the *Ananas* to be a great refreshment and delicacy, when eaten with cinamon, sugar and wine; the fruit being cut into slices, the most agreeable and healthful way to use it, tho' reckoned hot of its own nature; besides, if frequently eaten alone, it nauseates. Some pretend it is rather of a cold quality, than inflaming; but experience proves the contrary, the hot juice of it forcing blood from the throat and gums.

It has been also a most general opinion for a long time past, that the juice of this fruit is so corrosive, as to dissolve a knife that remains stuck in it but half an hour, much like *Aqua-fortis*; whereas we find that tho' the knife should remain many months together, it would not be dissolved, but only be blunted, as it happens in the cutting of some sorts of apples in *Europe*, or of lemons or oranges, but more particularly of green *Bananas* or *Plantans*. So that this acidity is not peculiar to the *Ananas*. The *French* in the *West-Indies* eat the *Ananas* with sugar and water, and the *Indians* by themselves. I have given a true draught of this fruit, taken by my self.

PLATE 16.

As for pomgranates and vines, I have seen but very few along the *Gold Coast*.

There are a few pomgranate trees in the gardens of *Mina*, *Danish-mount*, *Manfrou*, and *Mouree*, but they have been transplanted thither from *Europe*; the fruit whereof is commonly small and more luscious than ours in *France*, besides that before they come to maturity, they frequently rot or fall off; so that they seldom ripen to any perfection.

The vine is also brought hither from *Europe*, and thrives very well. I was told of that which I saw in the *Danes* garden at *Manfrou*, that it bore grapes almost at all times of the year, but the bunches never ripen'd all at once, there being at the same time green, ripe and rotten. I have eaten grapes in that manner two or three times, which were pretty sweet.

The *Dutch* of *Mouree*, boast much of their vine there, which exactly produces grapes twice a year, commonly in *January* and *August*, and call it the *Mourees* vine, because there is no other on the coast, like it, as they say; and according to them, would doubtless yield a vast quantity, if seasonably and rightly pruned by a skilful hand: but as it is managed by ignorant *Blacks*, not half the grapes come to perfection, but wither or rot before they are half ripe. The *Portuguese* planted this vine first, having brought it from *Brazil*, the fruit whereof is very agreeable to the *Europeans*, living at the coast. It is observable that vines will not grow any where, but at this place of *Mouree*; for at *Mina*, *Manfrou* and other places, they do not thrive near so well as there.

Here is no other sort of apple, but of one imperfect kind, commonly call'd the *Cormentyn* apple, because it abounds most in that country. It is as big as a walnut, with its green husk on, its rind is yellow, somewhat inclining to red: in the core are four large flat black kernels, which are surrounded by the pulp or the fruit it self, which is red and white, and of a sort of sharp, sweet taste; but most inclining to acid. 'Tis accounted here a very agreeable refreshing fruit, very comfortable for the sick, particularly those afflicted with the bloody-flux, being very astringent; and boiled with wine and sugar, is not only more useful, but more agreeable than tamarinds.

There are in the country several other fruit-trees, not only unknown to *Europeans*; but eaten by very few. Amongst them is a sort of fruit, like our blue and white plums, in shape as well as colour, but not very well tasted, as being sweet, mealy and dry.

The papay-trees abound exceedingly all along the *Gold Coast*, and are of two sorts, male and female, as distinguish'd there;

be-

a. Serpent of 14 foot, at Cayenne,

The Flower & Seed of Anatto



Anatto Seed

Papay Tree



A Sugar Cane



The Mangnoc Tree in Seed



The Palm Cabridge or Cabridge Tree



2^d Sort of Papay Tree



Ginger root



The Ananas Plant



The Millet Plant



The Potato Plant



The Frycott



The Paile en cu





because the male bears no fruit, but is continually full of blossoms, which are long white flowers. The female bears the same blossoms, but not so long nor so numerous: some have observed, that the females yield much more fruit when they grow near the males; let every one think thereof as he pleases, as well as what is reported much like this, of the male and female palm-trees.

The trunk of the papay-tree, is from ten to thirty foot high, and very thick; composed of a spongy wood, or rather root, which it most resembles. It is hollow, and may very easily be cut through the middle with a hatchet. The fruit at first grows at the top of the trunk without any branches; but as the tree grows older, it shoots out branches towards the top, resembling young stocks; on which the fruit also grows. At the very top of the trunk, and of the branches, shoot other small sprigs almost like reeds; a little crooked and hollow: and at the extremity of these sprigs, grow very fine broad leaves, frequently cleft, not much unlike vine-leaves, excepting the size only.

The papay-fruit is about half as big as the coco-nut, of an oval shape, green without, and white within; but in time it turns very red within, and is full of numerous white kernels, which are the seed from whence it is propagated. The papays taste rather worse than pompions. You may see the figure of this tree in Plate 16. as they are found in the *Leward* islands; next to or under which letter, is another sort of papay-tree of that country, much different from the former, as to the branches and leaves, and the place where commonly it bears fruit.

The pizang, or fig-trees, are common at the coast, and generally known by the name of *Banana* and fig-trees; the *French* follow that denomination after the *Spaniards*. The *English* call them *Plantans* and *Banana* trees; the *Dutch*, *Baccoven* and *Banana*, to distinguish the two species thereof,

The pizang-tree has been so well known in both the *East* and *West-Indies*, for a long time, and so much has already been written concerning the same, that I judge it needless now to enter upon the particular description of each species; referring it to some more proper place hereafter. It shall suffice for the present to say, that their fruits, especially the *Plantan*, or *Indian fig*, are very good, that they bear in a year, tho' but once in all, for then the stock is cut down, and from the root there shoot out five or six fresh stocks.

The stock, if it may be so call'd, grows to once and a half or twice a man's height, about four foot about. The leaves of the

tree are about eight or nine foot long, and ^{BARBOT} about three foot broad, and end in a round point. The fruit grows at the bottom of the leaf on a great stalk, in a cod of about eight inches long, and the bigness of a black-pudding. The cod is of a fine yellow colour, often speckled with red, which being taken off, the inside of it is white; but the *Plantan* itself is yellow like butter, and as soft as a ripe pear. Sometimes fifty or sixty grow upon one stalk, and five or six stalks upon a tree: they are an extraordinary good fruit, very useful to mankind in most parts of the *East* and *West-Indies*, where there is great plenty of them, as I have already said. In strictness this plant cannot be well call'd a tree: the colour of its leaves, its stateliness and beauty is certainly to be admired; when moved by a gentle breeze, it is pleasant and agreeable.

The *Banana*-tree is much the same, only the fruit is not so long as the *Plantan*; which, ^{Banana;} as I said before, is about eight inches long, ^{tree.} and the *Banana* not above six. It grows in the same manner as the *Plantan*, fifty or sixty in a cluster, upon one stalk. The fruit is somewhat pasty or doughy, yet pretty sweet, delicate and luscious.

Both sorts of fruit, if gather'd when yet somewhat green, will keep pretty well, hanging up the cluster to the ceiling of a house, or in a ship; where they ripen by degrees, the figs being cut into slices, the figure of a cross appears on each slice, so exactly imprinted by nature in the heart of the fruit, that the *Portuguese*, who are very scrupulous, if not superstitious in many things, never cut these figs, but break or bite them, thinking they cannot cut them with a knife or other tool, without losing the veneration they bear to the cross.

This fruit in many parts of the *East* and *West-Indies*, is eaten instead of bread, roasted or boil'd, just at the time it is come to its full bigness, somewhat before it is quite ripe, or turn'd yellow, as I have myself eaten it thus prepared at the prince's island in the bight of *Guinea*. It eats well also, with a sauce made with pimento or malaguetta, salt and lemon-juice, and tastes better than dry bread in *France*. It is likewise very agreeable stew'd with wine, cinnamon and sugar, and also made into tarts, baked in an oven, or raw, or boil'd into puddings, as I shall more fully observe hereafter.

Those who are of opinion, that the leaves of this tree, were the leaves with which our first parents covered their nakedness, are not so much out of the way, partly because these leaves are long and broad enough for that service; for two leaves sew'd together will make a frock for any man, almost to his ankles; and partly, by reason they are

BARBOT called fig-leaves, and these trees bear the name of *Indian figs*. Though, on the other hand, it must be own'd, that they are very unfit for clothing or covering, because a touch of the finger makes a hole in them; besides that, it is said *Gen. 3. 6. It was beautiful to the eyes, and pleasant to the sight*. If hereby is meant the fruit, it does not suit with the plantan-fig, whose form is long, and resembles a large pudding, of a yellow green, and has nothing in it so extraordinary beautiful. Howsoever that may be, this fruit is a very good refreshment in the hot climates, being of its nature somewhat cooling, laxative, and very nourishing. Having observ'd, in all the relations of the *East and West-Indies*, where the authors have drawn the figure of this plant, that it was not exactly done, I thought proper to present the reader with a true draught in Plate

PLATE 17. 17. Letter N.

Here are two sorts of coco-nut trees, the one called, for distinction, the right coco-tree, which shoots up to the height of thirty or forty, or sometimes fifty foot, generally slender and streight, bears its fruit the fourth or fifth year, and lives fifty years and longer.

Two sorts
of coco-
trees.

The branches or leaves, are like those of the palm, excepting that the coco-branches are not so long or fit for the uses the other are put to. The leaves are some three, some four fathoms long, and it produces that we call the coco-nut; which, with the outer rind on, is bigger than a man's head. The outer rind being taken off, there appears a shell, some of which will hold near a quart. Within the shell is the nut; and within the nut, is about a pint and a half, more or less, as the nut is larger or smaller, of pure, clear, sweet, and refreshing water, which is very cool and pleasant. The kernel of the nut is also very good; when pretty old, it is scraped or sliced, and the scrapings being set to soak in about a quart of fresh water, for three or four hours, the water being strain'd, has the colour and taste of milk; and, if it stands a while, will have a thick scum on it not unlike cream. This milk being boil'd with any poultry, rice, or other meat, makes a very good broth, and is reckoned very nourishing, and often given to sick persons. Every ship ought to provide a quantity of these nuts, when they can get them, to help their sick men in the passage. The leaves of the trees serve to thatch houses; the outer rind of the nut, to make a sort of cloth, and ropes, rigging, cables, &c. The shell of the nut makes pretty drinking cups; it also burns well, and makes a very fierce and hot fire. The kernel serves instead of meat, and the water therein contain'd instead of drink; and if

the nut be very old, the kernel will of itself turn to oil, which is often made use of to fry with, but most commonly to burn in lamps. So that from this tree it may be said, they have meat, drink, clothing, houses, firing and rigging for their ships. But there, through the ignorance of the *Blacks*, no other advantage is made of them, than what the nut affords, both the kernel and the milk within it, being very pleasant, as has been said, when at its full maturity. Whilst the nut grows, it is full of liquor within; but as it ripens, by degrees the flesh or kernel begins to form itself on the inside of the shell; and, by little and little, that white substance grows thick and hard. I present you with my own drawing of this tree, in Plate 17. Letter Q.

The wild coco or palm-trees growing here, bear a fruit which but very few of the *Euro-peans* eat, tho' the *Blacks* do. This tree is very much thicker than the right coco-tree, especially in the middle, where it is of a vast bigness; and what adds to the oddness of its figure, is, that the top and bottom are one half smaller. At the top grows a fruit, which seems to be the pith of the tree, and is call'd palm-cabbage, because it has a sort of cabbage taste, or rather that of bottoms of artichoaks; it eats very well, either boil'd, and afterwards put into butter sauce and nutmeg; or raw, with pepper and salt, as green artichoaks are eaten. See the figure in Plate 17. Letter O. The branches are commonly about nine or ten foot long; and about a foot and half from the trunk of the tree, they shoot forth leaves four foot long, and an inch and half broad: these leaves grow so regularly, that the whole branch seems but one entire leaf. The cabbage, when it is cut out from amongst the branches, is commonly six inches about, and a foot long, some more some less, and is as white as milk. At the bottom of the cabbage grow great bunches of berries, of about five pound weight, in the shape of a bunch of grapes; their colour is red like a cherry, and the berries are about the bigness of a black cherry, with a large stone in the middle; and they taste much like *English* haws. They never climb up to get the fruit or cabbage, because the tree is so high, and there is not any thing to hold by; and therefore 'tis a hard matter for a man to get up, tho' the trunk of the tree is made up outwardly with several knots or joints, about four inches from each other, like bamboe cane, void of any leaves except at the top.

Besides the coco-nut-trees and the wild coco-trees above described, this country is furnish'd with four other species or kinds of palm-trees, tho' not so plentifully about the shore, as farther up inland.



L. Dupont fecit

PALM-WINE TREES.

First sort. THE first species is the genuine palm-wine tree, which affords the inhabitants both wine and oil.

Second sort. The second is the palm-wine tree, only to be found in the *Fantin* country, for it grows no where else; the wine of which, is there call'd quaker-wine, for reasons given heretofore.

Third sort. The third sort is the pardon-wine tree, which grows no where but in the lands of *Axim*, *Aucober*, and *Abocroe*; and some, but not many, in the country of *Anta*.

Fourth sort. The fourth sort is the crissia-wine tree, which is only peculiar to the countries of *Anta*, *Jabs* or *Jabi*, and *Adom*.

A single palm-wine tree, when once at maturity, which is at ten, twelve, or fifteen years, affording but ten, fifteen, or twenty gallons of wine to be drawn out of it, proportionably to the goodness of the ground in which the tree is planted, and being afterwards cut down, and fit for nothing but fuel, it is natural to infer that there must be a prodigious number of them in the country, considering what vast quantities of that wine come daily to the coast-markets and elsewhere, or else the wine would be soon at an end, being commonly sold at two shillings the half anchor of five gallons, or thereabouts; and at some times and places, it is one half cheaper than at other.

Palm-wine adulterated.

The right palm-wine, being drank fresh when it comes from the tree, is delicious, and more agreeable than the finest methglin; but withal so strong, that it soons gets into the head, and intoxicates. But that which the country people bring daily to the coast, or to markets, is nothing near so agreeable and strong, because of the large mixture of water they put into it, tho' it still retains an inebriating quality; which is the thing that renders it most acceptable to the *Blacks*, who, from their infancy, are used to strong hot liquors: for otherwise this adulterated wine would not be so taking as it is generally, not only among the meaner sort, but even among those of a higher sphere.

Quaker-wine.

The quaker-wine of *Fantin* exceeds the former somewhat in pleasantness of flavour, and very much in strength; half the quantity of this, as of the other, working the same effect. The trees whence 'tis extracted, are commonly not much above half as big as the genuine palm-wine tree.

Pardon-wine.

The pardon-wine of *Axim*, and other adjacent places, is not so strong, but has as pleasant a taste.

Crissia-wine.

The crissia-wine has no manner of strength, and a very different flavour from all the other abovementioned. This wine, when drank fresh, tastes like milk, but can hardly

keep sweet above ten hours after 'tis drawn; *BARBOT.* for after that, it becomes quite sour and good for nothing.

The *Blacks* say, that the frequent excesses thereof inflames and swells the masculine member prodigiously: and thence it must proceed, that the inhabitants of *Anta*, *Jabs*, and *Adom*, are much more troubled with that disease than any of the other people about the shore.

The pardon and crissia-wines are drawn from the trees whilst they are growing, from four, or five, or more stalks, every tree generally shoots out. But the right palm and quaker-wines are distill'd when the trees are old enough to be cut, which is done after this manner:

They strip the tree of all its branches, and when it has stood a few days, they bore a little hole in the thickest part of the trunk, into which they drive a small bulrush or reed; thro' which, the liquor drops into a pot set under, and tied to the trunk to receive it. Thus the wine distils, but so very slowly, that it scarce fills a pottle in twenty-four hours. In this manner, it yields wine for twenty, or thirty, or sometimes more days, according to the nature of the ground the tree is planted in; and when it is almost exhausted of its juice, they kindle a fire at the bottom or foot of it, in order to draw with a greater force, what little liquor may be still left in it. In some places, when the pardon and crissia-wine trees are drawn whilst yet growing, and are almost exhausted, they cut them down, and kindle a fire at one end of the trunk laid on the ground, and hold a pot at the other end to receive the liquid substance, the force or power of the fire forces out.

This way of extracting palm-wine, shews what a multitude of palm-trees there must be in these parts; whereas in the *Indies*, they don't draw off all the wine at once, but leave a remainder for the nourishment and maintenance of the trees.

The trunk of the palm-tree is commonly five foot about, and as high as a man. The quaker-wine tree is not above half so big.

These two sorts of palm-trees shoot their branches upwards, some of which exceed twenty foot in length, and are call'd bamboes, much used for covering of houses, and for hedges. On each side of these bamboes grow small long slips, which are their leaves.

The pardon and crissia-trees grow much like the coco-nut trees, but have a much slenderer stalk, and abundantly shorter; especially the crissia-trees, which are not half so high as the pardon-trees. All the sorts of the wine aforesaid, provoke urine, and are reckoned very good against the gravel or stone in the bladder; and thence it must be, that

BARBOT. that few or none of the *Blacks* are troubled with those distempers; and tho' it will soon make a man drunk, yet the fumes of them do not last very long, and cause no head-ach. It is a great blessing to the inhabitants of these countries, to be so abundantly supplied with very little trouble and charges, with so comfortable and pleasant a drink, which, with the help of bread, fish and salt, subsists most of the people on the coast, together with the nuts and oil, the palm-trees furnish them with besides.

PALM-OIL.

THE nuts of genuine palm-trees, when old, are cover'd with a black and orange-colour shell, and contain the palm-oil; which is extracted by expression, as that of olives.

These nuts grow several of them together in a cluster, at the upper end or top of the trees, commonly as large as pigeons-eggs close set together, which at a distance look like a large bunch of grapes.

This oil is naturally red, but if kept some years, turns almost white, and may be preserv'd sweet twenty years or more, if rightly potted and look'd to. It is a little nauseous at first, to such as are unacquainted with it; but to those who are, is no despicable sauce, especially when new: it is also very strengthening and wholesome, in so much that some prefer it there, in several dishes before olive-oil.

The pulp of these nuts, after pressing out the oil, is a delicate meat for the *Blacks*; and when kept till old, is extraordinary good to fatten hogs, and render their flesh very firm. The stone of the nut, is almost as big as a common walnut, and hard as iron, having three very small holes or openings at one end: this stone contains three small kernels, as big as small almonds, and have no favour.

Stone of
the nut.

Use of
palm-oil.

This palm-oil is of great use to the inhabitants, in several respects; for besides its serving to season their meat, fish, &c. and to burn in their lamps to light them at night, it is an excellent ointment against rheumatick pains, winds and colds in the limbs, or other like diseases, being applied very warm. The *Blacks* in general anoint their bodies almost every day, all over with it; which softens and renders their skin smooth and almost shining, and thereby more capable of bearing the intemperances of rain and weather.

I have been very prolix in the description of all these different sorts of palm, cocunut, and of the pizang-trees, plantans and bananas. But I thought it a service to such as shall frequent that part of *Guinea*, the productions of the aforesaid plants being of so great use and benefit to the travellers,

which has been the principal motive of my undertaking so laborious and tedious a work as this is.

Here are very few or no orange-trees, except in the country of *Axim*, which is richly stored with the sweet as well as sour. The sweet are pretty good, and of an agreeable taste; there are some of these orange-trees, in each of the gardens of the *Dutch*, *English* and *Danes* chief forts, and on the hill near *Boutry* fort, but especially at *Mina*. There the general's large garden is extraordinary full of them, some little short of *China*.

The lemon, or rather lime-trees, grow all over the coast, but especially at *Mource*, where in favourable seasons, they make above two hundred casks of lime-juice, besides great quantities of the smallest lemons pickled. The lemon-juice sells there commonly at about twenty or twenty five shillings *English* the cask. The lemons or limes are generally no larger than a small egg, very crabbed and sour. The juice is used by the *Blacks* for sauces, as also to wash their teeth, to preserve them from scorbutick humours: and such ships as carry slaves to *America*, provide a quantity of that juice for their slaves and sailors against the scurvy.

I think there is some made at *Axim*, *Manfrou* and *Boutry*, but not in any quantity.

I had almost forgot to mention water-melons, an agreeable and rich fruit, because there is no plenty of them there, through the laziness of the *Blacks*; for there might be abundance along this coast, the climate being proper for them, as appears by what the gardens of the *Europeans*, and especially the *Dutch*, afford of this fruit.

They grow in the same manner as cucumbers, but bear a different leaf; and are about twice as big as melons in *France*, being in their prime in *July* and *August*: and in seasonable years they have them twice a year.

This fruit is less injurious, and much healthier for a feverish person, than the *Anana*.

The water-melon being yet unripe, and not at its full bigness, is green without and white within; but when come to maturity, the green rind becomes speckled with white, and the whiteness that was within, is then somewhat intermix'd with red: the more red it has, the riper and the more delicious it is, being watry, refreshing and cooling.

The præcoce-melon is eaten like a salad, after the manner of cucumbers, which it somewhat resembles, having such kernels; which when the fruit is full ripe, turn black, and are then fit to plant. The flesh of this fruit, is a watry congealed substance, which melts in the mouth, as soon as chew'd, and therefore a man may eat a whole melon, without much difficulty.

WILD-TREES.

AS to the wild-trees, the best part of the whole coast is well furnish'd with them of all sizes, but especially towards the inland countries, where the stately woods; and sweet charming groves serve to render the malignity of the place more supportable; for 'tis a perfect delight to travel the inland countries up land, tho' the roads are generally very incommodious and bad, as has been already observed. The countries of and about *Mina* and *Acra*, are more bare of trees than other places of the *Gold Coast*.

Most of the sorts and species of wild-trees, are of another kind than what *Europe* commonly produces, and therefore it is not easy to give a true idea of them. Amongst the several species thereof, only one is properly named; and that is the capot-tree, or the cotton-tree, because on them grows a sort of cotton-wool, there call'd capot, which is very useful in that scorching climate, for filling of beds, feathers being much too hot.

Some of these trees are so high, that their branches and top are scarce to be reach'd, by a common musket-shot. The wood of this capot-tree, is light and porous, and scarce proper for any other use, but to make canoes. And the great ones made at *Axim* and *Cormentin*, where the *Blacks* are dextrous artists at such work, being generally better than thirty foot long, and proportionably broad, made of a strait piece of wood, equally thick all over; and considering few trees grow directly so, it is easy to conceive, that the canoes do not amount to above half the bulk of the tree, and thence to infer how prodigious high and large such trees must needs be.

The inhabitants do not stick to affirm, there are some of these trees, in the country large enough to shelter or cover twenty thousand men under them.

There is one tree at *Axim*, which ten men could scarce fathom, for the prodigious sprouts, which closely surround it.

These trees are full of thorny prickles. Some grow up in such a wonderful manner, that it surpasses what the most skilful artist could do; others grow so thick, and their shady boughs are so wide extended, that they form entire alleys; which afford an amazing satisfaction to any who are inclined to take the pleasure of walking along them.

The capot-trees commonly grow to the greatest height and wideness, when planted on moist grounds, and near the sides of rivers and watry places.

It is very likely there are good large trees, fit to make masts, if not for the greatest ships, at least for barks, yachts and sloops. But as yet, I have not heard that any *Euro-*

peans have made any use of them; for had such trees fit for larger or smaller masts, been found up the country, it would be a very difficult task to bring them down to the shore, the ways being every where so very narrow and crooked.

There are also several sorts of trees, very fit for curious works in wood, and particularly the country of *Anta*, and that of *Acron*, have abundance of fine yellow wood, whereof very neat tables, chairs, and such other necessaries may be made.

I shall conclude this discourse of trees, with observing that the *Blacks*, in all parts of this country, have set aside and consecrated some peculiar trees, as they do mountains, rocks, the sea, and other inanimate beings, under which they perform their religious worship; these being generally such as nature has given the greatest perfection to, as I shall farther relate in the course of this description.

SALT made.

WHERE the land is so high, that the sea, or salt-rivers cannot overflow it, the natives boil salt water so long in coppers, or earthen pots or pans, made on purpose, till it comes to the consistence of salt; but this is neither the shortest, nor the most profitable way.

At those places where the sea, or salt-rivers frequently overflow, they dig pits to receive that water; as at *Corso*, *Anamabou*, and *Acra*: afterwards the sun dries up the liquid part, and the salt remains at the bottom, which is much help'd by the nitrous quality of the ground; so that there is no manner of trouble, any farther than looking to it now and then, and gathering it when made.

Such *Blacks* as are unwilling or unable to have copper boilers, use the earthen pots above-mention'd, setting ten or twelve of them close to one another, in two rows, all cemented together with clay, as if done by a bricklayer, keeping a fire under them, continually fed with wood. This is a tedious and toilsome way of making salt, and the quantity it produces is less considerable.

The salt made or boil'd along the coast, is generally very white, except at *Acra*; but that made in the *Fantin* country is like the very snow.

The salt produced in the pits, is generally more sharp and tart than that which is made by boiling, which on the other hand is commonly more pleasant and better tasted, and consequently more valuable.

The proper season of the year to make salt, especially in the pits, is from the latter end of *November*, till the beginning of *March*; the sun being then in the *Zenith*, and consequently his force greater than at

G g g any

BARBOT.

Curious wood.

By boiling.

By the sun.

White.

Boiled the best.

Cotton-trees.

BARBOT. any other time of the year. The same is also the season to carry it into all the inland countries, for then the *Blacks* come down from those parts in great numbers, to buy it of the salt-boilers, and carry it away in round reed baskets, made like sugar-loaves, and cover'd with the leaves of the same reeds the baskets are made of, to keep the salt from any wet, and from the scorching heats; which were it not for the close packing of those baskets, would soon turn the salt very black. The said baskets are carry'd on the backs of slaves, tho' never so far, or in so great number.

It is scarce credible how the salt will harden, by lying any time in those baskets, where it consolidates into one entire lump, so hard and firm, that it requires a great force to break it. The *Blacks* call salt *Inkin*.

The salt of the coast in general, does not keep its favour very long, as has been found by experience in the meat salted with it, which grows sharp and bitter.

The *Blacks* all along the coast are enrich'd by boiling, or making of salt, and might still make a much greater advantage, if they were not so often at war among themselves; because all the inland people, from very remote parts, must fetch it from the coast, and the carriage so far up the inland, being very chargeable, the poorest sort of the natives, are forc'd to make use of a saltish sort of herb, instead of salt, which is there so excessive dear, that in some places far up from *Acra*, they say, a slave, and sometimes two, are given for a handful of salt.

C H A P. XIV.

Of wild and tame creatures; elephants, buffaloes, tygers, jackals, crocodiles, wild-boars, civet-cats, wild-cats, deer, antelopes, apes, monkeys and baboons; the sluggard, snakes and serpents, lizards, cameleons, porcupines, field-rats; cows, sheep, swine, goats, horses, asses, dogs, cats, rats, mice and weasels.

Of ELEPHANTS.

Few at
the Gold
Coast.

THIS part of south Guinea, tho' not altogether destitute of elephants, especially up the inland country, which is most shady and wooded; yet is nothing near so abundantly stock'd with those vast creatures, as are all the lands to the westward of the *Gold Coast*, from *Iffeny* to cape *Palmas*, and so onward that same way, which is infer'd from the great multitude of teeth, which has been there traded for, every year successively, from almost time out of mind; and particularly on the *Quaqu* coast, whither, those immense numbers of the said teeth, are in all probability brought down from the adjacent inland countries of *Augwina*, *Jummora*, and others unknown. From one end to the other of the *Gold Coast*, there is no manner of trade for teeth, that I ever could hear of; or if there be any at some particular time, it must be towards the west end of it, and they must be brought down thither from the abovemention'd inland countries, and from those of *Igwira*, *Abocroe*, *Ancober*, and *Axim*, in which there is a much greater number of elephants, than in all the other countries from cape *Tres Pontas*, to the farthest end of the coast eastward. The reason given for this difference is, that the said countries, especially those between *Anta* and *Acra*, have been long well peopled; and it is rare that any elephant is seen about the shore, tho' it may now and then happen, some one happening to stray from the inland

countries. This is very fortunate for the inhabitants of the coast, the elephants being so mischievous to the fruits and plants, as they are; for they beat down stone or brick-walls, without much exerting their strength, and seeming only to touch them lightly. Much less do they find any difficulty in tearing the coco-nut trees, which they do with as much ease as a lusty man can overthrow a child of three years of age; and being lovers of figs, bananas, and other sorts of fruit, they would destroy all the trees which bear them, devouring not only the fruit, but the branches, and of some the very stem. The same they would do with the corn, could they come at it. For this reason, if any elephants happen to appear near the shore, the country people all gather to assault them with their fire-arms, either to kill, or drive them up the country into the woods, which are their natural refuge and shelter. These encounters with elephants seldom happen without the death of one or more *Blacks*, either trampled under feet, or torn in pieces by them, as has been often seen, when any of them have come in sight of the forts or towns.

The *Guinea* elephants are not generally smaller near so large and monstrous as travellers than in India. speak of in the *East-Indies*; for in *Guinea* they seldom exceed thirteen foot in height, whereas in *India* they are reported to be twenty, or upwards. Nor are there white elephants known here, as is said to be there. But we must not omit to take notice, that

some relations inform us, there are white elephants farther up in *Africa*, along the river *Niger*, in *Ethiopia*, and the country of *Zanguebar*.

Swift.

Such as the elephants are in *Guinea*, they are certainly strong and swift creatures. I have already said something of their strength, and as for swiftness, tho' of so great bulk, no horse can out-run them. The *Blacks* at *Mina* call an elephant *Osson*.

Their qualities.

This creature is so well known almost throughout *Europe*, that it will be absolutely needless to proceed to a description of its form and figure; much less to repeat abundance of things reported of its natural docility, wonderful instinct, if we may not call it understanding, and many other singular qualities, which naturalists assign it, as well as *Indian* travellers. That it is capable of performing many surprising motions and actions, has been sufficiently made known in *Europe*, by such of them as have been exposed to publick view in several cities, as *Paris*, *London*, *Amsterdam*, &c.

As to their strength and fury, when enraged, after being made drunk with wine, and mulberry juice, read 1 *Maccab.* vi. 34. and 3 *Maccab.* v. 1, and 30. There it appears the elephants in that condition did mighty execution in a battle, particularly if the mulberry juice and wine were mix'd with a quantity of frankincense.

I suppose the said elephants mentioned in the *Maccabees*, were sent from *Nubia*, or *Abissinia* into *Egypt*, since king *Ptolemy Philopator* could get five hundred of them together, to serve him in his battels, as appears by the texts; for he could not so conveniently have got such a number out of *Asia*.

Long life.

Nor will I undertake to argue about the length of their life, which is so variously represented. As to this particular, I shall only infer, by way of consequence, that they live very long, considering we see many of their teeth which weigh a hundred and twenty pounds each, that is, two hundred and forty pounds the two teeth, each elephant having two of an equal weight and bigness; and it must be suppos'd, that such prodigious heavy teeth cannot grow to that bulk and solidity under many years.

Do not shed teeth.

This excessive weight, in my opinion, refutes another opinion sufficiently receiv'd among some people, that this beast sheds those teeth; for if they did, how could we find such monstrous teeth, without the animal liv'd very many years after such shedding? But where is the person that has lived long enough to make such observations as to its age, copulation, pregnancy, bringing forth, &c. That knowledge must be had in the woods where those creatures constantly live; and it is most likely that

no person ever resided long enough in those BARBOT. desarts to satisfy his own, or other men's curiosity as to those particulars.

I have heard of another question started by *Camerarius*, who follows the opinion of *Bodin*; and is, whether it be proper to call these excrescencies teeth, or horns, and defences, it being well known, says *Bodin*, that the animal makes no other use of them, but to defend himself, and to tear and rend whatsoever opposes it; besides, that it is against the course of nature for teeth to grow out from the skull, as these do, but out of the jaws. I leave this to be decided by naturalists.

There are several sorts of elephants, as *Several* the *Lybian*, the *Indian*, the marsh, the moun-sorts.tain, and the wood elephant. The marsh has blue and spongy teeth, hard to be drawn out, and difficult to be wrought and bored, being full of little knots. The mountain are fierce and ill condition'd, their teeth smaller, but whiter and better shaped. The field elephant is the best, good-natured, docible, and has the largest white teeth, easier to be cut than any other, and may by bending be shaped into any form, according to *Juvenal*.

The female excels the male in strength, Females; but is more timorous. It has two teats, not on the breast, but backwards, and more concealed. In bringing forth, their pains are very great, and they are said to squat down on their hinder legs. Some say, they bring but one young one at a time, others say four; which see and go as soon as come into the world, and suck with the mouth, not with the trunk.

The male's pizzle is small, in proportion Males. to the bulk of the creature, and like a stallion's; his testicles appear not, but abscond about the reins, which renders them the fitter for generation. Their feet are round like horses hoofs, not hard, but much larger; the skin is rough and hard, but more on the back than the belly. They have four teeth to chew with, besides the tusks which stick out at their jaws, which are crooked, but those of the females strait.

Whether the *Blacks* value the elephants flesh as good food, or whether they do it to rid their land of such mischievous creatures, or for the advantage of their teeth, they often make it their business to hunt them, especially in the inland countries, beyond *Anta*, and even at *Anta*, where abundance of elephants are killed, being so numerous up the country, that they often come down to the coast and near the forts, where they do much harm.

The common way of killing them is, by shooting with bullets, which are so far from Hunting of elephants. doing execution immediately, that sometimes

BARBOT. times two hundred shall be spent upon one of those creatures, without making it fall, the leaden bullets being quite flatted when they hit their bones, without breaking or piercing them; and some parts of their skin are so hard, that they are not to be penetrated by them, tho' sometimes they are hurt and will bleed very much. Therefore those who are more expert make use of iron slugs, the leaden bullets being too soft to break their bones, or penetrate some parts of their skin. However it sometimes happens, that one leaden shot will kill an elephant, when it hits between the eye and the ear, tho' even there the bullet is flatted. Some pretend that is the only place where an elephant is vulnerable; but we read in the first book of *Maccabees*, chap. vi. ver. 43, and 46, that *Eleazar*, surnamed *Abaran*, killed a mighty elephant, which carry'd thirty arm'd men, by thrusting a sword or spear into his belly, which shows that there the skin is easily pierced: but that zealous *Jew* being obliged to get under that monstrous beast, to wound it, which lost him his life, being crushed to death by it; perhaps it may not be so penetrable every where, but only in some particular part.

Their flesh eaten. When the elephant is thus killed, or mortally wounded, they immediately cut off the trunk, that being the most offensive member; which is so hard and tough, that they can scarce separate it from the head at thirty strokes. If the beast be yet alive, that makes it roar dreadfully, and as soon as the trunk is off, it dies. Then every man cuts off as much as he can of the flesh to carry home and eat. The tail is much valued to make fans, which some use in scorching calm weather.

When the elephant escapes from the hunters, he generally makes to the next water, river, or brook, to wash and cool himself; especially if he bleeds, and then hastes away to the woods. He is not soon provoked when set upon; but once enraged, will tear and destroy whatsoever stands in his way, and if a man happens to be within reach, will lay hold of him with his trunk, and trample on him, and perhaps tear his body in pieces; then stand still unconcerned, and sometimes take up a musket, and beat it into shivers.

They swim well. The *Blacks* affirm, that the elephants never set upon any man they meet accidentally in the woods; but if provoked by hunting, will pursue them even into the water: for notwithstanding their vast bulk, they swim very well, as has been seen in *Gamboa* river, where they have pursued men in canoes, and would have destroyed them, were it not that they had the good fortune

to kill them at one shot, hitting between the eye and the ear, as has been observed. However that is, I would not advise any man, who values his life, to come so near an elephant; for tho' some have pass'd by unmolested, yet others have found much difficulty to escape them, and many have perished.

I have been told another way of hunting ^{Taken in pits.} elephants up the inland, where the use of fire-arms is not so common. There the *Blacks* dig large pits in the ground, which they fill with water, and lay across it flight wood, or bamboes, so close as to bear abundance of leaves, or other greens to cover the mouth, only leaving so much open, as that the elephant may see the water, to which he soon makes to drink or cool himself, and so drops into the pit. Then the *Blacks* who lie hid to observe it in the thickets, fall upon the beast thus secured and kill it, without any danger to themselves, with their javelins and arrows.

It has been observed by some authors, that when the elephant finds himself near death, he commonly makes into the woods, and thickets, which is supposed, because their skeletons are often found in such places; but it being certain that their constant abode is in the woods, as is usual with all wild beasts, there is nothing remarkable in the observation; for where they always live, there it is to be supposed they commonly die. That they delight in shady and watery places, is express'd by *Job* in his noble description of the elephant, chap. xl. ver. 10, to 19, and ver. 21, 22. *He lieth under the shady trees, in the covert of the reed and fens. The shady trees cover him with their shadow; the willows of the brook compass him about.*

The instance I have brought above of *Eleazar the Maccabee*, killing a monstrous elephant, by thrusting his sword or spear into his belly, shews that to be the proper place to wound this vast creature, call'd by *Job*, chap. xl. ver. 16. the chief of the ways of God; the skin being there thinner and tenderer than in any other part of the body, and more easily enter'd by any weapon.

The *Blacks* here are not like the *East-Indians*, especially those of *Siam*, who tame ^{tamed.} elephants in less than a month, and make use of them to travel, or in their wars; and yet in *Guinea* they are much smaller, as I have already mentioned; but they are satisfied to eat their flesh and trade with their teeth.

I have not heard of any rhinocerotis in these parts of *Africa*, and suppose there are none; which is somewhat strange, they being the elephants greatest enemies. ^{No rhinocerotis in Guinea.}

BUFFALOES.

Rare on the Gold Coast.

THEY are not common in this country, where one is scarce seen in two or three years, tho' in other parts they are numerous, especially to the eastward, along the bight of *Guinea*. They are of a reddish hair, much about the size of an ox, with strait horns, lying backwards, and run very swift. Their flesh is good, when they are fed on fat meadow ground. These creatures, if shot, and not mortally wounded, will run at men and kill them; to avoid which dangers, the *Blacks* get upon trees and shoot from thence, continuing there, if they do not kill, till the beast is gone, and thus they destroy many of them.

TYGERS,

Several sorts.

ARE wonderful numerous, and by the *Blacks* called *Boben*. They are a great plague to the country. *Axim*, *Acra*, and *Anta* are full of them, but more especially *Anta*. There are four or five sorts of them, each differing in size and spots. Some are of opinion, that they are tygers, panthers, leopards, ounces, &c. all comprehended under the general name of tygers. I can give no just account of the several sorts. They are very mischievous to the *Blacks*, as well as to cattle; but they will not assault men, as long as they can find beasts to feed on, which failing, whatsoever human creature falls in their way, is in great danger.

Common sort.

The common sort of tygers along the coast are as big as an ordinary calf, furnish'd with large feet and talons, their skin all over diversify'd with curious black spots, the rest of the hair being of a pale yellow. They are so frequently carry'd about from one town to another in *Europe* to show, that it will be needless to be more particular in their description, most persons having observed that they very much resemble a cat, and are bearded in the same manner.

Very ravenous and bold.

These ravenous creatures very often come at night, not only near, but into the *European* forts, and much more to the houses of the *Blacks*, where they do much harm, and will leap over a wall several foot high. They carry away into the woods cows, swine, sheep, goats, dogs, or any other beasts, and for want of them, seize on human creatures, as I have said, which often occasions dismal accidents. For this reason, the *Blacks* have made it a law, in those parts, which are most pester'd with tygers, and particularly at *Axim*, that whosoever takes or kills one, shall have the privilege of seizing all the palm-wine which is brought to the market in eight days, without paying any thing for it; and they commonly feast during those eight days, shooting,

Vo L. V.

dancing, and indulging all manner of sports *BARBOT.* and pastimes.

They have several ways to catch or kill the tygers. Some shoot them with fire-arms, which those fierce creatures are not afraid of; but if the man misses his mark, he is in extreme danger of his life, for the tyger will scarce fail to seize him about the shoulders with his fore-feet, and with his teeth tear him in pieces, beginning generally at his side, unless speedily relieved by some wonderful accident. Several of the *Blacks* going out together to destroy the tygers after this manner, it often happens that some one of the company is kill'd by their random shots.

Others up the inland countries, make use of traps to catch them, not unlike those we use for mice, only proportionable to the bigness of the creature, as here represented in the cut, laying a considerable weight on the trap, to keep it steady on the ground, and baiting it with some large piece of flesh, or a small swine or goat, in the night. Thus they take some, if men be at hand to kill them there, before they have time to tear the cage or trap in pieces with their teeth. When the muzzle of a piece is presented against them, they furiously take it in their mouth, by which means, it is easier to kill them, firing the gun into their bodies.

PLATE 17. fig. E.

The inland *Blacks* eat the flesh of tygers, and make several ornaments of their skins. In some parts they keep the young ones, and breed them up so tame, that they play with them like cats; but there is no trusting to them when grown up, for nature at last prevails, and they become mischievous.

JACKALS,

BY some reckon'd wild dogs, are as fierce and ravenous as the tygers, but not so common on the *Gold Coast*; yet there are too many of them, especially in the lands of *Acra* and *Aquamboe*. They are generally as big as sheep, with longer legs, which, in proportion to their bodies, are very thick, having terrible talons; and are very strong; their hair short, and spotted; their head flat and broad; the teeth sharp.

These creatures are so bold, that they will seize on any thing that comes in their way, whether men or beasts; and come, as well as the tygers, under the walls of the forts, to seize sheep, hogs, cows, &c. Several of them are kill'd as follows: they lay several muskets, well loaded, with the locks cover'd by small boxes, and a cord fastned to the triggers, and a piece of mutton so fastned to it, that as soon as the beast seizes it, the piece goes off, and very often shoots them.

There are many strange instances of the boldness of this creature. One of them

H h coming

BARBOT. coming into a *Black's* house, laid hold of a girl, cast her on his back, and holding fast by one leg, was carrying her off, but her cries waking the men, they came seasonably in to her relief; and the beast dropping her, made its escape, leaving her behind, hurt by the claw that held her.

CROCODILES or ALLIGATORS.

Numerous and large. **T**HE crocodile or alligator may well be reckon'd among the ravenous creatures, and the rivers in this country are full of them; but especially at *Boutroe* and *Lama*, where sometimes fifty, or more, appear in a day, many of them near twenty foot long, and thick in proportion. In *Gamboa*, some are thirty foot long, and will swallow a buck whole.

I was presented by the *Danish* general at *Acra* with a young one alive, being about seven foot long, which he kept in a large fat, and had design'd to bring it over into *Europe*; but considering the great quantity of fresh water that would be spent in so long a passage, as from thence to the *French* *Leward* islands of *America*, and thence into *France*, I order'd it to be kill'd, and some of my men and the *Blacks* eat it, as a delicate bit. It tasted much like veal, but very luscious, and had a strong scent of musk.

Its flesh sweet.

Hard scales.

The body of this creature is cover'd with such a hard skin, and square scales, of a dark brown colour, that there is no possibility of killing it with a musket-ball; wherefore the *Blacks* make caps of its skin, which cannot be cut with a hanger, being as hard as a land-tortoise shell. The belly is softer, which they therefore take care not to expose to danger; so that there is scarce any way of killing them but at the head, and so it was we serv'd the young one that was given me at *Acra*. A stout *Black* sat astride on the head of the fat the crocodile was kept in, with a large hammer in his hands, and two other *Blacks* one on each side of the first, holding a couple of iron bars athwart the head of the cask; another *Black* knock'd out the head of the fat, through which the alligator advancing his head, with flaming eyes, to get out, but being stop't by the two iron bars across, the *Black* who sat on the head of it, gave him two or three such strokes on the forehead, with the hammer, that it died immediately.

How kill'd.

This is well known to be an amphibious animal, living for the most part in or under water, and sometimes coming out to feed on the land, or on very hot days basking on the banks of rivers; and as soon as it perceives any person coming near, it steals away, and plunges itself into the water. It does not seem to be swift enough to pursue and overtake a man, who runs from it, tho' he should not make any windings in his

course, as some pretend it is requisite he should do, to escape that creature; yet the safest way is to keep far enough out of its reach, either by land or water. These are very deformed animals, as may appear by the cut; but it is not known that they devour'd man or beast in these parts: there-^{PLATE 17.} fig. A. fore if the accounts given by several authors and travellers of the crocodiles, or alligators, in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and in *Egypt*, are true, those must be of a more fierce and ravenous nature than the same species is in *Guinea*.

They have a great strength in their tail, with which they will overset a small canoe. Their most usual food is fish, which they are continually chasing at the bottom of the rivers.

There is another smaller sort of alligators call'd *Leguaen*, almost of the same shape as the great ones, but seldom above four foot long. The body is speckled black, the skin very tender, and the eyes round. These hurt no creature but hens and chickens, which they destroy wherever they can come at them. The *Whites*, as well as the natives, all agree, that the flesh of this creature is much finer than any fowl.

A third sort of alligators there is, which always live on land, by the *Blacks* call'd *Langadi*.

The alligators bury their eggs in the sand, and as soon as they are hatch'd, the young ones run into the water or the woods. *Navarette*, in his supplement, says, that in *India*, skulls, bones, and pebbles were found in the belly of an alligator; and that he was told, they swallow'd pebbles to ballast themselves. He adds, and *F. Collins* a missionary affirms, that they have four eyes and no tongue; that the females devour as many of their own young as they can, either as they come into the water, or running down the stream, and that two bags of pure musk had been found in an alligator, where the two short legs join to the body.

WILD BOARS,

WHICH in *Europe* we reckon among the ravenous beasts, are not so fierce along the coast, where there are but few of them, but many more in the countries stretching out to the bight or gulph of *Guinea*; which there afford great diversion to such as are addicted to hunt them, being in herds of three or four hundred together. They are very swift, and make a good chace. Their flesh is delicate tender food, the fat being extraordinary pleasant. The *Blacks* at *Mina* call them *Porpor*, and at other places *Cottocon*.

CIVET-CATS,

BY the *Blacks* call'd *Can-Can*, and by the *Portuguese* *Gatos de Algalia*, may be properly

perly reckon'd among the ravenous creatures; and there are many of them in those parts, especially at *Manfrou* and *Anamabo*, in *Fetu*. They are much like our foxes in size and shape, but longer legg'd, and the tail exactly like our *European* cats, but rather longer, in proportion to their bodies; their hair grey, full of black spots. They feed better on raw flesh and entrails of beasts, than on boil'd millet or any other grain; and being so fed, afford much more civet than otherwise: especially the males, because the females cannot avoid pissing into the civet-bag, which spoils it. I carry'd some very fine civet-cats into *France*, which were much admired there, and afforded excellent civet.

Ravenous when hungry. These creatures, when very hungry, will prey on any thing that comes in their way, which they can master. I had one at *Guadaloupe*, which was kept in the next chamber to me: my man having neglected to feed it a whole day, it came into my chamber the next morning, and immediately leap'd at a curious talking parrot of the *Amazons* river, I had brought from *Cayenne*, laying hold of it by the head, tho' it was perch'd above six foot high from the floor, and tore the neck quite off before I could relieve it.

Clean-liness. I have often observ'd, that these cats will always roll and tumble themselves several times on the flesh they are to feed on, before they eat it; and are so cleanly, as always to ease nature close up in the corner of the cage they are kept in; and when hungry, gnaw the very wood of the cage to get out for provision. They are generally so well known in all trading places in *Europe*, that I shall forbear adding any more of them than this, that they must be much fretted and vexed, before the civet is taken out of the bag, because the more it is enraged, the more it affords, and the better. The best way of taking it out, is with small leaden spoons, for fear of hurting the creature in that part, which is very tender.

WILD CATS.

First fort. THERE is a fort of them in *Guinea*, as fierce as, and spotted like, the civet-cat, which destroy all the cocks and hens they can come at.

Second fort. Another fort of them is much smaller than the last above mention'd, their snout much sharper, but the body spotted like the civet-cats. These the *Blacks* call *Berbe*.

Third fort. A third fort of these cats, call'd *Kokeboe*, reddish, about twice as big as a common house-rat, is very mischievous, bites dangerously, and flies either at man or beast if provoked. They are great devourers of cocks and hens, and strong enough to carry them off very nimbly.

There is still a fourth fort, no bigger than *BARBOT*. our full-grown rats, of a reddish grey, mix'd with small white specks; the tail, which has very long hair, is about three fingers broad, speckled in the same manner, and so long, that it reaches back to their heads, much after the manner of our squirrels. These creatures are very fond of palm-wine, and may perhaps more properly be call'd squirrels.

DEER.

THERE are at least twenty forts of deer in this country, some of them as large as small cows; others no bigger than sheep and cats, most of them red, with a black list on the back, and some red curiously streak'd with white. There are great numbers of them all along the coast; but particularly at *Anta* and *Acra*, where they go in droves of an hundred together. They are all very sweet and good meat; but two forts particularly exceed the rest in delicacy. The first fort is of a pale mouse-colour, subdivided into two kinds, somewhat differing in their shape, the feet of the one being a little higher than those of the other; but both of them about two foot in length.

The other fort is not above half so big, of a reddish colour, and extraordinary beautiful beasts, having small black horns and slender legs, indifferent long in proportion to their bodies, yet some of them no thicker than an ordinary goose-quill; however they will leap over a wall or enclosure twelve foot high.

There is still another fort of deer, of a slender shape, and about four foot long, their feet of an unusual length, as are the head and ears; being of an orange-colour, streak'd with white.

All these several forts of deer are so very swift, as is scarce to be imagin'd, especially those whose legs are no bigger than a goose-quill; and for that reason, as well as for its extraordinary beauty, the *Blacks* call it the king of deer. The natives give the same account of the mighty subtlety and cautiousness of all these sorts of deer, as is reported of ours in *Europe*; which is, that they generally detach one of their body as a sentinel, to give notice to the others of any approaching danger.

The inland *Blacks* hunt deer with bows and arrows, and sometimes only with their javelins; at which, they are very dextrous, as to kill many of them in the chace.

ANTELOPES,

ARE sometimes seen and hunted at *Acra*, their flesh being very good, and they incredible swift, generally keeping within the hilly country beyond the *European* forts. The shape of them is between a goat and a stag, their horns like the goats and buffaloes, lying

BARBOT. lying towards their back, and a little bow'd, but commonly longer than a goat's.

APES, MONKEYS, and BABOONS,

ARE innumerable throughout *Guinea*, and of more sorts than can easily be observ'd; wherefore we shall only mention some of them which are most known.

First sort baboons.

The first sort, call'd by the natives *Smit-ten*, are of a light mouse-colour, and prodigious large, some of them almost five foot long, frequently seen about the country of *Augwina*, being so bold as to assault a man, and sometimes prove too hard for him, putting out his eyes with sticks they will endeavour to thrust into them. They are very ugly creatures to look at, and no less mischievous. Their tail is very short, and when standing up on their hinder legs, they, at a distance, have a great resemblance of man. Their heads are the most deform'd, being short, round, and large, not unlike our great mastiffs.

Second sort monkeys.

Another sort is like that above in shape, but not above a quarter of the bulk, and easily taught many comical tricks and gestures, as also to turn a spit. The same is done by another kind somewhat larger, by the *French* call'd *Marmots*, and are the common monkeys, their heads very ugly, and have little or no tail.

Strange fancy.

The natives fancy that these brutes can speak, but will not do it for fear of being made to work, which they abhor.

Apes.

There are two or three other sorts of apes, all alike in size and handsomeness, but about half as little as the last above spoken of, having short hair of mix'd colour, black, grey, white, and red; some of a fine light grey spotted; others without spots, with a white breast and a sharp-pointed white beard, a spot of white on the tip of the nose, and a black streak about the forehead. I brought one of this sort from *Boutroe*, which was all sport and gamesomeness, valu'd at *Paris* at twenty *Louis d'Or*, for its tameness and beauty; and I must own I never saw any other like it in all my travels.

Bearded monkeys.

Another beautiful sort are about two foot high, their hair as black as jet, and about a finger in length, and have a long white beard; for which reason they are called *Little-bearded Men*, of whose skins fine caps are made. These being somewhat scarce, are sold upon the spot for twenty shillings each.

Peasants.

Another sort are called *Peasants*, because of their ugly red hair and figure, and their natural stink and nastiness.

Other sorts.

Besides these here mentioned, there are several other sorts of very fine and gentle apes and monkeys, but naturally so tender, that it is a very difficult matter to preserve them alive in so long a passage, as it is from

Guinea to *Europe*, especially considering that our carrying slaves over from thence to *America* lengthens it considerably.

So much might be said of the sundry ^{Added to} sorts of apes and monkeys in those parts ^{as} as would require a particular volume; we shall only add, that they have an uncommon inclination and subtilty in stealing not only of fruit, corn, and the like, but even things of value, whereof I will give an instance. That very beautiful monkey or ape I had at *Boutroe* above mention'd, stole out of my cabin aboard the ship a case, in which I had a silver-hafted knife, fork and spoon; and opening it, threw each of them, one after another, into the sea, which was then very calm, skipping and dancing about very merrily, as each of them went over-board.

It has been observ'd, that when they ^{How they} steal corn, they pick and cull the best ears, ^{carry corn.} throwing away those they do not like, and pulling others, taking one or two in each paw, two or three in their mouths, and one or two under each arm, or fore-leg; and so go off, leaping upon their hinder legs; but if pursued, the crafty creatures drop what they have in their paws and under their arms, still holding fast what they have in their mouth, and so make their escape, with wonderful celerity. Being very numerous, this their stealing, and nicety in picking the best ears, throwing away the others, is infinitely mischievous to the *Blacks*.

The natives catch them in gins and snares, ^{How taken.} made fast to the boughs of trees, where they are continually skipping about; or else take them when very little, before they can make their escape.

The SLUGGARD,

AS the *Europeans* call it, and the *Blacks* ^{Ugly creature.} *Potto*, is an hideous deform'd creature, as any in the world, having a head disproportionably large, the fore-feet much like hands, of a pale mouse-colour when very young, but turning red as it grows old, the hair of it as thick as wool. This horrid animal, they tell us, when once climb'd up into a tree, stays there, till it has eaten up, not only the fruit, but the very leaves, and then goes down very fat, in order to climb another tree: but being naturally so heavy and sluggish, that it can scarce advance ten steps on plain ground in a day; it becomes again very poor and lean, before it can get up the next tree: and if the trees happen to be very high, or the distance between them considerable, and there happens to be no food in the way, it certainly starves to death. This I deliver upon the credit of some writers, and the *Blacks* seem to believe something of it.

SNAKES and SERPENTS.

Numerous. Guinea is very much infested with them, some monstrous big, others of smaller sizes; but so numerous, that not only the woods are full, but even the houses of the natives, and the very forts and lodgings of the Europeans are not exempted, most of them being venomous, and some to a very high degree.

Monstrous big. Of the larger sort some exceed twenty-two foot in length, and it is believed there are some much bigger up the inland; some Blacks assuring me they were to thirty foot long. They also told me there are winged serpents or dragons, having a forked tail and a prodigious wide mouth, full of sharp teeth, extremely mischievous to mankind, and more particularly to small children. If we may credit this account of the Blacks, these are of the same sort of winged serpents, which, some authors tell us, are to be found in *Abissinia*, being very great enemies to the elephants. Some such serpents have been seen about the river *Senega*, and they are ador'd and worshipp'd, as snakes are at *Wida* or *Fida*, that is, in a most religious manner.

These monsters devour not only all sorts of beasts, as deer, goats, sheep, &c. but even men, which have all been found in their bellies, the Blacks killing many of them almost every day, in one place or other.

Horned snake.

There is another sort of snakes, which are offensive neither to man, nor beast, any otherwise than by means of a small horn, or tooth, running irregularly from the upper jaw, quite through the nose of it; being white, hard, and as sharp as a needle. These are frequently taken or killed, because, when full, they lie down and sleep so sound, that the Blacks tread on them with their bare feet, as they commonly go about the country, and they will scarce awake. Their bodies are about five foot long, and as thick as a man's arm, party-colour'd, being all over black, brown, yellow, and white streaks very curiously mixed.

Some of the above-mentioned serpents twenty two foot long have been killed at *Axim*, and being opened, a full-grown deer found in their bellies. One was once kill'd at *Boutry*, not much shorter than the last, and the body of a Black found in it.

Venomous.

At *Mouree*, a great snake being half under a heap of stones, and the other half out, a man cut in two, as far as was from under the stones; and as soon as the heap was removed, the reptile turning, made up to the man, and spit such venom into his face, as quite blinded him, and so he continued some days, but at last recovered his sight.

V O L. V.

It has been observ'd, that some Blacks ^{BARBOT.} who have been hurt by serpents, have swelled extremely, but it soon fell again, and they returned to their former condition; by which it appears, that the venomous quality in snakes and serpents is very different, the bite of some being mortal, that of others but a common wound, and that there are some altogether harmless, as it is with our snakes in *Europe*.

The serpents are very great enemies to ^{Fight porcupines.} the porcupines, and there are sharp engagements between them, when they meet, the serpent spitting its venom, and the porcupine darting his quills, which are two spans long; they being very large, of which more hereafter.

Another sort of serpents are about fourteen foot long, having the lower part of their belly within two foot of the tail, and two claws like those of birds, suppos'd to serve them, either to rear up, or to leap. One of this kind stufed, hangs up in the hall, at the castle of *Mina*, taken by a Black with his bare hands, tho' fourteen foot long, in the garden beyond *Santiago's* hill, and brought alive by him to the castle. The head of it is like that of a pike, and has much such a row of teeth.

Some serpents have also been found with ^{Two-heads.} two heads, but whether both serviceable to the body, I leave to others to decide. All the Blacks in general eat the snakes and ^{Eaten.} serpents they can catch, as a very great dainty; and I have seen *French* gentlemen eat them at *Martinico*.

LIZARDS.

THE country every where abounds in them, in some places thousands together; especially along the walls of the *European* forts, whither they resort to catch flies, spiders and worms, which are their food.

There are several sorts of them, some two foot long, the flesh whereof is delicious, and has something of the taste of veal. Others are venomous, and others of the largest size have a tail about a foot long, and a handful broad, of a brownish colour, and part of their head red. Most of those are extraordinary ugly.

Some other sorts are more tolerable than ^{Salamander.} the former, being of a greenish colour, and about half their bigness; and others half as big as these, and grey, which creep about in the rooms and lodgings, and are there called salamanders, cleansing the houses from all small vermin. These are the coldest of all the lizards, tho' they are all naturally cold, to such a degree, that it is not easy to hold them long in a man's hand; and perhaps the excessive coldness of that sort of lizards there, call'd salamanders, has occasioned the notion of the salamander's being ^{False notions.} able to live in the fire.

I i i

The

BARBOT. The other vulgar conceit, that lizards have such a love for man, as to give him warning of the approach of any venomous snake, or other creature, I take to be of the same stamp, and as false as the salamander's living in the fire.

The CAMELEONS,

ARE of two sorts, the one green, speckled with grey, or a pale mouse-colour; the other green, grey, and fire colour mix'd together, not frequently seen in *Guinea*. Their skin is very thin, smooth, and almost transparent; their eyes round, very black and small, turning them one up and one down, or one to the right and the other to the left, at the same time, so as to see two ways at once. They are much of the size of small lizards, but longer legg'd, with a longish tail, which they turn into a ring inwards as they walk.

Their food. They feed upon flies for the most part, their tongue being almost as long as the body, which they dart out with an incredible swiftness, and catch the flies upon the point of it, drawing them into their large wide mouth. They seem to take much delight in sucking in the air, stretching open their wide mouths, and have no guts like other creatures. Their skin being so very smooth and transparent, they are most apt to change to a lizard-colour, but do not take the colour of every thing that is set about them, as is falsely reported; for they will never be red, nor of several other colours, tho' they have been observ'd to change three or four times in half an hour. They live in *Guinea* five years or longer, being kept on trees; and some are sent over into *Europe*. Their eyes are about as half as big as those of small lizards, and join'd together as if they were threaded; not cover'd with any hard shell, but only with a soft pliable film, like those of our snails in *Europe*, or those of lizards, snakes, and tortoises.

PORCUPINES,

ARE not very common on that coast. I saw one at *Infiama*, about two foot high, some being two foot and a half, and brought over some of its quills, about as thick as a goose's, two spans long, and some three, according to the bigness of the beast, divided at distances with black streaks; as

Their quills.

PLATE 17. may be seen in the figure of this creature, fig. C. here inserted.

These are much like the porcupines I have seen in *France*, brought over from *Morocco*. They have such sharp and long teeth, that if kept in a wooden box or fat, they will eat their way through in a night; and when provoked, shoot out their long sharp quills with such fury and dexterity, that they will wound any other creature at a reasonable distance, piercing pretty deep into the bo-

Teeth and strength.

dy of serpents, or other its enemies, and will stick into a board. They are so bold as to attack the greatest serpent, as I have mentioned before. The *Blacks*, and some *Europeans*, reckon their flesh very nice food.

There is another sort of animal, not unlike our hedgehog, only that they cannot roll themselves as those do.

FIELD-RATS.

THERE is along the coast a sort of *First sort.* beasts, like rats in shape, but bigger than cats, and call'd field-rats, because they lie in the corn-fields, where they do much mischief; but both *Whites* and *Blacks* reckon their flesh very delicious, being fat, tender, and very agreeable; and may well pass for such with those who have not seen them: for its disagreeable figure and loathsome name, are sufficient to give a loathing and aversion; for which reason, some cut off the head, feet, and tail, before they are served up to table.

At *Axim* they have another sort of field-rats, as long as the former, but much slenderer, which they call *Boutees*, eaten only by the *Blacks*. These do infinite damage among the stores of rice and *Indian* wheat laid up in the houses of the *Blacks*, spoiling more corn in a night, than an hundred of our house-rats could do: for besides what they eat and carry off, they damage all the rest they can come at. *Second sort.*

There is also a sort of very small mice, *Swees* whose skins have a musky scent, much like *mice*. the odoriferous *Pensylvania* rat-skins.

In the woods is an animal, call'd *Arompo* *Man-* or *Man-eater*, having a long slender body *eater.* and a long tail, with a sort of brush at the end of it; is of a lightish brown colour and long hair'd. The natives say, it will very soon throw up the earth, where a man has been buried, to devour the dead body, but walks round several times before it touches the corps; which, the *Blacks* say, denotes the unlawfulness of making use of any thing that is not our own, before we have taken pains, or done something to earn it; but we may more rationally conclude, it is done out of fear, which is natural to most brutes, and that they only look round to see whether there be any man near to take the prey from them.

The hares in *Guinea* are much like ours *Hares.* in *Europe*, but their flesh is not so well relish'd. Very few or none are any where to be seen, unless it be in the country of *Acron*; and more especially at *Acra*, that land being low, flat, and gravelly.

The *Blacks* hunt them with sticks, many men going about the country, where they use to shelter, shouting, and beating their sticks one against another, which makes such a noise as frights the poor timorous crea-

tures, who run for their lives, and the *Blacks* having made a ring about them, standing pretty close together, with the sticks in their hands, kill many.

Of Tame ANIMALS, and first of KINE.

THE inland countries abound much more in kine, than those near the sea; *Akim*, *Dankira*, and *Affiante*, which have great plenty of them, being so remote from the shore, that they cannot conveniently be sent down; for which reason, only a few bulls and cows come from thence; and what cattle they have at the coast, is generally brought from *Acra*, where they are supplied with them from *Labbodee*, *Lampfi*, or *Landingcour*, and *Ningo*, to the eastward of *Acra*, and from the country of *Aquamboe*, which are all stocked with cattle, wherewith the natives of those parts drive a great trade at *Acra*, and all along the *Gold Coast*, as has been hinted before.

Little on the coast.

The said cattle, tho' brought from thence fat and in good case, soon grows poor on the coast, for want of good pasture, which is every where wanting, except at *Acra*, *Pocqeson*, or *Crema* and *Axim*, it being there indifferent, and will keep them up some time; but at *Mina*, and all the rest of the coast, both east and west, the beasts soon fall away, and their flesh becomes dry and insipid, declining to such a degree, that a cow, at full growth, seldom weighs above three hundred weight, and generally not above two hundred and a half; and yet they are of such a bulk, that they seem to be double that weight. That lightness must certainly be occasioned by the sorry pasture, which makes not the flesh firm and solid, but loose, spongy, and tough, and of an ungrateful taste, both in cows and bullocks.

Bad flesh.

The cows are no where milked, but at *Mina*, I suppose for want of skill in the *Blacks*, and even at *Mina* the milk is bad, and the quantity very small.

Cows not milked.

At my last voyage to the castle of *Mina*, I presented the then *Dutch* general with a hoghead of *French* wine, and a fine cow I had taken aboard at *Goeree*, which used to afford milk aboard the ship, in a tolerable quantity, and was extraordinary well received by him; and in return, just as I was under sail, he sent me four of the country sheep, which prov'd but very sorry meat, even among the meanest sailors.

The calves, as well as other cattle, by reason of the sorry milk they suck from their dams, are but very wretched meat. They make no oxen, the *Blacks* being very unskilful at gelding their steers. Such as they are, they are generally sold for three ounces of gold, worth about twelve pounds sterling. The *Blacks* call a cow *Name-boe-Wessia*; a bullock *Nanne-Bainin*, and the oxen *Ennan*.

No oxen.

SHEEP,

BARBOT.



ARE very numerous all along the coast, and yet very dear; the price in gold being generally about twenty eight shillings sterling: an extravagant rate, considering that mutton is nothing near so sweet and tender as ours in *Europe*; for in reality, it is scarce eatable, unless gelt young, and fattened with fry'd barley-meal.

Mutton dear and bad.

In my account of *Sefbro* river, I gave the description of the sheep there, to which the reader is refer'd, they being much alike. They have no wool, but only hair like goats, and are not much bigger than *English* lambs. Their horns turn towards the back, somewhat bow'd, and their legs are somewhat longer in proportion than those of our *European* sheep.

GOATS,

ARE not so large on the *Gold Coast*, as *Chesep* and in *Europe*; in other respects, they are much like them, and generally are more fat and fleshy than the sheep: for which reason, some will rather chuse to eat the he-goats gelt young, which soon grow much fatter and larger than those which are not gelt; besides, that a goat bears not above half the price of a sheep.

as Chesep and good.

All the three species of sheep, goats and swine, are said to have been first carry'd over to the coast by the *Portuguese* from *St. Thome*, who at first used to fatten them with *Indian* wheat.

There is an infinite number of goats: some of the *Blacks* are of opinion, that the strong offensive scent which is natural to them, especially the males, was given as a punishment for having requested of a certain deity, that they might be permitted to anoint themselves with a precious sort of sweet ointment, she used herself; instead of which, she took a box of a stinking nauseous composition, with which she anointed their bodies, which caus'd them to smell so strong ever since.

Foolish notion.

SWINE,

ARE plentiful enough in *Guinea*, and call'd *Ebbio* by the *Blacks*, who breed great numbers of them, but whether for want of skill in the people, or proper food for them, they are good for little, their flesh being flabby, and the fat as bad; and yet such as they are, a hog of about an hundred weight, is commonly sold for the value of three pounds sterling in gold.

They are neither of the shape or bulk of our *European* swine, being short body'd and legg'd, and generally all black or spotted; but the sows are very fruitful, and when with pig, their bellies hang down almost to the ground.

Shape and fruitfulness.

The

BARBOT. The hogs which are fatted by the *Whites* along the coast, are more tolerable, but nothing near so delicate as those at *Fida*, and in the *French Leward* islands, which are of the same species, and for delicacy of taste and firm fat, certainly much exceed ours in *Europe*.

HORSES.

THERE are abundance of them up the inland countries, but scarce one to be seen along the coast. They are very ill shaped, their necks and heads, which they always hang down, much resembling those of asses; being perfect jades, subject to stumble, and will scarce move without much beating; not unlike the *Norway* horses in size, and so low, that when a man rides them, his feet almost touch the ground.

ASSES,

ARE generally pretty numerous along the coast, higher than the horses, and handsomer in their kind; but do not live long there, for want of proper food. Their ears are for the most part longer than those of ours in *Europe*. The *Blacks* do not use them to carry burdens, but only to ride on, being full as proper for that purpose as their horses.

DOGS,

PLATE 18. **W**HOSE figure see in the cut, are said to have been first carry'd thither from *Europe*, and in process of time so chang'd to that shape and form we now see they generally bear; their colour and heads being much like foxes, with long upright ears; their tails long, small, and sharp at the end, without one hair on their bodies, but a naked bare skin, either plain or spotted, and never bark, but only howl. They always run away at the least stroke or lash given them; but will pursue such as are afraid and fly from them, and bite desperately. They are disagreeable to look to, but much more to handle, their soft bald skin, being unpleasant to the touch.

Naked and hideous.

Eaten.

The *Blacks* call a dog *Cabra do Mato*, which in *Portuguese* signifies a wild sheep, because they eat them, and value their flesh beyond mutton; so that in some places, they breed them for sale, and carry them to the publick markets, ty'd two and two, where they yield a greater price than their sheep. The natives are as great lovers of dog's flesh, as the *Chinese* are said to be, and look upon a meal of it as the best treat they can give or receive; and therefore, when they go

aboard ships, they will offer to buy the dogs they see there. I remember one of our cabin boys had three *Aquiers* of gold, at cape *St. Apollonia*, for an ugly one he had kept some time; the *Black*, who bought him, intending to put him into his barking, or dog-school, out of which they commonly fell puppies at a very high rate.

The *Blacks*, who have abundance of very ridiculous notions, generally fancy, that our *European* dogs speak, when they bark; and their reason for it is, because their dogs never bark, but only howl, as has been said.

It is always observ'd, that *European* dogs, when they have been there three or four years, always degenerate into ugly creatures, and in as many broods, their barking turns into a howl.

CATS,

BY the *Blacks* call'd *Ambayo*, whose breed came from *Europe*, retain their first form and shape, and do not alter in their nature. Some of the *Blacks*, but more especially the meanest sort and slaves, often kill and eat them; however, this is frequently done for want, they being generally much valu'd by the *Blacks* for clearing their houses of rats and mice.

RATS and MICE,

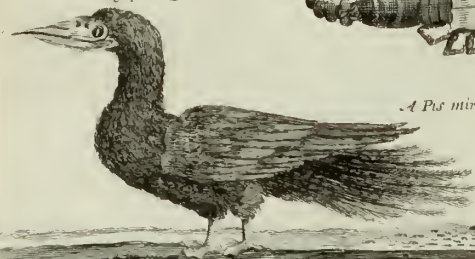
ARE prodigiously numerous, especially the first of them, doing much harm to the inhabitants, by devouring and gnawing all they can come at. They are exactly like ours in *Europe*, as to shape, colour and mischievousness.

The weasels are also alike in all respects, and these with the cats, make it their business to hunt rats.

The *Blacks* do not scruple to eat, either rats or weasels, as did several of our sailors aboard, our ship being full of them; and they did us such considerable damage, during the whole voyage, that to encourage the destroying of them, I allow'd a pound of salt-butter, for every score of rats they catch'd. It is worth observing in this place, that the rats were so ravenous, as to eat several of our parrots alive, and even to steal away our breeches and stockings in the night, and to bite us severely.

This is the best account that can be given of the wild and tame creatures on the *Gold Coast*, as far as they are known to *Europeans*. I doubt not, but that there are several sorts of animals up the inland, which, for want of communication and conveniency of travelling, remain yet unknown to us.

The Alcatraz of the Portuguese (i.e.) The Mad Bird any South of the Equinoctial



A Scorpion of natural Bigness



Parrot of natural bigness



A Sort of Eagle at Cabo Corco



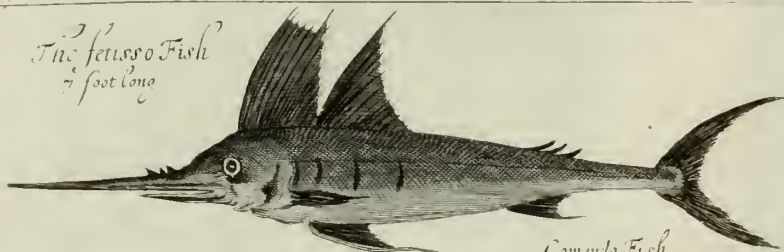
A Pis mire Nest at akra



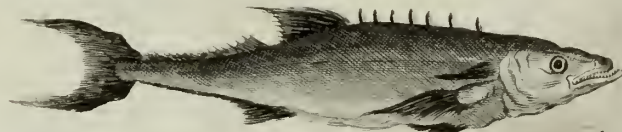
Gold Coast Dogs



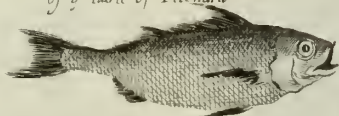
The seuvo Fish 7 foot Long



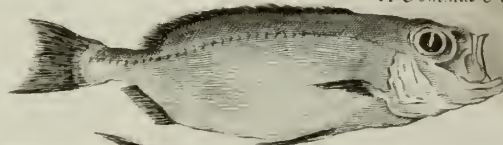
The Kings Fish, at Negro Fish 5 foot Long



Comendo Fish of the taste of Pilchard



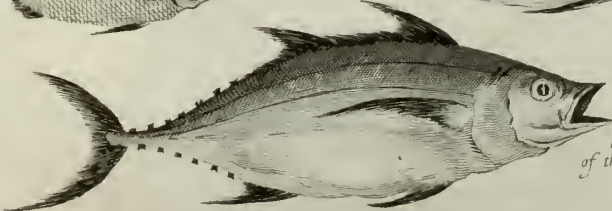
A Comendo Fish



The Sea Toad



A Bonito of the South of the Line





CHAP. XV.

Of the tame fowl, cocks and hens, ducks, turkeys, pigeons, wild fowl, herons, portuguese, wild-ducks, pheasants, partridges, turtle-doves, eagles, kites, and several other nameless birds, some of them very beautiful; insects and reptiles, frogs and toads, scorpions, millepedes, bees, spiders, &c.

TAME-FOWL.

The forts.

THE several sorts of tame-fowl, consist properly in hens, ducks, turkeys and pigeons; the two former whereof are not common to the *Blacks*, but only to be found in or about the *European* forts and factories.

COCKS and HENS,

ARE very plentiful all over the coast, when the *Blacks* can peaceably breed them at home; but when they are at war, these fowls grow scarce.

Cocks and hens.

Axim has always the better sort of fowls, they being there generally good and fat; though small. But at all other parts of the *Gold Coast*, they are commonly so dry and lean, and of so little flesh, that a man with a good stomach may very well eat three of them or more at a meal.

They are generally nothing near so large as commonly our fowls in *France*; their eggs are scarce bigger than those of our tame pigeons, yet a pair of such fowls, yields, even in time of plenty, about two shillings *English*, and double that price in time of war. They are much like ours, in shape and feathers, the *Blacks* commonly feed them with broken maiz, or millet. But to make them soon fat and fit to eat, they must be cramm'd with meal.

DUCKS.

Large and insipid.

THE breed was brought over from *Brazil*, or other parts of *America*, not many years since, for they are exactly alike, in form and feathers; and nothing like those of *Europe*, being there as large again, and commonly white or black, or white and brown mixt. The drakes have a large red knob on their bills, almost like the turkeys; only it doth not hang so low, nor so loose, but firmer, and is pretty like a red cherry.

The young ducks are eatable, but the old ones are tough and insipid.

TURKEYS.

THERE are only a few in the hands of the chiefs of the *European* forts, which are nothing near so tender and palatable as ours in *Europe* commonly. The *Blacks* breed none at all, perhaps because they are very tender, and require much care to bring them up.

VOL. V.

PIGEONS,

ARE pretty numerous, at some of the forts on the coast, especially at *Axim*, and all of the common sort of field, or wild doves, and are pretty sweet, when young. The *Blacks* call them *Abronama*, which imports, a bird brought up by the *Whites*, or *Europeans*, for so the *Blacks* call us.

The pintado-hens, which may be accounted of the tame, as well as wild sorts of fowls, are seen no where but at *Acra*, where they breed a few. Whether they are natural to the country, or of the breed of cape *Verdo-Pintados*, I am not certain, but they are fine curious birds, much bigger than common poultry, and delicate meat, if fed properly, as I have said heretofore.

WILD-FOWL, and first of HERONS.

HERE are two sorts of herons, some blue, others white, exactly of the form and size of herons in *Europe*. Several people eat them there. PLATE 17.
fig. S.

The natives also eat a sort of bird unknown to us, called the *Portuguese*, which has the body of a goose, and is mostly white.

WILD-DUCKS,

ARE commonly plentiful enough on the coast, being exactly like those of *Europe*, only somewhat smaller, and of two sorts; but the people are not industrious to get them. There have been some shot about *Mina*, of a very beautiful green, with fine red bills and feet, of a deep charming colour. Another sort there is, whose feet and bill are yellow, and the body mixt with green and grey feathers: This sort is not so beautiful as the former.

PHEASANTS,

ARE plentiful enough along the *Gold Coast*, but particularly at and about *Acra*. In the *Aquamboe's* country, and at *Acron*, near *Apam*, commonly of the size of an ordinary hen; their feathers speckled with a bright blue and white, with a sky-colour ring round their necks; about two fingers in breadth; and a black tuft on their heads. To compleat the beauty of this creature, which may be very well ranked, in that respect, amongst the wonderful works

K k k of

BARBOT of nature, in the species of birds, and is the finest of any in *Guinea*.

The *Fida* pheasant, whereof there are but few in this country, but a great number at *Fida*, is grey and white, a little speckled with blue; his head is bald, and covered with a hard callous skin, which is all over knotty; his bill is yellow; from whence to the head grows out on each side a red jollop.

PARTRIDGES,

A Bound every where, but much more at *Acra*; yet for want of good shooters, but few are killed; which, when in proper age and season, are good meat, particularly the young ones.

TURTLE-DOVES,

ARE of three sorts, the first is small, of a bay colour, which eat very agreeable and tender.

The second sort is of a much brighter colour, but the flesh is tough.

The third sort is as tough again, and large as the former. These are of a very fine green, their bills and feet yellow, and have a few red feathers; the eyes encircled with large speckled rings, some intermixt with blue.

Others of the same species of turtles have a black ring or circle about their neck. Of the second and third sorts of turtles, thousands commonly harbour every evening in the underwoods, which are thick grown, on the large rock, or rather island, lying about half a gun shot from the *Dutch* fort at *Axim*, and fly from thence every morning to look for food; but the woods that cover the little island all over, being so very thick grown, it is not very easy to shoot at these turtles, or rather to find them, when killed.

QUEESTS,

ARE also very common in the woods within the country.

THRUSHES,

THERE, much resemble ours in *Europe*.

BECCAFICOS,

OR fig-eaters, a dainty little bird, of a gold colour, which perch and build their nests at the very tops of the highest trees, and at the extremities of the branches, the better to secure themselves and brood, from the injuries of venomous creatures.

CORN-EATERS.

THERE is also another sort of very little birds, which are very numerous, and waste the corn in the fields so extremely, that the *Blacks*, they say, in revenge, will

eat them alive, feathers and flesh. These little creatures commonly build their nests amongst the corn.

SPARROWS,

ARE innumerable all along the coast, and differ little or not at all from ours in *Europe*; doing, as well as the others, much damage to the corn and other fruits of the earth, they can come at.

There are many different sorts of little granivorous birds, which also do the same injury to the inhabitants fields and fruits; there being some all red, others all black, and others of variety of colours intermixt. The natives catch great numbers of these birds with nets, and shoot many, and eat them, as well as several large birds, all which it is impossible particularly to distinguish.

The SWALLOW,

IS here smaller in size, and of a lighter black colour than ours in *Europe*.

SNIPES, WOODCOCKS, and CROOKBILLS,

ARE very numerous, the former, most in marshy grounds, and are like ours of *Europe*, but much more tough, and therefore not so valuable, altho' in the main they are good food.

CRANES, BITTERN, MAGPIES, and SEA-MEWS.

THE last of them are grey. The *Blacks* look upon the bittern as a foreteller of things to come.

EAGLES,

ARE not wanting, nor do they differ from those we have in *Europe*; yet some are not altogether alike: the print represents one of this latter sort, which is pretty scarce to be found any where, unless in the province of *Acra*; and is there call'd the crowned eagle. PLATE 18.

I saw once, at *Cabo Corso* castle, a tall bird, feather'd much like a peacock, its legs like those of a stork, and the bill near upon that of a heron, having a tuft of plumes on its head, in the nature of a crown; which they reckoned there to be another species of eagle: but I could not be satisfied of the appellation; for eagles are not thus shaped, and long legged.

They reckon here, for a third species of eagles, a large bird, whose head is much like that of a turkey; and call them *Passaro de Deos*, or God's bird, to which the *Blacks* pay such a veneration, that it is a capital crime to kill one; tho' it is a creature that destroys all their poultry and corn, wherever it comes, is disagreeable to behold, and has a nauseous scent, is perpetually keeping

keeping in muddy nasty places; and yet is reckoned a deity among the natives: who, to feed and serve it every day, boil meat, lay it on the hills, and promontories, where it haunts the most.

Birds like a falcon.

There is another sort of ravenous bird, much like a falcon; and tho' but a little bigger than a dove, strong enough to fly away with the largest poultry.

The KITES,

STEAL all the chickens, flesh, or fish, they can spy, even out of the hands of the *Black* women, as they go along the street, or sit in the market; but especially fish.

Another sort.

There is a fowl about as large as a hen, the upper part of its body speckled brown or black, with white; and the under, either red or orange colour; having a tuft of speckled feathers rising like a comb. Its bill in proportion to the body, is extraordinary thick and long.

No larks, nor peacocks.

I never heard of any peacocks or larks in this country.

CROWN-BIRD.

HERE is sometimes seen a fine bird, of many various colours, as white, black, brown, red, green, sky-colour, blue, &c. having a long tail, the feathers whereof the *Blacks* wear on their heads.

This curious rare bird is called the crown-bird, because some have a gold colour, or a charming blue tuft on their heads, much in the form of the tufts we have seen on the *Virginia* nightingales. Some call this bird the *Guinea* peacock. It is common at *Fida*, and is a bird of prey, of which more hereafter.

The POKKOE,

PLATE 17. fig. E.

IS a bird as ugly as rare to come at, exactly the size of a goose; its wings extraordinary long and broad, of dark coloured feathers. The under part of its body covered with ash coloured feathers, or rather hairs, for they are as like the one as the other; having under his neck a maw, about a span long, as thick as a man's arm, like a red skin, in which it lays up its food, as the monkeys do in their chops. The neck, which is pretty long, and the red knob on the nape, is garnish'd with the same sort of feathers, or hairs, as the under part of the body; in proportion to which, the head is much too large, and excepting a very few hairs it has, is very bald. The eyes are large and black, the bill extraordinary long and thick.

This creature feeds commonly on fish, which when tossed it catches very nimbly, and swallows down whole into its crop or maw; and will at once devour as much fish

as would serve four men. It is likewise a *BARBOT*, lover of rats, swallows them whole, and sometimes they will spring up half digested out of the crop.

When a boy or dog is fet on them, they will make a good defence, pecking and striking them with their bills very smartly, which makes a noise, as if two ticks were striking one upon another.

There is another fine bird, somewhat like the former in shape, its feathers inter-

mixed all over the body, red, white, black, blue, and several other colours; its eyes large and yellow; standing on its legs, which are very long, as well as the neck, and stretching it upward, it is near six foot high. Some of these tall birds are found in the country of *Acron*, near the rivers, and 'tis likely they feed on fish.

Another bird has all the feathers about its body chequered yellow and light blue; its bill long, and pointed sharp; a black semi-circle round the neck; a long tail of blue, yellow, and black feathers; and a few feathers on its head; it feeds upon corn and other grain.

Another bird of the same species and form as the last, differs only, in that its bill is thick, short, and black; the under part of its body black; the back of a curious fine yellow; and the feet again black.

Another sort is much like the former, but grey and yellow, having a sharp bill, and long feet and claws, in proportion to its size.

There is another small bird, shaped almost like a sparrow, his head and breast black as jet; his wings and feet grey; the rest of his body of a bright red. This bird is very fine.

Another curious bird is yet finer than the last; the wings and upper part of the body entirely blue, inclining to sky, as the feathers of his pretty long neck, and the tuft on his head; his breast is of a dark yellow, mixt with some red and blue feathers; his feet and bill very thick and long, both of a bright reddish colour: it harbours commonly about the rivers, and there feeds on fish. This bird may, as well as the *Gold Coast* pheasant, have the pre-eminence for beauty over all the feathered kind in *Guinea*, and perhaps of any other parts of the world.

They have also another sort of grain-devouring bird, whose neck, breast, and under part of the body is of a kind of orange-colour; the head all black, only on the fore-part of it, a lively yellow spot; the wings, and upper part of the body, are black; and his tail is intermix'd with red, yellow, and black feathers.

Another bird, about as big as the former, has a beautiful red breast, and under part of his body; the upper part, wings,

and

BARBOT and tail, as black as jet; and the top of his head of a bright yellow; and a sharp bill, somewhat crooked.

The *Blacks* talk much of a bird twice as big as a sparrow, having a few small specks on his feathers, which some call stars; his cry or voice is hollow and piercing. If the *Blacks* are upon a journey, and chance to hear him on the left hand, they will proceed no farther, but return home as is reported.

PLATE 18.
Parroquets.

I have drawn the figure of a small parroquet, which some call the *Guinea* sparrow; for no other reason, I suppose, but because these little birds are as numerous and mischievous to the corn, and other fruits of the country, as the sparrows properly so call'd, which I have said to be infinite all over the country; for the form, and feathers of the parroquets, is as different from that of a right sparrow, as a black man is from a white. The *Blacks* call them *Aburonce*; and they are generally sold for a piece of eight per dozen.

Mouree, Anamabo, Cormentin, Acron, Berku, and Acra, are full of these fine pretty birds.

They ply about those places in prodigious swarms, as the starlings do in some parts of *France*, doing much harm to the corn.

They are very beautiful creatures, of a lovely light green, mix'd with a charming red; and some have also a few black and yellow feathers: one half of the head, from the eye to the bill, which is white, and exactly framed like a parrot's, of a curious orange-colour; their tail intermixt with black, yellow, and orange-colour streaks athwart the feathers, which are there pretty long.

The trading ships on the coast, seldom fail of taking many of these lovely creatures aboard in cages, but they are so tender, that most of them commonly die in their passage to *France, England, or Holland*, notwithstanding all the care that can be taken of them. Of all the great numbers I used to carry away from the coast every voyage, I could save but very few alive when arrived in *France*. The change of climate and food, or what I believe affects them most, the cold weather, is insupportable to them.

I also observ'd that the firing of great guns aboard ship, was so dreadful to them, that several of mine would drop down dead at the noise.

These rare birds cannot be taught to pronounce any distinct words in any language, at least, that I did ever hear or know, tho' I took all the pains I could take to teach some; yet there are persons who affirm, they had some who would utter a few words in *French*, which I will not contradict: but

several of them kept together in a cage in good dry hot weather, will make a pretty sweet pleasant natural chanting. I observ'd that the hen usually perches on the left side of the cock, and seldom offers to eat but after him. The cock is generally somewhat larger in size and bulk than the hen, and has a greater variety of colours in his feathers, and the green somewhat deeper.

I am sorry the engraver has not been nice enough in his cut, so as to represent this bird as my drawing did; but there being few places in *Europe*, where these creatures are not pretty common, what they appear to every body, will rectify the defect of the print.

There is another sort of parroquets, somewhat larger than the former, but not commonly to be had on the coast; their whole body is of a curious deep red, with only a black streak across the back, and the tail entirely black. Other parroquets.

The parrots are not much seen about the coast, unless here and there one that wanders from the inland countries, where they are very numerous in the woods. Parrots.

They are all over blue, only some have a few red feathers in their wings or tails. No green ones are to be found on the coast, nor along farther eastward round the gulph of *Guinea*, as far as cape *Lope-Gonzalez*.

This bird is so well known all over *Europe*, whither great numbers are transported every year, tho' formerly much more than is now practised, that I forbear mentioning any thing more of it; and shall only take notice, that at the coast they bear a greater price, and are more esteem'd than in *Europe*: for some will there give almost an ounce of gold, in goods, for a prattling parrot. Every body knows the young ones are most apt to learn to talk, and of such, the traveller has choice at prince's island in the gulph, where they are very numerous, and bought raw and unskill'd for a piece of eight. Of these, we had once half a hundred or more aboard the ship, and twice as many monkeys; of both which, but few remain'd alive when we arrived in *France*.

There are many bats and owls in the country; and very large ones, which are nothing different from those we have in *Europe*.

This is all the account that can be given of the birds and fowls of that country; but it is not to be infer'd that there are no other sorts, for those we have mention'd do not, perhaps, amount to the third part of what are seen; but do not fall into our hands.

REPTILES and INSECTS.

WE will, in the next place, say something of reptiles and insects, or whatever has a relation to either.

As

As for serpents and snakes, I have already said enough of them in the fourteenth chapter of this book, to which I refer.

TOADS and FROGS,

ARE as numerous and common at the coast, and in the inland parts of the country, as in *Europe*, and of the same shape; but the toads are there, in some places, of so prodigious a bulk and bigness, that they may easily be taken, at a distance, for land-tortoises.

West toads. At *Adja* or *Egga*, betwixt *Mouree* and *Cormentin*, there is a vast number of toads of that immense size, commonly as large as table-plates, which are very hideous.

At the beginning of the rainy season, at cape *Corso* there is an extraordinary number of them.

I have observ'd before, that this ugly creature has a natural antipathy for snakes, and many persons have been eye-witnesses of several combats betwixt them.

The SCORPION,

PLATE 18. IS generally of the size and form you see in the print, which is drawn as big as the life; but there are some as large as small lobsters: and all of them have two large claws and feet, and their whole body covered with long hair.

Some have a small bladder full of venom, of half a finger's breadth, at the end of their tails, adjoining to the sharp crooked prick or horn that is at the end of the tail; with which, if they strike or prick either at men or brutes, the hurt is certainly mortal, if not speedily remedied.

The most certain cure is to bruise the same scorpion, if it can be catched, on the wounded part of the body; as our chief surgeon cured one of our men at prince's island, who being at felling of wood, was thus prick'd by a scorpion in the heel.

At *Acapulco*, in *West-Mexico* in *America*, where there are abundance of terrible scorpions, they use, when going to bed, to rub all about the beds with garlick.

Another certain remedy against this sting, and the pain of it, is to stroke the part that was hurt with a child's private member, which immediately takes away the pain, and then the venom exhales. The moisture that comes from a hen's mouth, is good for the same.

MILLEPEDES.

THE insect here call'd *Millepedes*, and by the *Portuguese* *Centipedes*, of which there is a multitude in the country, is also very troublesome to man; for tho' it does not sting so dangerously as the scorpion, yet it certainly causes very sharp pains for three or four hours; after which, they quite cease without the least remains of uneasiness.

VOL. V.

This insect is about a span long when at *BARBOT*. full growth; flat, speckled like other worms: having two small horns or claws, with which it strikes. It has fifteen or twenty feet on each side of the body, more or less. There is no place on the coast free from these vermin.

BEEES,

ARE not very plenty at the *Gold Coast*, in comparison of what there are about *Rio de Gabon*, *Cape Lopez*, and farther to the southward of the gulph of *Guinea*: as I shall hereafter observe. They harbour there in the woods, and make their honey and wax in hollow trunks of trees. Both the honey and wax are very good, but not like ours in *France*: however, they afford the *Blacks* very great profit by trade with the *Europeans*.

CIGARRAS,

ARE a thick, broad-headed, mouthless sort of flies, which commonly sit on trees, and sing, after a shrieking manner, day and night, and live only on the dew of heaven, which they suck in by a long sharp tongue, placed on the breast.

There are also frogs, and such prodigious numbers of grasshoppers, or rather locusts, coming in swarms like thick clouds, from the far inland countries, as some suppose from the desarts of *Lybia* and *Zara*, to this part of *Guinea*, where they brouze all the plantations of corn in such a manner, that it causes almost a famine in the land.

There are land-crevices, which eat very sweet, being much of the taste of the land-crabs in the *French* islands of *America*. These crevices harbour, like those, under ground.

There are also large black flies, which in a dark night give a kind of light; and abundance of glow-worms, crickets, caterpillars, and many species of worms, spiders, butterflies, gnats, ants, and beetles; but of ants and gnats most prodigious numbers all over the coast: and more particularly at and about *Aera*, where the country is flat and level. The ants are of various sorts, great and small, white, red, and black; the sting of the red inflames to a great degree, and is more painful than that of the millepedes. The white are as transparent as glass, and bite so forcibly, that in the space of one night they can eat their way through a wooden chest, and make it as full of holes, as if it had been shot through with hail-shot.

These insects make nests ten or twelve foot high in the earth, which they wonderfully raise up in the fields and hills, in a pyramidal form, so firm and solid, that they are not easily beaten down; and when they are, it is very surprising to observe the number of divisions and apartments, that are within those nests, corresponding exactly

BARBOT. ONE to another; some of those rooms are filled with their provisions, which the prudent animal gathers from the fields; others are filled with their excrements, and others are dwelling-rooms.

From those nests, (one of which, see PLATE 18. in the figure I drew at *Acra*) they range all about the country, and come into the forts and chambers of the *Europeans*, in such swarms, that they oblige them to quit their beds, in the night, biting very sharply; and are of so devouring a nature, that if they attack a live sheep, or goat, in the night, it is found a perfect skeleton in the morning: and this they do so nicely, that the best anatomist could not perform it more artificially than they do. Chickens, and even rats, tho' so nimble, cannot escape them; for as soon as one or more attacks a rat, he is assaulted on all sides by a multitude of them, till so many fall on, that they over-power, and never leave him, till they grow to a body strong enough to remove him to a safe place.

It is really a great diversion to observe the singular instinct of so small a creature in all their proceedings and performances, and it would almost persuade, that they had a sort of language among them, considering what harmony and order they observe: for if you place a beetle, or a worm, where only two or three of these insects are, they immediately depart, and return in a minute, bringing with them above a hundred; and if that number is not sufficient, in another moment, more are called: after which they fall all together on their prey, and march off with it very regularly, assisting each other in carrying off the burden. Hence it must be, that some are of opinion, and affirm, that the ants have a king, who is as large as a cray-fish.

The gnats are another inconvenience to the inhabitants, in the night-time, especially near the woods and marshy grounds. Their sting is very sharp, and causes swellings and violent pains; whence it is easy to conceive, with what I have said of the ants, and the excessive heat of the climate, what a troublesome life people must lead, where 'tis scarce possible to have an hour of quiet sleep; and provisions are but very indifferent.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the several sorts of fish in the sea of Guinea; as the king-fish, fetisso, and many more generally eaten; as also of the grampusses, sword-fish, and sharks; of the porpoise, the remora, and the flying-fish.

FISH in general.

BY what I have before observed of the nature of the flesh of tame cattle, chickens, and other tame fowl; it appears, that tho' they be indifferent large, yet they

I shall conclude this description of insects, with something of spiders, of which there are several sorts; but I shall confine myself to one, called by the *Blacks Ananfi*.

This animal is monstrous large, his body long, his head sharp, broader before than behind, and not round, as most spiders are; his legs hairy, ten in number, and the thickness of a little finger. Which far surpasses the largeness of the *Tarantula*, a kind of field-spider, of *Abruzzo*, *Calabria*, *Tuscany* and *Romania* in *Italy*, commonly as big as an ordinary acorn: so dangerous to mankind, that a person stung by it, changes an hundred ways in a moment, weeping, dancing, vomiting, quaking, laughing, growing pale, fainting away, feeling horrid pains, and finally dies in a very short time, if not speedily relieved. The effectual cure is by sweating, and antidotes; but the grand and only remedy is musick, as is affirmed by several physicians, and travellers, eyewitnesses of the disease, and the cure thereof. This wonderful insect has four legs on each side, like the common large spiders, in form and length. As to the *African* spiders, I never learnt any thing of their natural qualities, good or bad. I suppose there are but few such hideous insects in the country about, and in the bay of *Campeche* in *South America*, is a sort of spiders of a prodigious size, some as big as a man's fist, with long small legs, like ours in *Europe*; but have two teeth, or rather horns, an inch and a half or two inches long, and of a proportionable bigness, which are as black as jet, smooth as glass, and their small end sharp as a thorn: They are not strait, but bending, and preserved for tooth-pickers, and to pick pipes in smoking tobacco.

The *Blacks*, who have always strange notions, as has been said of them elsewhere, believe the first man was made by this horrid insect; and few can be made sensible, by our way of reasoning with them on this head, of their folly and stupidity.

At *Cabo-Corso*, in the rainy months of *June* and *July*, they have a sort of insects, which are a kind of spiders, about the bigness of a beetle, the form nearest to a crab-fish, with an odd kind of orifice, visible in the belly, whence the web proceeds.

are very light, and that the sorry food they have, instead of a firm, produces only a spongy, loose and tough flesh, of an ungrateful taste: whence it is natural to infer, that it were almost impossible for men in general,

general, and much more for *Europeans* to subsist there; if the want of good flesh and other necessary provisions, were not very happily supply'd by the sea, which, by a particular providence daily affords a prodigious quantity of very good, large and small fish of several sorts, as well as the rivers; so that abundance of *Blacks* and *Whites* also can live tolerably upon bread, fish, and palm-oil, tho' that food has the same effect on them, rendring their bodies poor and light, in proportion to their bulk.

Thirty sorts of fish.

There are above thirty sorts of sea-fish, commonly taken and eaten, besides many other kinds accidentally caught at some particular seasons. I shall first speak of some of the largest.

The KING-FISH,

PLATE 18.

Represented in the cut, is reckoned by the *English* at cape *Corso*, one of the best fishes in those parts, when in season. It is extraordinary fat and delicious, and when boiled, tastes somewhat like eels; but gutted and dry'd, is eaten instead of salmon. At full growth, it is about five foot long, and at some times, there are vast shoals along the coast, when abundance are taken.

Call'd Saffer and Negro.

Some call it the *Saffer*, and others the *Negro*, for its black skin. It commonly harbours among rocks, and sometimes comes into such shallow water, that the *Blacks*, when they go to strike fish at night, with a light, as I have observ'd before, will sometimes kill these with an iron tool, or with a three-pointed harping iron, or morlin.

FETISSO FISH.

AT my first voyage, whilst we lay before *Comendo*, some fishermen, near our ship, took a fish about seven foot long, shaped as exactly represented in the figure.

A delicious fish.

The *Blacks* call'd it *Fetisso*, but for what reason I cannot determine, unless it be to express, that it is too rare and sweet for mortals to eat, and only fit for a deity: the word *Fetisso*, which in *Portuguese* signifies sorcery, being by the *Blacks* apply'd to all things they reckon sacred, because the *Portuguese* gave the name of sorcery to all their superstitions. It was, indeed, a most beautiful fish, tho' the skin is brown and swarthy about its back, but grows lighter and lighter the nearer it comes to the stomach and belly. It had a strait snout, with a sort of horn at the end of it, very hard and sharp pointed, above three spans long; and another small strait horn on the upper part of its mouth. The eyes large and bright, and on each side of the body, beginning at the gills, four longish cuts, or openings. As I remember, the *Blacks* would not sell it at any rate, but only allowed me the liberty of drawing its figure, as it appears in the cut; and were much amazed to see it so well represented.

PLATE 18.

Nor was that astonishment peculiar to them, *BARBOT.* for many others there, on the *Gold Coast*, at *Sierra Leona*, *Sestro* river, and other places, *Blacks admire* very much admired to see me make the *drawing.* figure of any creature upon paper.

I am apt to believe the *Blacks* look upon this fish, as a sort of deity; tho' I did not hear they paid it any religious worship. If they do, there is nothing new in paying adoration to a fish; for the *Philistines* in the first ages of the world adored *Dagon*, which was an idol, half man, and half fish; the word *Dagon*, in their language, signifying a fish; and that those Gentiles look'd upon as the great God, *Judges* xvi. 23. *Dagon our God has delivered Sampson our enemy into our hands.* *Dagon* represented *Neptune*, the god of the sea, and by him perhaps was meant *Noah*. The *Syrians*, according to *Cicero* and *Xenophon*, ador'd some large tame fishes, kept in the river *Chalus*, and would not suffer any person to go about to disturb them. The *Syro-Phenicians*, according to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, adored those fishes with as much zeal, as the *Elians* worshipped *Jupiter*; and *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, the *Syrians* did not eat fish, but ador'd them as gods. *Plutarch* mentions the *Oxindrites* and *Cynophites*, *Egyptian* nations, which having been long at war about killing a fish they esteemed sacred, were so weakned, that the *Romans* subdued and made them slaves.

The *Brazilian* cod, is a delicate fat fish, as large as the ordinary *Newfoundland* cods, and plentiful enough. *Brazil cod.*

There are *Pikes* and *Jacks*, great and small, which, when in season, are fat and better than in some parts of *Europe*. *Pikes.*

Flounders are very plentiful, differing considerably from ours, in shape, thickness, and goodness, wherein they far exceed them. *Flounders.*

Plaife are not altogether like ours, nor are they plentiful. I am apt to believe they are the same sort of fish the *French* at *Goeree* call the *Cabo Verde* half-moon, the figure whereof is in the cut. *Plaife.*

PLATE 20.

There are also dorados, corcobados, or gilt-heads, and other large fish; as black and white carabins, which are very plentiful and cheap, and commonly serve the meaner sort of people, who reckon them good food; but the dorados, when in season, are very good. *Gilt-heads.*

There are three or four sorts of bream in great abundance, two sorts whereof particularly are very fat and delicate. The *Dutch* there call it *Roejend* and *Jacob Evertzen*. *Bream.*

The sea-toad, is a fish of a small size, eaten by the common sort of *Blacks*, the fins of them very curious, as appears by the figure in the cut. The head of it is much like that of a frog, or toad, whence it has the name. *Sea-toad.*

PLATE 18.

BARBOT. The pife-pampher, is a fort of small flat fish, which in delicacy furpaffes all others on the coast.

Pife-pampher.
In *June, July, and August*, at *Comendo* and *Mina* they catch a prodigious quantity of a small fish, represented in the cut, which is very good, and tastes much like our pilchards; but is full of small bones. It bites quick, and five, six, or eight of them are taken at a time; if there be so many hooks to one line. The hooks are always kept playing upon the surface of the water, where the fish generally swims.

PLATE 18. Another sort of fish, is much larger than the last, which see in the cut.
Coverer. The coverer is flat, and rounder than the pife-pampher.

Mackarel. There are mackarel at some seasons, but few caught, nor are they exactly shaped like ours in *England*; therefore the *French* call them *Trezabar*; looking as beautiful in the sea, as our mackarel, of a fine emerald green, mixed with a silver white on the back.

Machorans, or horn-fish.
The machorans, so called by the *French*, and by the *Dutch* *Baerd Maneties*, from five pretty long excrescencies, which hang at the end of their chops, like a beard, and on each side of the mouth, just under the eyes, one much longer, as represented in the figure.

PLATE 19. At the upper fin on its back, and at the under one on the belly, is a long hard sharp horn, the prick whereof causes violent pains and great swellings, as if there were some venomous nature in it, as many sailors have experienc'd to their cost, when accidentally hurt by it; and for that reason, many do not care to eat of the fish in the *Leward* islands of *America*, where there is great plenty of them and very large; as also because they feed there among the *Manzarella* trees, which produce a sort of poisonous apples, tho' very beautiful, and of a charming red. This fish feeding in *America* on that fruit, it can not but be dangerous to eat; but being caught out at sea in *Africa*, and there being no such trees on the coast, I cannot think it is any way hurtful; besides that experience shows the contrary, they being commonly eaten and found good wholesome fish. Those of the coast of *America*, are generally larger, and mix'd yellow, sky-colour, and brown: the *English* call it the horn-fish, and when first caught, it seems to groan,

Aboei. Among the small fish is the *Aboei*, somewhat like our trouts, but much firmer and more delicate. Thousands of them are caught every day along the coast.

Thorn-backs.
There is no less plenty of thornbacks, both great and small, which differ not in shape from ours; but some of them are blue, all over spotted, as in the print drawn at cape *Verde*. The season for them is in *May*: the

Blacks strike them with harping irons.

Soles are extraordinary good, but longer Soles, and narrower than ours in *Europe*, as in the figure.

PLATE 20. Dabs are nothing inferior to them in Dabs. goodness.

In *October* and *November* they catch near the shore, with long nets, abundance of a sort of pikes, which the *French* call *Begune*, shaped as in the plate.

PLATE 6. In *December* they take the fish call'd *Carangoues*, whereof there are two sorts, the one having large round eyes, and the other small ones, as in the same plate. They have large forked fins on their backs, and very thick forked tails.

There are also two sorts of sprats, great and small, mighty plentiful, both very fat when in season; but the larger stringy, and therefore not valu'd. The smaller are very agreeable fish, broil'd, or pickled, or dry'd like herrings; all which ways the *Europeans* preserve great quantities.

Lobsters, crabs, prawns, shrimps, and *Shell-fish*, mussels are very common; the lobsters differing somewhat in figure from ours: see the *cape Verde* lobster in the plate. The oysters are commonly extraordinary large.

PLATE 20. The *Bonito*, an excellent fish, is seldom taken there, for it comes not near the shore; but there are prodigious shoals of them playing in the deep sea, and particularly about the equinoctial. See the figure of them naturally drawn in the plate.

PLATE 18. There are three other sorts of fish, which come out of the sea, and stay in rivers.

The *Carmou* is a white fish, the largest of the kind about three quarters of a yard long, and as thick as a man's arm. It would be very delicious, if not too fat and oily.

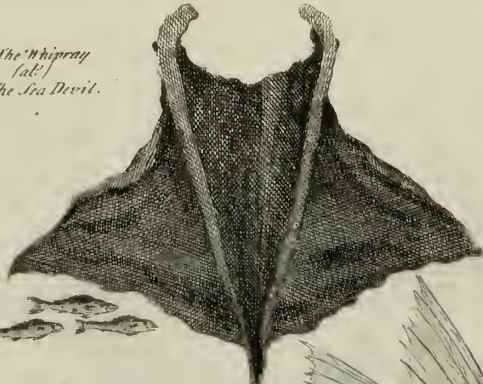
The mullet, whose figure see in the plate, differs from ours in that it has not so thick a head, but is very near as good food.

The *Batavia*, when at full growth, is different good meat, if it does not taste muddy, as it is apt to do.

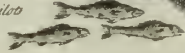
PLATE 20. In *December* there is great plenty of *Corcovados*, or moon-fish, of colour whitish, almost flat, and pretty thick about the back, but near round, for which reason the *European* sea-faring men call it the moon. See the figure. The proper bait for them is bits of fugar-canes. The flesh is somewhat fullsome.

There are many other sorts of fish about the coast, which I think needless to mention, as having already taken notice of the principal sorts: so that a lover of fish may there please his appetite, and make a good meal for six-pence at most; and such as cannot afford so much, may eat their fill at half the charge in the summer-season, for at that time there is alway one sort of fish or other in the market very cheap; but in the winter-

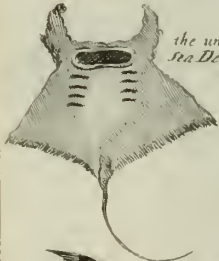
The Whipray
(alt)
The Sea Devil.



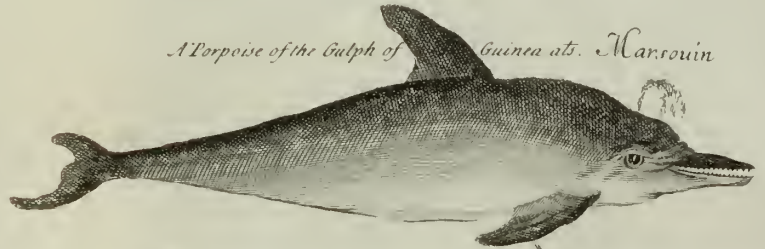
his Pilot



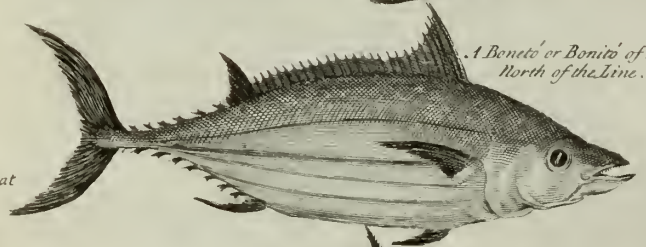
the under Part of the
Sea Devil.



A Porpoise of the Gulph of Guinea ats. Marrouin



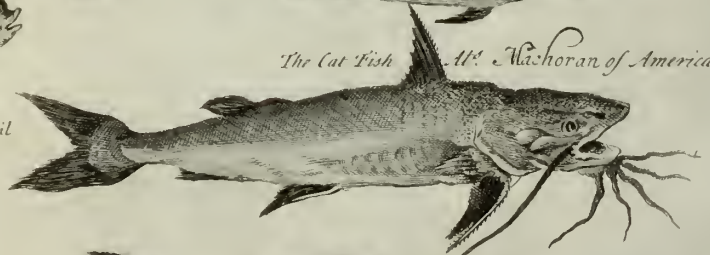
A Boneto or Bonito of the
North of the Line.



A Flying
Fish with great
Wings



The Cat Fish At. Nacchoran of America.



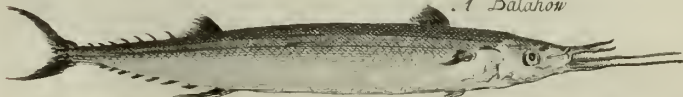
the Pilot of the Devil
of the Sea



a Flying Fish



A Balahow



This Fish is not common in Guinea but very plenty
about the Antilles Islands in the N. Sea of America.



the Upper part of the head of the Balahow



a Hornfish of natural bigness
or Caffre de Mori.



a Cape Verde Moon



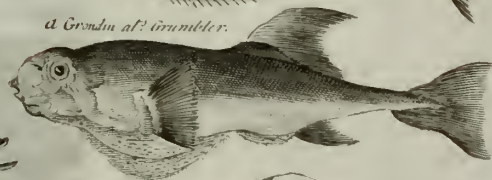
a Kind of Barbelle



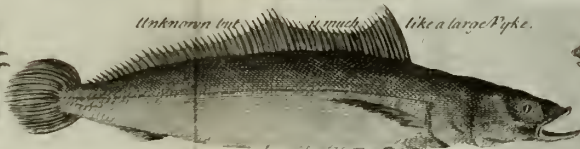
a Wulter
of the Bay of Musica.



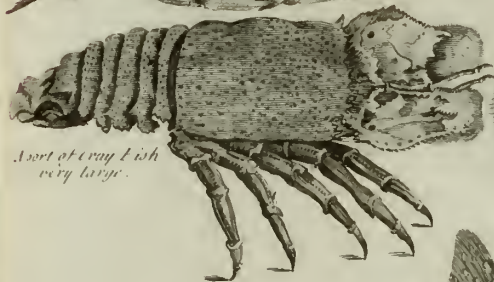
a Grandin al' Grumbler.



Unknown but is much
like a large Pyke.



A sort of cray fish
very large.



a fardo with Broadback



Unknown Fish.

A. The dangerous pricking
Horn of this Fish.



The Stingray spotted.

A lot of Cape Verde.

The Cat Fish of Cape Verde.



an Incornet
al' Scuttle Fish.

The only Bone of y^e Scuttle Fish,
almost transparent.

A. King



winter-season, or foul weather, the scarcity of fish is such, that the poor soldiers and labourers, as also the meaner sort of natives, are scarce able to subsist.

Besides the several sorts of sea and river-fishes, which I have already mention'd, generally eaten by the people of the country; they often see about the coast, three other very large kinds, viz. a sort of small whales, known by the name of grampusses; the sword-fish, and the shark: it will not be unacceptable to give a short account of each.

The GRAMPUSSES,

*Spouting
of water.*

BY the *French* are call'd *Souffleurs*, that is, blowers, or spouters, from their blowing as it were spouts of water out at their nostrils when they rise upon the surface of the sea, holding up their snouts, as I have seen thousands of them together in a shoal, for three or four miles in circumference; either in the gulph of *Guinea*, or to the southward of the *Line*: which at a distance in calm scorching weather look like huge blocks swimming on the ocean.

*Their
shape.*

The *Dutch* call them *Noord-Kapers*, and they are commonly about thirty-five or forty foot long, and sometimes longer; being of the species of whales, tho' somewhat longer, and not so thick in proportion, as near as I could discern at a very small distance; for they would sometimes come within pistol-shot of our ships, in the open sea.

Swiftness.

They are very swift in their motions, and it is almost incredible how nimble they appear, considering their prodigious length and bulk; and tho' we often shot at them with muskets, and certainly hit some, we could not perceive they were so wounded as to stand still.

*Fright
small fish.*

These creatures, in fine weather, when the fishermen are at the height of their sport, about the coast, come towards the shore, and put all the smaller fish into such a fright, that they all immediately fly out to sea, and even the next day there is scarce one to be seen about the land, by which it appears that these monsters devour them.

The SWORD-FISH,

*Whence so
call'd.*

IS so call'd, on account of a flat bone it bears at the end of the snout, about a yard or an ell long, and a hand broad; along which there are about seventeen or nineteen points, like teeth, as long as a man's finger, on each side, for the most part rugged, and one more on the one side than on the other. I should think this might be as well call'd the comb-fish.

*Enemy to
whales.*

It is from seven to ten foot long, and extraordinary thick in proportion; and it is generally affirm'd, that it drives away the whales with the sword in the snout; which I report not of my own knowledge,

but the *Greenland* sailors say they have often seen instances of the enmity between the whale and the sword-fish, observing them to fight and strike at one another so furiously, as to make the water fly about like rain, sometimes the one and sometimes the other getting the better; but for the most part, they cannot stay to see the end of the battle.

The SHARK,

BY the *French* call'd *Requien*, which I have drawn by the life in the cut in the supplement, is an extraordinary ravenous creature, of a vast size, some of them being twenty, and some thirty foot long, very large and thick, their head broad and flat, and the snout sharp-pointed. If a man happens to fall over-board, and these monsters are at hand, they soon make him their prey; and I have often observ'd, that when we threw a dead slave into the sea, particularly about the mouth of the bay of prince's island, in the gulph of *Guinea*, one shark would bite off a leg, and another an arm, whilst others sunk down with the body; and all this was done in less than two minutes; they dividing the whole corps among them so nicely, that the least particle of it was not to be seen, not even of the bowels.

On the other hand, it is pleasant enough to observe what strange motions there are among them upon such occasions: for if one happens to come too late for his share of a dead body thrown overboard, he is ready to devour the rest, and seldom fails to attack one or other of them with the greatest violence, when rearing their heads and half their bodies above the surface of the water, they give one another such terrible blows, that they make the sea about them foam.

Providence has so order'd it, that this ravenous creature has its mouth far behind the snout, and low; so that it is obliged to turn on its back to bite at any thing: and were it not for this, the creature would be much more dreadful.

It is so well known to most sailors, and has been so often described by other travellers, that it will be needless to give a larger account; besides that, the figure of it exactly drawn, as I have said above, will give full satisfaction: but for the information of those who have never seen any, I cannot but add, that its eyes, tho' very small in proportion to the body, and round, look like a bright flaming fire. The jaw-bones or chops are so wonderfully framed or join'd together, that when occasion requires to prey on something that is very large, they can open a mouth of a prodigious width and bigness, within which are three rows, above and below, of very sharp and strong teeth, which at once cut off a man's arm, leg, head,

BARBOT. head, or any other part of the body. It has been observ'd, that missing the bait, it will return three times, tho' before torn by the hook; and I have been told, that there was found in the belly of one of them a knife and six pounds of bacon.

Brings
forth
young.

It does not spawn like other fish, nor lay eggs as tortoises do, but brings forth young as the beasts do, having a matrix, and all the rest like a fish; as has also the seal-fish, which somewhat resembling a small shark, has by some been taken for another sort of them; but when well examin'd, as I have done several times, it appears very different, which may be seen in the cut in the supplement, representing a seal-fish, which the *French* call *Rouffette*, and whereof I shall speak more at large hereafter in the supplement.

Multitudes
of
them.

To return to the shark, there are every where vast multitudes of them between the tropicks; and more particularly on the coast of *Guinea*, or *Arguin*, on the coast of *Geneboa*, corruptly call'd *Barbary*, to the northward of *Senega*, down to *Angola*, and farther south, either out at sea or near the shore, all along those coasts; and they are of all sizes, some vastly big, and others small, according to their ages.

Skin and
colour.

Their skins are of a dark brown, almost over all the body, and whitish just under the belly, having neither scales nor shells, but a thick oily fat roughness like shagreen adorn'd with streaks across very orderly down on each side of the back. It swims incredibly swift, and great multitudes of them usually follow our slave-ships some hundred leagues at sea, as they sail out from the gulph of *Guinea*; as if they knew we were to throw some dead corps over board almost every day. They are seldom seen far out at sea, unless in a calm, following ships to catch whatsoever is thrown out.

Pilot-fish.

They are commonly attended by a sort of little fishes, about as big as pilchards, but somewhat rounder shaped, swimming before them, without ever being hurt by those ravenous monsters, which through a particular instinct never devour them, as they do all other fishes they can master. These small ones are call'd *Pilot-Fishes*, from their swimming before the others; and it is observ'd, that very often, when a shark is taken with a hook, and drawn aboard a ship, this *Pilot-Fish* clings to his back, and is taken with him: and I have heard that some sharks have been taken with the *Remora* fish sticking to them.

Taking of
sharks.

Those days we threw no dead bodies over board, and when the weather was moderate, we diverted ourselves with catching of sharks, with long thick iron hooks, fastned to an iron chain, having a large piece of bacon, or stinking meat, for a bait;

which way we soon caught some: but in haling them aboard with a rope, or tackle, were always fain to keep clear, because beside the danger of their sharp teeth, they strike with the tail; which is so prodigious strong, that should it hit a man, it would not fail to break an arm or a leg, if not worse.

No creature is harder to kill; for when cut in pieces, they will all move. They have a sort of marrow in the head, which hardens in the sun, and being powder'd and taken in white wine, is very good for the cholick.

Notwithstanding these creatures are so ravenous, as has been said, they are not so in the same degree on the *Gold Coast* as elsewhere; tho' abundance of them swarm along that shore, and are frequently taken: which may be attributed to the vast quantity of fish it always finds thereabouts, to satiate its greedy appetite. In confirmation of which opinion it is observed, that at *Fida* and *Ardra*, where there is much scarcity of fish on the coast, the sharks are more ravenous after any dead corps, or other flesh that is thrown over board.

The flesh of a large shark is commonly tough, and therefore not much liked by *Europeans*; but the *Blacks* in general eat it as a dainty, after it has lain rotting and stinking eight or ten days, according to their custom; and a great trade of it is driven into the inland country.

The smaller sharks, of about six or eight foot long, are the best to eat, boil'd, and press'd, and then stew'd with vinegar and pepper; which way many *European* seamen eat it, when they are in want.

To conclude this discourse concerning fish, I shall mention three other sorts. The first is

The PORPOISE,

OF which there are swarms in this *Guinea* ocean, and they often appear near the shore. This fish is universally so well known, that I shall not spend much time upon it, having given the figure of it in the cut.

PLATE 19.

The *French* call it *Marfouin*. It is wonderful to see how swift they are, and what vast shoals there are of them in the gulph of *Guinea*, playing about in a brisk gale of wind, and skipping about a ship that has a good run. We one day there struck five of them with our harping-irons, and had leisure enough to view them exactly.

They were about five foot long, and very fleshy, or rather all fat, except the head, which is tolerable good meat, being first well salted some days, then boil'd and well season'd, yet it is afterwards uneasy upon the stomach, being too fat and oily. The flesh of their bodies was cut into slices, and after it had lain several days in a strong brine,

brine, or pickle, our men hung it up for a time, expos'd to the heat of the sun, and then eat it; but it was still nauseous, the fat being ill-tasted. The ribs and entrails are like those of a hog, bating that they have two stomachs, the one at the end of the œsophage, the other clinging to one side, almost as large as the first; and this last has a little opening, which is the communication between them both. It is full of little cells, like those in the wax, before the honey is taken from it. The duodenum has its rise in the last.

Hot blood. Those fishes, when first laid upon the deck, made a sort of groaning till they expired. Their blood is as hot as that which comes from any beast, and there is a good quantity of it; which is contrary to the nature of other fishes. We took both males and females, each sex having its distinct parts of generation; and they engender by copulation.

Shape. The skin is all over like a whale's, of a pitchy colour, and the body round and plump. The snout is pretty long, and in the mouth are rows of very small sharp teeth, looking at a distance like a saw. This fish will not meddle with a man.

The REMORA,

IS represented in the cut in the supplement, of which the antients have writ, that it will stop a ship under sail. I shall only speak of its head; the upper part of it is quite flat, with twelve small cuts or dents reaching from one end of it to the other, by means whereof it cleaves fast to any piece of timber or stone, as the lampreys do; so that the whole body hangs down: and hence perhaps proceeded that absurd opinion some men in former ages conceiv'd, that it could stop a ship under sail; some part whereof might be possible, if a sloop or smaller vessel had a thousand or more sticking to its sides and stern, they being commonly, at full growth, about three foot long or better, for then they might considerably retard the sailing of such a vessel; but it is ridiculous to say they can have

Absurd notion of it.

any power over great ships under sail, as is BARBOT. pretended.

I observ'd for several days, both in the gulph of *Guinea*, and about the line, that we were follow'd by great numbers of these fishes, and they appear'd very greedy of men's excrements, which they were continually gaping after as they fell to the water; and therefore the slave ships are well attended by them in those parts.

They are nevertheless tolerable good ^{Copulation.} meat, when well dress'd and season'd. The under chop is somewhat longer than the upper; and I believe they engender by copulation, as several other sorts of fish do, particularly whales, sharks, porpoises, and sea-dogs.

The *French* call this fish *Suffet*, or *Re-Names*, *mora*, or *Arrete-nef*; the *English*, the *Sea-Lamprey*.

The FLYING FISH,

IS the third of the three last I promis'd to mention, there being such plenty in those seas, that I shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter; and, for the present, shall only observe, that there are several ^{Several sorts.} sorts of it, and refer you to the two figures of the ^{PLATE 19.} finest I met with in my travels, as exactly represented in the cut.

They are both excellent meat, especially ^{Good meat.} broil'd on a quick fire, and very fine creatures to look to, being about twelve or fifteen inches long.

These, when pursued by the shoals of *Bonitos*, or other greater fishes, which greedily devour them, take their flight above water; but generally not very high, which is the reason that small low vessels catch more of them than the greater and loftier. They fly as long as there is any moisture left in their wings, and then plunge again in the ocean; and it is no small diversion, in some parts of the ocean, to see millions of flying fishes pursued by the vast shoals of *Bonitos* in the water; and out of it, assaulted by many large sea-fowl: whereof I will give a particular account in another place, with a draught of the same.

CHAP. XVII.

The several places and ways for gathering of gold; on mountains, in rivers, and on the sea-shore. Of gold mines. Several sorts of gold. Falsifying of it. How to discover that cheat. Advice to dealers. Love and esteem of gold. Gold weights. Long measure. European fraud.

I Have already, in my description of the inland country beyond the *Gold Coast*, taken notice which country was richest in gold; and that the best and most of that metal was brought down to the coast from *Dinkira*, *Accanez*, *Akim*, *Awine*, *Igwira*, and *Quakoe*.

I am now to show the several ways the ^{Mistaken} *Blacks* have to get this gold, to refute the ^{notion.} opinion receiv'd among many persons in *Europe*, who have been persuaded that the most of it is dug out of mines; and perhaps believe it is here as with the *Spaniards* at *Potosi*, that it is only setting slaves to work these

BARBOT. these mines, and that each of the *European* nations trading on the *Gold Coast*, has a proportion of such mines, whence they dig that metal.

Where, and how GOLD is found.

Three ways and places. **T**HE *Blacks* have three ways to get gold, and three several sorts of places where they find it. The first, where the best gold is found, is on or betwixt some particular hills; the second is in and about some rivers and water-falls; and the third on the sea-shore, where there are little rivulets, into which the gold is driven from the mountains, as well as into the great rivers.

Mines concealed. As for the gold mines, the *Blacks* either through ignorance, or policy, esteem them sacred, and keep all persons in fear of opening, or working them; so that it may well be affirm'd, that from the first times when the *Europeans* began to trade thither to this day, no *European* ever saw any of those gold mines: and I am of opinion, that were the *Blacks* willing to open any of them, they know not how to go about it.

First places to find gold. As to the first sort of places, above mention'd, the *Blacks* having once found where any gold is, dig at random, without the least knowledge of the veins, and separate the metal from the earth which comes up with it. There is no doubt but much more must be thus lost, for want of skill in separating the metal.

Second sort. In the second sort of places, the violence and rapidity of the water-falls, washes down great quantities of earth, carrying the gold along with it, from the hilly and mountainous country, where it is generally thought the gold is produced, rather than in low flat grounds, as the natural philosophers and reason itself informs us. To evince this, the *Blacks* often told me, they found much more of that metal in the rainy season of the year, than at other times; and hence springs their custom, of praying to their deities to send heavy and long showers of rain, that they may grow rich the sooner.

Diving for gold. The inhabitants of *Igwira* and about *Cobra* river, fetch their gold from under and about the rocks that are under water in their rivers, where there are greatest water-falls and torrents. They plunge and dive under the most rapid streams, with a brass basin, or wooden bowl on their head, into which they gather all they can reach to at the bottom; and when full, return to the bank of the river, with the basin on their head again, where other men and women are ready to receive and wash it, holding their basins or bowls against the stream, till all the dross and earth is wash'd away: the gold, if there is any in the basin, by its own weight sinking down to the bottom. When thus cleansed and separated, they turn it into

How cleans'd.

another vessel, till quite clear of sand or earth. The gold comes up some in small grains, some in little lumps as big as pease, or beans, or in very fine dust. This is a very tedious and toilsome way of gathering gold; for I have been assured, that the most dexterous diver cannot get above the value of two ducats a day, one day with another.

The third sort of places for finding of *Third sort.* gold, as at cape *S. Apollonia*, *Mancu*, *Axim* and *Mina*, are the rivers or smaller streams, which run there into the sea; and in their course downwards carry away small particles, or bits of gold, but mostly the dusty part of that metal, into the ocean; and that again being in perpetual agitation by the S S W. and S W. winds, the waves are continually beating upon the strand, which motion of theirs drives up the sand, and among it the gold that was before carry'd out by the rivers, the beach being there very flat.

After a violent night of rain, in the morn- *Gold found on the strand.* ing hundreds of black women and boys repair to those places, stark naked, except what modesty requires should be covered; every one carrying a larger or smaller tray, which they fill full of earth and sand, and then wash it over and over again in the fresh water till quite cleans'd, after the same manner as I mention'd to be done in *Igwira*, and other inland parts. This employment generally holds them till noon, at which time some of them can not get above the value of six-pence; some may perhaps find bits worth six or eight shillings, which is very rare, and sometimes they lose all their labour.

In this manner, all the gold that is yearly *How much exported.* exported from that coast to *Europe*, is gather'd; which, if I may credit some very understanding gentlemen, who have lived long there, amounts to 8000 marks, besides what is sent about to other parts of the world. Of this quantity, the *Dutch* generally have one fourth part, when there is a general peace among the *Blacks*, and all the passes are open and free. The *English* have about a fifth or better. The rest is divided among the *French*, the *Danes*, the *Brandenburgers*, the *Portuguese*, and the interlopers of those nations.

Thus we may say, the whole quantity carry'd away from the *Gold Coast*, amounts to 12000 marks one year with another; which being reckoned at 30 l. sterling per mark, amounts to 240000 l. sterling, or little less, according as the price is higher or lower in the parts of *Europe* where it is disposed of.

Of GOLD MINES.

FROM what has been said of the three several ways the *Blacks* have to get gold, from the earth and rivers, how tedious and difficult it is to gather such quantities as I have mention'd

mention'd are carried yearly from the *Gold Coast*, and the prodigious quantity which always remains in the hands of the *Blacks*; it is natural to believe, as I do, notwithstanding the general receiv'd opinion to the contrary, that up the inland it may be gathered out of mines, tho' perhaps they have not the skill of working them in perfection. Did that country belong to *Europeans*, they would undoubtedly find it to produce much greater treasure than the *Blacks* draw from it; but it is not likely they should ever enjoy that liberty there, and must therefore rest satisfied with what they can get by way of trade.

Reason why
the Blacks
must work
their mines.

I will not be too positive in this assertion, as being only my own private conjecture; but on the other hand, all those who are of the contrary opinion have no better grounds for it than their own notions. For no *European* whatsoever has been so far up the country, as to see whether the inland *Blacks* do not open and work their mines; and we hear of very large pieces of gold, that are there in the hands of particular persons; as for instance, the king of *Igwira*, who the natives say has at the door of his house or palace, if we may so call it, a lump of that rich metal, as big as an ordinary wine hogshhead, which is consecrated and set apart, as that monarch's deity, to which he assigns many hidden prerogatives and virtues: yet I can never believe, that such a lump of gold, as that is reported to be, could ever be dug, or worked out from a mine as it is, but rather, that, if there be any truth in the said report, it must have been made of melted gold: for as far as I could be there informed, by the most understanding persons, gold is seldom dug out of the earth, or found in rivers in any larger pieces or lumps than the bigness of a man's fist.

In confirmation of my opinion, that gold may be dug out of mines up the inland countries, I give here the account I had from some rational and judicious *Blacks*, of the inland parts, who unanimously agreed in this particular; that they had gold mines in their countries, and those not very remote from the coast; but would never tell where, nor how they did work them: so politick and discreet they are in that point, lest foreigners should know them, and be tempted to invade their country, for the sake of those subterraneous treasures.

The kings and rulers of those gold countries make use of this policy not only in regard of foreigners, from whom they would conceal their gold mines; but even extend it to the commonalty of their own people, to whom they inculcate strange ridiculous notions of them, that they may be afraid to offer at breaking up any. As for instance,

they consecrate and make deities of those ^{BARBOT} hills and mountains, which afford most of the precious metal, and the *Blacks* being naturally precise and scrupulous in religious affairs, that alone is sufficient to deter them from making the least attempt upon, or so much as removing one stone from such sanctify'd places. Secondly, as if that were not sufficient to restrain the avarice of those people, their priests tell a thousand extravagant stories of those gold mines; as for example, they make believe such a horrid noise is heard in the mines, that the most undaunted man cannot continue there a moment, without being frighted to death. Thirdly, that whosoever is so bold as to enter the mines, is cruelly beaten by malicious spirits; and others affirm, there is a golden dog that walks about to guard them. Whether it be the policy, or the ignorance of those prime men and priests, which makes them give out such absurdities, is hard to decide; the better sort, as well as the commonalty, being superstitious and void of all knowledge.

Mines sa-
cred.

After all, the *Blacks* own, that the management of their country gold mines is often fatal to those that work in them, for want of skill, they being often buried alive, by the falling in of the earth, or else suffocated by the damps and exhalations rising under ground.

Another argument to believe, that there are such gold mines in the countries not very remote from the coast, is, that in the year 1622, the king of *Guaffo* caused a hill, which is just behind cape *Aldea des Torres*, near little *Commendo*, to be dug, and at first found much gold; but the miners not understanding the business, the earth fell in, ^{A Mine falling in:} and smothered a great number of labourers; whereupon the king ordered, that for the future, no person whatsoever should open any gold mine, and that law has been ever since observed there. By this it appears, that whatsoever tales are told to the contrary, the *Blacks* have opened mines, and are deterred from it rather by the fear of their falling in, than any religious, or superstitious conceits: and perhaps farther up the country, there may be less danger in digging in some places, or more art in managing of the work; for in those things we have no better authority than the imperfect accounts of *Blacks*, most of whom have not been themselves far up the inland, but only traded for the gold they bring down to the sea, at the nearer markets.

But *Igwira* and *Dunkira*, very rich countries in gold, are not very distant from the shore; and *Quakoe*, whence a very great quantity comes down every year to *Acra*, is not above thirty leagues from the coast.

BARBOT. A *Danish* gentleman at *Manfrou* affirmed to me, that gold was dug out of the mines, in the countries of *Accanez* and *Fetu*, at both which places he had been upon the service of the company; and that it is a law there, that whosoever discovers a gold mine, has the one half of the gold it affords, and the king the other half. That he saw very large pieces of gold there, as they came from the mines, each of those kings having a lump of gold, of the circumference of a bushel, which they kept as a deity, and which he swore to me, he saw and touched; and to what purpose that gentleman should swear himself, I cannot see.

SEVERAL SORTS of GOLD.

Two sorts. **I** Come now to treat of the several sorts of gold, in those parts, for it is not every where of the same fineness, as some perhaps may imagine.

The finest. It is generally of two sorts, as it comes naturally, either from the mines, or rivers. That which is found nearest the surface of the earth is the finest, as being more refin'd by the heat of the sun, by whom this metal is said to be produced, according to our natural philosophers; being found in veins, running through the earth, like the branches of trees.

Coarser. The lower gold produced by the excessive heat of the sun, in process of time much deeper and lower, is not so much refin'd as the uppermost; for generally the deeper you dig, the coarser it rises, because it is nearer to silver.

It is also to be observ'd, that some mines afford better gold than others.

Gold dust. Of these two sorts one is called gold dust, being almost as small as meal, and is the very best, bearing the greatest price, not only in *France*, but all over *Europe*.

In grains or lumps. The second sort is in bits, or pieces of several sizes, some no bigger than spangles, some like pease, some as large as *French* beans, and some as big again, like small rocky pointed stones, of about the value of three guineas in weight, and some again weighing twenty, or thirty guineas: there are but very few of these large lumps to be seen.

Those lumps or pieces of gold, are there called *mountain gold*, which being melted, touch better than gold dust; but the many small stones that stick to them, cause much loss in melting.

FALSIFYING of GOLD.

Blacks deceitful. **H**AVING spoke of the two sorts of natural gold, I am next to treat of the several sorts of base and counterfeit gold, so commonly met with in trading on that coast; the *Blacks* in general being crafty, knavish and deceitful, and letting slip no opportunity of cheating an *European*, or one

another; rather than fail. A Man of integrity, that may be depended on, is among them as rare as the *Phoenix*; so that it is not to be admir'd that they daily offer great quantities of base and counterfeit gold, intrading with the *Europeans*, having attain'd the art of sophisticating it, which was first taught them by the *Portuguese*, when, after having been for a whole century in possession of all the trade on the *Gold Coast*, they found the *French*, *English* and *Dutch* putting in for a share with them, and thought there could be no better way to discourage them, than by teaching the *Blacks* to debase and falsify their gold, they were to furnish the new intruders with by way of trade. The *Dutch* also, when they had driven the *Portuguese* from their settlements on the coasts, as has been already mention'd, practis'd the same methods the *Portuguese* had before contriv'd, to put their other *European* rivals by this trade; not only encouraging and instructing the natives in the way of sophisticating the gold, but furnishing them with the proper tools and metals for the doing of it the more masterly; and to that purpose used formerly to sell the *Blacks* long brass pins, and silver melted into little bars and wire, which in time proved as mischievous to themselves, as to other *Europeans*; the *Blacks* being grown so expert and skilful at falsifying gold, and doing it so many different ways, that they are as often cheated themselves as any others: so that it may very well be said, the *Blacks* have learnt to cheat the cheater.

The dexterity of the *Blacks* in sophisticating their gold being scarce imaginable, and that metal being one of the principal returns *Europeans* can have for their goods on the *Gold Coast*; I hope I shall not be thought tedious if I am somewhat particular on this head; my design being no other than to inform all that shall hereafter have occasion to trade in those parts, how they may avoid being imposed upon, and know the counterfeit gold from the true.

The first sort of false gold is mix'd with silver, or copper, and cast into sundry shapes and sizes, which some there call *Fetissos*, signifying in *Portuguese* charms, because that nation gave the said name to whatsoever belonged to the superstitions of the *Blacks*. You may see them represented in the cut. **PLATE 7.** These are generally some sorts of toys commonly used there by the women for ornament, as also by young men, and worn in their hair, or by way of necklaces and bracelets.

These pieces of gold are by the *Blacks* cut into small bits worth one, two, or three farthings, used as coined money in the markets, to buy provisions, as bread, fruit, fish, flesh, &c. The *Black* women are so well acquainted with the value of those bits, which

Portuguese and Dutch cheats.

First sort of false gold.

PLATE 7.

Gold of little value.

which they call *Kakeraas*, or *Krakraas*, a word signifying a very little value, that they are never mistaken, and tell them to one another without weighing, as we do farthings or half-pence in *England*. And this sort of money is more generally found at *Commodo*, *Mina*, cape *Corso*, and the adjacent parts, than elsewhere. Those *Krakraas* are indeed worth very little, for that gold in any part of *Europe*, will not yield above forty shillings an ounce; and yet it passes current all over the coast, and the *European* garrisons are paid their subsistence in it, and can with it buy all sorts of eatables of the *Blacks*, who mix it with other gold, and carry it again to the *European* forts and ships.

Much of it exported.

What is thus purchased at the forts on the coast, as soon as received, is by the clerks picked out from among the other better gold, with which it has been mixed by the *Blacks*; so that very much of it passes there backwards and forwards, from the *Blacks* to the *Whites*, and from them again to the *Blacks*, without diminution: but the other part, which the *Blacks* trade with aboard the ships, seldom or never returns to them, but is carried away into *Europe*, by the *French*, *English*, *Danish*, *Portuguese*, *Brandenburg*, and *Dutch* interlopers; and that is no inconsiderable quantity. But the *Blacks* continually making these *Krakraas*, faster than they are exported, this false gold is like to be found there as long as the trade to the coast shall endure.

Second sort of false gold.

The second sort of false or counterfeit gold, is that of the mountains counterfeited, by which several unexperienced traders are frequently deceived. Some pieces of mountain gold are so artificially imitated by the *Blacks*, that all the outside to the thickness of an half-crown is all fine gold, and the inside filled up with copper, or iron, which is a new cheat of theirs. The common mountain gold, is a mixture of silver, copper, and some gold, very high coloured, which helps the cheat; especially when a pound or two is to be received together, in which there are many pieces, and every one of them cannot well be touched by it self, and the appearance being so fair, it passes unsuspected.

Third sort.

The third sort of false gold, grown pretty common among the *Blacks*, is a composition they make of a certain powder of coral, which they cast and tinge so artificially, that it is impossible to distinguish it any way but by the weight.

Of this powder the *Blacks* make gold dust; but more of the filings of copper pins, or wire, to which they give a very good tincture: but all that false tinged gold, loses its lustre in a month or two, and then begins to appear false; which cannot happen in those pieces that are cased with gold, for

they continue as when first received, tho' ^{BARBOT.} ever so long kept, without any alteration, and therefore the cheat is the more mischievous.

How to discover false GOLD.

HAVING shown the disease, it will be proper to prescribe the proper remedy; that is, how to discover this counterfeit gold, especially if offered at night or in the morning.

First, as for the large lumps, or pieces ^{The first method.} of gold, they being artificially quite cased with fine gold, tho' within there is nothing but cast copper or iron, the touch-stone is of no use to discover the cheat, and therefore every piece must be cut clear through with a chizze and hammer made for that purpose, knives being too weak to do it so speedily; and thus you will discover whether there is any cheat.

As for the small pieces of mountain gold, ^{The second.} lay them on a hard stone and beat them with a hammer; if they are made of coral, they will moulder away into dust; but if they should stand the beating, you may afterwards try them with a knife.

To try the smallest bits and gold-dust, ^{The third.} which the *Blacks* commonly call *Chica Fetu*, that is, *Fetu* gold, the word *Chica* signifying gold; put it into a copper, or tin bason, and winnow it, letting it run through your fingers and blowing hard: and thus all the false gold will fly away, and the true remain in the bason; and this being repeated several times, nothing will at last be left but the pure gold.

The gold dust may also be tried with ^{The fourth.} aqua-fortis, which discovers the false by ebullition, or bubbling up; and if there be a mixture of false, by turning black: but this tryal is not so effectual as that before prescribed. For example, if you take an ounce of such gold, whereof a sixth, seventh, or eighth part is false, and put it into a glass, or earthen vessel, pouring the aqua-fortis upon it, the said aqua-fortis will have the same effect, tho' in a less degree, as if the whole parcel were false, which renders the proof very uncertain. Besides that this sort of tryal is too tedious, as well as prejudicial to the trade, because it is not reasonable to refuse the good gold, on account of a sixth, an eighth, or a tenth part that is false, especially when the trade is dull, either for want of dealers, or by reason of many ships lying at once on the coast. In these cases, such niceness cannot be allowed of. Besides, the *Blacks* who have good gold will scarce suffer it to be so tried by aqua-fortis, because of the trouble of drying it again; which is also tedious, unless done by holding the bason over a charcoal fire.

BARBOT. It is the part of an understanding factor, after tryal thus made, to make a true judgment of the value of gold dust so mixed, from a sixth to an eighth, or a tenth of false, in proportion to the value of the pure gold, for expedition in business, or else it would be endless. All those who are of opinion, that the tryal by aqua-fortis is best, may remember it is a proverb, that there is no gold without dross; and therefore it will be better for them to follow the method of winnowing gold-dust in a copper basin, as has been said above, and to leave the tryal by aqua-fortis:

The fifth. Some people try the *Krakra* gold by the touch-stone, spreading a parcel of it thinly on a small piece of hard wood, and rubbing it over with the stone; and by the different colours left on it, an expert man may pretty well guess at the quantity and value of the gold, by the rule of proportion: but the most certain method as to *Krakra* gold by itself, is to observe what has been said before concerning it, that it commonly yields not above the rate of natural gold, and therefore must be taken at that rate, or returned again. But the *Black* may be also desired to pick it himself, and separate the baser *Krakra* from the best, because they are not all of the same equal value; but according as the toys they were cut from, had more or less mixture of silver, or copper. The *Blacks*, who generally know the difference by sight only, will pick them very nicely, and in a very short time.

The sixth. Another method to prevent being cheated in gold, especially on shipboard, tho' not altogether to be depended on, but only in general, is nicely to observe the behaviour of the *Blacks*, which I have done myself; for generally a cheat, who knows his gold is false and counterfeit, is very impatient, uneasy and in haste to be gone, under some colour or other, besides he commonly bids a higher price than usual for goods, and takes them in a hurry without much examination; and if not found out, will paddle away to shore with the goods, as fast as his canoe can carry him. Nay, I have observ'd some of them to stand trembling and quaking, whilst their gold was upon tryal; and such their behaviour is a sufficient indication to suspect some fraud, especially when there is a croud of dealers, for then they expect to find the better opportunity of imposing on the purchasers, and then the *European* factor ought to be nicest in examining every parcel of gold. When I met with any such knaves, and had discover'd the cheat by tryal, I always used them very roughly, even to cocking of an unloaded pistol at their breast, or else threatned to throw their false gold over board, which deterr'd many

of them from offering the like to me again. On the other hand, a *Black* who knows his gold is pure and fine, appears always calm, stands hard about the price of goods, and is curious in examining every piece, whether it is truly good in its sort.

There is another sure way to try gold, *The seventh.* which may be used by merchants and is very plain, by twenty four artificial needles, made with alloy of metals from the lowest sort of gold to the finest of twenty four carats fine, having exact rules for valuing of it, according to the degrees of fineness or coarseness.

I will farther add this advice to all sea-faring men, trading on that coast aboard ships, that when they see many *Blacks* come aboard together, to trade with gold, they admit but two or three at most, into the great cabin, or any other part of the ship, at one time, and always keep about them four or five of their own men to be upon the watch, lest the *Blacks* embezzle any goods; that so they and their goldsmith, if there be one aboard, as commonly there is aboard *French* ships, may have leisure to examine the nature of the gold: for it is common there for one *Black*, most of those on the coast being factors or brokers for the inland people, to have twenty or more several small parcels of gold, wrapt up in rags, or in little leather bags, to purchase goods for so many several persons; and those parcels must be all examined one after another, which takes up a long time: and if they admit of a croud of *Blacks* about them, they cannot so well examine all their different parcels, so as to be sure they take none but what is good. Besides that the *Blacks*, when in a croud, are always prating together.

Take heed of such as come with rush *Thievish Blacks.* baskets, as I have seen five or six of them together, with every one such a basket, which are generally designed to conceal what they can steal. So those who talk much, and make a noise, are to be suspected, and it may be observ'd they will never agree to any price of goods; for the *Blacks* being generally inclin'd to steal from one another, make much less scruple of robbing the *Europeans*, alledging for their excuse, that the *Europeans* are rich and they poor. Therefore they think it a less crime in themselves to rob us, when an opportunity offers, than for an *European* to steal from them: and in one respect they may be said to be in the right, since *Europeans* have the law of God for their guide, which commands them not to steal, which is unknown to the *Blacks*, who have no other law but that of nature.

The second
advice.

Another rule I observed, was to keep in the great cabin, where I used to trade with the *Blacks*, only one single piece of each sort of my goods, for a sample; and when I had struck a bargain with a *Black*, I sent him with my note to the storekeeper, specifying the quantity and quality of the goods he had contracted to pay for.

The third.

Another method to be used in ships, is severely to punish any *Black*, that has been taken stealing; for tho' the person so served does not perhaps much value a few blows he may receive, yet it is a great disgrace among themselves, not on account of the heinousness of the crime of stealing, most of them being ready enough and well inclined to do the same, when an opportunity offers, but because he is scoff'd at by his countrymen for being so unskilful as to be taken in the fact.

I have also observed, that those *Blacks* who had been pretty well drubb'd with a knotted rope's end, were afterwards more tractable and better to deal with; which makes out that they are like spaniels, that the more you beat them the more they love you.

In this manner, as I have said above, our business was done orderly, and safely, without trouble, or confusion, and at night I entered all my notes, in my book of sale, and weighed all the gold I had received that day in the lump, to see whether it answered the particulars for which it was received, and also caused it to be entered in the same book by my under-factor, observing to keep the said gold in separate boxes, that at my return into *France* I might have the judgment of the officers of the mint at *Paris*, or elsewhere, to know which of the chief places of trade on the *Gold Coast* afforded the finest, and which the worst gold.

Where the
finest gold
is had.

It was accordingly observed by the officers of the mint at *Paris*, that the *Iffeny*, cape *St. Apolonia* and *Axim* gold, was from twenty two to twenty three carats fine; which gold is commonly brought thither from the countries of *Awine* and *Egwira*. That from cape *Tres Pontas* to *Sacunde*, about twenty two carats fine, being commonly carried to those places, *Egwira*, *Adom*, and other neighbouring countries. The gold of *Acra*, which usually comes from *Tasoe*, *Quakoe* and some other adjacent parts, was between twenty two carats, and twenty two and a half. The *Acra* gold is commonly mixed with some fine sand, and very small gravel, which must be blown away in a bason, as I have shown above; or if they be stones, they are to be pulled out with small nippers fit for that purpose.

Where most
falsified.

There is a great alteration in the quality of gold from about *Sacunde* to the east-

ward, as far as *Manfrou*, in *Fetu*; the *BARBOT* people of all the places lying between those two, being the most subtil artists, at falsifying and counterfeiting this metal, as I have before observed; tho' the gold they commonly have there is brought from *Accanez* and *Fetu*, which is of its own nature good; but sophisticated by the *Accanez Blacks* themselves.

However, of all those places, the inhabitants of *Commendo*, *Mina*, and so down the coast to *Mouree*, are the greatest cheats for bad gold, and above all, those of the above-named two places, who so much debase it, that some is not worth twenty shillings an ounce. Nay, some of those knaves are so impudent as to offer our seafaring men, bare filings of copper for gold-dust. Thus a *French* captain of a man of war, called the *Tyger*, was served, being formerly sent to the coast as a guard-ship, and brought home about twenty marks of that dross instead of good gold: which shows that gentleman had little or no skill in gold, for had he but observed the bulk of twenty marks of copper filings, as all his parcel was, it would soon have convinced him how notoriously he was cheated, it being well known that twenty marks of such filings will show twice as large, as the same weight of gold, this being so much more ponderous. When any of those cheats were so bold as to offer me such filings, as I remember one did, I made no difficulty to throw it over board, and had the fellow well drubbed with a rope's end, in the presence of his comrades, to deter him and them from being so impudent for the future.

The gold purchased at *Cormentin* and *Anamabou*, tho' it also comes from *Accanez* and *Fetu*, is seldom better than at the places last mentioned.

That of *Tantonqueny* and *Berqu*, farther east, is still worse.

From *Acra* to *Lay*, still eastward, it is also pretty much adulterated, and requires a nice proof: for the principal employment of the *Blacks* of *Labbadee*, *Ningo* and other places on as far as *Lay*, being to sell their cattel to the western *Blacks* along the coast, as far as *Commendo*, they either carrying it thither, or the others resorting to them for it; these *Blacks* are often paid for their said cattel in bad gold, and easily imposed upon by the others, as not so well acquainted with that rich metal: whence it follows, that they receive, and consequently tender to *Europeans*, by way of trade, much the same sorts of bad gold that are found at *Commendo*, *Mina* and other places adjacent.

BARBOT.

Blacks formerly valued it not.

LOVE and ESTEEM of GOLD.

I Should not proceed to speak of the proper gold weights, but must first observe as to the gold itself, that the *Blacks* in former times, as appears by the accounts of the most rational persons among them, had nothing near so great a value for it as they have now. The greediness the *Portuguese* showed for it, whilst they were the sole traders on that coast, for above an hundred years together, as I have before observed; and the same eagerness for it in the other *Europeans*, who have since expelled them, by degrees brought the natives to have more esteem for it: and this increasing from one generation to another successively, they have now so great an opinion of its worth, that their whole study in all places on the coast, is either to seek for it in the bowels of the earth, or in rivers, or to purchase it by trading, with all the industry and application imaginable; and many of them are thus by their labour and craftiness grown rich, which has so raised their minds and thoughts, as is too common to the generality of mankind, that it may be well said of them, they are grown proud and haughty to excess, in comparison of their former simplicity and meekness.

Good answer of Blacks.

Talking to this purpose with some *Blacks*, and reproaching them for their pride and desire of growing rich in gold, and for undervaluing our goods as they did, as scarce bidding the first cost, without considering the hazards and expences we were at in bringing them from such remote parts of the world; they very pertinently answered, That considering the great eagerness the *Europeans* had always shown in fetching gold from those parts of the world, they were apt to believe it was their principal deity, and that our country must be very poor, since we left it, exposing ourselves to so many perils and fatigues to fetch it from among them, at so great a distance.

GOLD WEIGHTS.

THE proper weights used there for gold, in trading with the *Blacks*, or among *Europeans*, are either pounds, marks, ounces, or angels, sixteen of these to an ounce; but the *Blacks* do not weigh their gold by pounds, or marks, but commonly by the *Benda*, which is two ounces, and thus they weigh one, two, or more *Bendas* successively, four *Bendas* being a mark; each of them, as has been said, two ounces troy weight; *Affa* is an ounce, and *Eggeba* half an ounce: so those weights are called by almost all the *Blacks* of the *Gold Coast*.

Several sorts.

The ounce troy weight is divided into sixteen *Angels*, or *Akyes*, four of which make a *Peso*; and an *Angel* or *Akye* is again divided into twelve *Taccoes*. A *Damba* is two *Taccoes*, the *Damba* being a little red berry, with black spots. The *Taccoes* are little pease, black on the one side, and red on the other.

About *Mina*, the *Damba* is reckoned a two penny-weight, and twenty four of them make an *Angel*, or *Akye*. The *Taccoe* is four penny weight there, being white beans with black spots, or all black. There are some of them that rise to ten penny weight, and others to twenty; but those large beans are not looked upon as sure weights, and only used at pleasure, or for fraud.

Again, in the language of the *Blacks*, an *Affuwa* is five *Ackyes*; a *Sirow* three *Ackyes*; an *Emsayo* two *Ackyes*: a *Quentay* an *Ackye* and an half, or eighteen *Taccoes*; an *Aquiraguer* is one *Ackye*; a *Medratappa* is six *Taccoes*.

Weighing gold by the small weights of the *Blacks* above mentioned in several parcels, to make up four *Bendas*, or a mark troy weight, there will fall short almost an ounce of the due weight of a mark.

The inhabitants of *Acra*, commonly make use of two sorts of weights for gold, the one larger than the other, and yet each of them proportionably divided, so that each contains sixteen *Angels* or *Ackyes*; and in trading they make their bargain to pay in gold by the greater or lesser weight, and value the goods accordingly.

There the greater *Benda* is two ounces and eight *Ackyes* of the small weight, and that *Benda* they call *Ta*, which is worth in gold about a hundred and twenty *French* livres. The half *Benda* is called *Ossuarbian*, which is twenty *Ackyes*, of the small weight. Ten *Angels* or *Ackyes*, are called *Ossuanon*; five *Ackyes*, *Offerou*; four *Ackyes*, *Exyckbas*; three *Ackyes*, *Sanna*; two *Ackyes*, *Jarnika*; and one *Ackye*, *Metabbe*, or *Medratappa*.

All the weights the *Blacks* use on the coast, among themselves in trade, are either made of copper, or tin; which they cast in sand moulds, and file, which they divide in a manner quite different from ours; but being reduced, they are brought to agree exactly with them. It is only up the inland country, that they use great weights of a yellow sort of wood.

LONG MEASURE.

THE measure the *Blacks* have for cloth, linen, or any wove stuffs is called *Jettam*, being about nine foot long. In some parts of *Guinea* the *Jettam* is reckoned twelve foot, or two fathom, which they cut in the middle, and so they sell their

their linen to one another. Those two fathoms the *Dutch*, upon examination, make their *Stork* and three quarters. In woollen they measure none but pieces about a handful broad, which they cut out so, and use them for girdles, to tie about them; and sell among themselves, and have no other measure of that kind, calling it *Paw*, which is three quarters of a yard *English*.

The slaves are generally set at such a price, as are all *European* goods; then they compute so much gold for a slave, or so much gold for goods, and so ballance accounts. But of this I shall speak in another place, as also of their way of reckoning, or counting; for there is not one that can write or read, not even their very priests.

EUROPEAN FRAUD.

Cheating weights.

I shall conclude this long discourse of gold, with an observation I often made there; which is, that many *Europeans*, who so loudly exclaim against the perfidiousness, and deceitful nature of the *Blacks*, in offering false

gold in trade, never consider, that on the other hand they are themselves guilty of a notorious cheat and fraud, in using two sorts of weights there, the heavier to receive gold by, and the lighter to pay it away again; which is frequently practised by too many, and is a great dishonour to christianity, being contrary to the golden rule, *To do as we would be done by*. Such base dealing rather serves to confirm those pagans in their ill principles, instead of endeavouring to convert them. But self-interest and covetousness, which is called the root of all evil, are vices too common to all the corrupt race of mankind, either christians or pagans. But christians ought to remember the words of *St. Paul*, to the *Roman* christians in his days, on the like occasion: chap. ii. v. 24. *That for their evil practices the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles. And that double weights and double measures are an abomination to God.* Levit. xix. 36. and Prov. xi. 1.

CHAP. XVIII.

Stature, features, &c. of the Black men; their nature and qualities, their habit. Black women, their features, &c. their habit. Marriages, births, education, names, circumcision; punishment of adultery up the inland country.

STATURE, FEATURES, &c. of BLACK MEN.

THE *Blacks*, in this part of *Guinea*, are generally well limb'd and proportioned, being neither of the highest nor of the lowest size and stature; they have good oval faces, sparkling eyes, small ears, and their eyebrows lofty and thick. Their mouths not too large; curious clean, white and well-ranged teeth, fresh red lips, not so thick and hanging down as those of *Angola*, nor their noses so broad. For the most part they have long curled hair, sometimes reaching down to their shoulders, and not so very coarse as theirs at *Angola*; and very little beards before they are thirty years of age. The elderly men wear their beards pretty long. They are commonly broad-shoulder'd, and have large arms, thick hands, long fingers, as are their nails, and hooked, small bellies, long legs, broad large feet, with long toes; strong waists, and very little hair about their bodies. Their skin, tho' but indifferent black, is always sleek and smooth. Their stomach is naturally hot, capable of digesting the hardest meat, and even the raw entrails of fowls, which many of them will eat very greedily. They take particular care to wash their whole bodies morning and evening; and anoint them all over with palm-oil, which they reckon wholesome, and that it preserves them from vermin, which they are naturally apt to breed.

Good digestion.

Breaking of wind either upwards or downwards, is very loathsome to them. In short, they are for the most part well-set, handsome men in outward appearance; but inwardly very vicious.

Their NATURE and QUALITIES.

AS for their natural parts, they are for the most part, men of sense and wit enough; of a sharp ready apprehension, and an excellent memory, beyond what is easy to imagine; for, though they can neither read nor write, they are always regular in the greatest hurry of business, and trade, and seldom in confusion. On the other hand, they are extremely slothful and idle, to such a degree, that nothing but the utmost necessity can prevail with them to take pains; very little concerned in misfortunes, so that it is hard to perceive any change in them either in prosperity or adversity, which among *Europeans* is reckoned magnanimity, but among them some will have it to pass for stupidity.

To instance in this particular, when they have obtained a victory over their enemies, they return home dancing and skipping, and if they have been beaten, and totally routed, they still dance, feast and make merry. The most they do in the greatest adversity, is to shave their heads, and make some alteration in their garments; but still they are ready

Insenfible of adversity.

BARBOT. ready to feast about graves, and should they see their country in a flame, it would not disturb their dancing, singing, and drinking; so that it may well be said, according to some authors, that they are insensible to grief and want; sing till they die, and dance into their graves.

Tho' I have said, they are so very covetous and greedily inclined to heap up gold and other wealth; yet after all they set their hearts so little upon it that the greatest loss they can meet with is not to be perceived by their behaviour, as never depriving them of one hour's rest; but they sleep wholly undisturbed by any melancholy thoughts.

I have said elsewhere, that the *Blacks* are all generally subtle, deceitful, and addicted to thieving; to which I must add covetousness, flattery, drunkenness, gluttony, envy and selfishness. They conceive a hatred against one another upon very slight occasions; will quarrel for a trifle; and are lustful to such an excess as is scarce credible, and consequently much troubled with venereal distempers. They are bad paymasters, and wonderful proud and haughty, as appears in their carriage: for if a man by his subtilty or industry has raised himself so as to become rich, or be in considerable office, he never goes about the streets without a slave, who carries his wooden stool, to rest him wheresoever he makes a stop. He seldom moves his head to look at any other person, unless it be one above himself, in wealth or place; or if he happens to speak to his inferiors, it is done in a lofty, disdainful way; always excepting *White* men, for whom they seem to have a particular respect, and especially those who belong to the fortress, under whose protection they live. They will seldom offer to approach, much less to speak to any of them, or to the officers of our ships, when ashore, unless bare-headed; but at the same time they expect to be civilly treated by them, which is a sure way to gain their affection. After all that has been said, I cannot but own, that if we look at home, we shall find much the same folly among ourselves; our wealthy men are subject enough to despise those whom fortune has kept below them, we have our share of pride, vanity and envy; and some *European* nations, instead of treating strangers with respect, as those *Blacks* do, are proud of the brutality of insulting and abusing them.

They will stand boldly in a lye upon trivial occasions, and particularly in the case of theft; but make a mighty disturbance if a *White* man happens to take any thing of theirs; and indeed that is no wonder, for it is a great rarity in any part of the world, to find a thief that will be willing to confess his crime.

They make no great account of breaking their contracts with the *Europeans*, upon any frivolous humours, or if they find them not to their advantage; but seem to be somewhat more observant among themselves. In war they are very cruel towards their enemies, whose blood they will suck and drink; and very subject to commit murders, as shall be observed hereafter. To finish their character, they have outdone the former *Gentiles*, whom *St. Paul* describes, *Rom. i. 29, 30, 31, and 32*; for these modern *Pagans* have not only, like those of ancient times, changed the glory of the uncorrupted God, into an image made like birds and four-footed beasts, and creeping things, *ibid. v. 23.* but even into that of inanimate beings, as shall be shown in another place.

Their youth are extraordinary vain, and ambitious of passing for persons of great birth, though some of them perhaps but slaves; and are nice in adorning their bodies to the utmost, after their manner.

Their HABIT.

THE habit and dress of the richer sort of people, as merchants, factors, and others, is various; and in some attended with vanity and affectation, especially the ornament of the head, in which they take the greatest pride; and it is generally ordered by their wives. Some wear very long hair, curled and platted together, and tied up to the crown of the head. Others turn their hair into very small curls, smeared with palm-oil, and a sort of dye, which they order in the shape of a rose, or of a crown, and adorn it with gold toys, or a kind of coral, called on the coast, *Conta de Terra*, which they sometimes value three times beyond the finest gold. They will also set them off with another sort of blue coral, by the *Europeans* called *Agrie*, and by the *Blacks*, *Accorri*, which is carried thither from *Benin*; and when any thing large, they value as much as any gold, and will purchase it weight for weight.

Others will shave all their hair, leaving only one part about an inch broad, and in the shape of a cross, or of a half-moon, or in a circle, and some in several little rounds. They also wear in their hair, especially those who plat in the shape of a rose, or a crown, one or more small narrow combs, of two, three, or at most four long sharp teeth, as you see them represented in the cut; being like a fork, without a haft or handle, which they thrust through their crowns, or roses of hair, when they are bit by vermin, and they are seldom free from them; scratching their heads after this manner, without discomposing their crowns, or roses, which require much time to make up.

Many

Ornaments
of the head.

PLATE 21.

Statelines.

Lying.





A Fishers Wife

A Negroes of the best rank

A Woman of the good sort

A Cabocero's wife

A Country Girl

A Merchants Wife

A Woman of the good sort
Suckling her Infant



Hats.

Many of the *Blacks* wear our hats, which they will buy at great rates, tho' very coarse; or else hats made of rushes, or of goats, or dog's skins, which they make upon wooden blocks, the skins being first well moistned, and afterwards dried in the sun: adorning all these several sorts of hats and caps, with some small goat's horns, gold toys, and little strings of the bark of their consecrated tree, and some add monkey's tails to all the rest.

Other ornaments.

They adorn their necks, arms, legs, and waists, with strings of the finest sorts of *Venice* bugles, intermixt with gold, and the above-mentioned sorts of corals. I have seen some of them who wore whole bunches of bugles hanging at their necks, athwart after the manner of scarves, intermixt with abundance of their gold toys, and some strings of the aforesaid consecrated tree, or chains of gold, with coral amongst it, some of which stand them in above a hundred pounds sterling. Those are only worn by persons of great note, as are golden bracelets, collars, necklaces, and large rings for the arms and legs: all which ornaments seem to have been used by eminent persons in ancient times, as we find in many places of sacred history; as for instance, in *Gen. xxiv. 22. Ezech. xvi. 11. Isaiab iii. from v. 18, to 22. Judith x. 3, &c.* And the *Hebrew* historian, *Josephus*, speaks of the like ornaments, in several places of his history of the *Jews*; as for instance, *lib. 6. cap. 15.* the young *Amalekite*, after he had killed king *Saul*, by his own command, took from him his golden bracelets, and his diadem, &c.

They also wear large ivory, gold or silver collars, and rings on their arms, and take great pride in them; and the latter they call *Manillas*, some having three or four of those ivory rings, one above another, on an arm: and they are very artificially made by them of elephant's teeth, generally carried thither from the *Quaqua* coast, besides what they have from the inland country. The women wear most of the same ornaments; all which you will find represented in the cut, having drawn them myself for the satisfaction of the curious.

PLATE 21.

Garments.

The common habit of the men consists of three or four ells, either of fatten, cloth, perpetuanas, sayes, *India* chints, or other sort of stuff; which without any help of taylors they throw about their body, roll it up in a small compass, and make it fast, so that it hangs from the navel downwards, covering all the legs half way. This sort of wrapper seems to have some affinity with the thirty sheets, and thirty changes of garments, which *Sampson* offer'd to give the *Philistines* of *Timmath*, if they could expound

the riddle he propos'd to them, *Judg. xiv. 12.* *BATBOT.* Those sheets might probably be made there in the nature of a cloak, so that one end could cover the shoulders, and the other go across under the arms, hanging downwards; whence they were also called change of garments, because they were ready to throw off when they came home, and to put on again when they went abroad, as we do with our cloaks: and it seems the mentioning of the thirty changes of garments was only mentioned to explain the thirty sheets.

The batchelors, called *Manceros*, do not dress themselves pompously.

The *Caboceros*, or prime *Blacks*, from *Of the cape Verde*, and on the *Quaqua* coast, wear *prime men.* only a fine clout about their waist, a cap made of fine deer's skin on their heads, and a staff in their hands, with a string of coral about their necks; by this their habit looking rather like poor than rich men: but I know not for what reason, they being as haughty as any other men in office.

The dress of the common sort, as fisher-*Common* men, canoe-men, sellers of wine, and other *sort.* handicrafts, is also various; but very ordinary and poor: some of them wearing an ell or two of coarse stuff, or their own country cloth; others only a sort of wrapper drawn through between their thighs, to hide the immodest parts. The fishermen commonly wear a cap, or bonnet, made of rushes, or deer-skins; and sometimes an old rusty hat, such as they can get from the sea-men, for fish, or other eatables. The hat is of good use either in the hot scorching, or in cold and rainy weather.

Others wear finer stuffs, as sayes, perpetuanas, or *Quaqua* cloths, made fast about their waists, and drawn through between their legs; so that the two ends hang down before and behind, some to their knees, and some to their feet. This sort of habit is common to most men, of what condition soever, when they are at home, or upon a journey: but when rich persons go about the town, or a visiting, they put on their best apparel, as has been mentioned above; or wrap about their necks and shoulders, two, three, or four ells of sayes, perpetuanas, or richer stuffs, as fatten, chints, &c. one end passing under their arms, like a cloak, holding a long rod, or javelin in one hand, with a grave mien, and follow'd by a slave, carrying a little low wooden stool, as I said above. When returned home, they undress again, and lay up their fine clothes in deal chests, which they buy of the *Europeans* for that purpose.

The slaves are generally poorly habited, *slaves.* and always bare-headed.

BARBOT.

BLACK WOMEN, *their* FEATURES, &c.

THE *Black* women, I also observed to be frait, and of a moderate stature, pretty plump, having small round heads, sparkling eyes, for the most part, high noses, somewhat hooked, long curling hair, little mouths, very fine well-set white teeth, full necks, and handsome breasts. They are very sharp and witty; very talkative, and by *Europeans* represented as extraordinary lascivious, very covetous, addicted to steal, and proud to a high degree; which is inferred from their costly dress, as if women in any part of the world, did not clothe themselves according to their ability.

Vices.

Housewifery.

It is certain they are very great housewives at home, where they take all the pains of dressing the corn and meat, and breeding up their young daughters to it betimes; very fond and tender of their children, frugal in their diet, tight and cleanly, and nice in washing themselves all over in the sea, or rivers.

Their HABIT.

Head-dress.

THE common dress of women of quality is much richer than that of the men; they plat their hair very artificially, after it is moistned with palm-oil and dye; adorning it with their coral, and ivory rings, and gold toys, as also bugles and red shells; all which is done with great ingenuity, and to the best advantage, as appears by the figures in the cut.

PLATE 21.

They daub their foreheads, eyebrows and cheeks, with some white and red paint mixt, often making small incisions on each side of their faces, and sometimes imprinting figures of flowers, on their faces, shoulders, arms, breasts, bellies and thighs, with such art, that at a distance it looks as if their bodies were carved; for those figures rise above the rest of the skin, like a half-relief, which I have observed in the women of *Sesiro*, and some men adorn their faces and arms in the same manner, it being all done with hot irons.

Figures in the skin.

Strings of gold, &c.

About their necks they wear gold chains, strings of coral of several sorts, besides ten or twelve other strings of gold, or coral, which adorn their arms, waist, and legs, so thick, especially about their waist, that had they no other clothes or girdles about it, they would suffice to cover what modesty ought to conceal.

Clothing.

The lower part of the body is clothed with a fine long cloth, very often two or three times as long and broad as that of the men. This long cloth they wrap about their waist, binding 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 that gird-

ing slip hanging down over the petticoat cloth, which, when worn by women of high rank, is enriched with gold and silver laces.

The upper part of their body they cover with a veil of silk, or other fine stuff, or callicoe; for which use the green and blue colours are most in request. Their arms are adorned with gold, silver, and ivory rings, or bracelets; as also with ribbands, when they go a visiting, or feasting; and thus they go about the town or roads, with much state and gravity. These sorts of ornaments seem to me to have much affinity with those of the *Israelitish* women, mentioned by the prophet *Ezekiel*, chap. xvi. v. 10, to 14. and to the same may be refer'd what is said in *Judges* viii. 26. of the ear-rings of gold, the ornaments, collars, &c. that were plundered by *Gideon's* army, of the kings of *Midian*, &c. which were all of gold: for the *Midianites* were mostly *Arabs*, and follow'd their fashions; and it seems they were of the posterity of *Abraham*, and owned *Ismael*, his son, by *Hagar*, for the head of their nation, or tribe; agreeing in manners and fashions with the *Hagare-nians*, or *Ismaelites*, who adorned themselves with rings, collars, and jewels, *vid. Gen.* xxv. 13. and xxxvii. 25.

At a feast the *Danish* agent made at *Acra*, to entertain, and shew me the pomp of the *Black* ladies, I saw several of them richly adorned, and could not but own they were very ingenious in dressing themselves, in such manner as might prove sufficiently tempting to many leud *Europeans*; who not regarding complexions, say, *all cats are grey in the dark*. And indeed there were several genteel persons of that sex, not only curious and rich in their dress, but extraordinary good-humour'd, merry and diverting; which did much attract the eyes, not to mention many lascivious looks and gestures, at which they are very dexterous, and spare no pains or art to allure an *European* gentleman, thinking it an honour to be in their company, either in publick or private.

Some of those women wrap the aforesaid long pieces of stuffs about their bodies, close under their breasts, and so let them hang down half way their legs, and lower; about the back part of their waist, place a thick wreath of cloth, sayes or perpetuana, instead of a girdle, to the one side whereof hangs a purse full of *Krakra*, which is their gold money, and to the other side, a long string with many keys; which is done even by the daughters of kings, those being a part of their ornaments, tho' they have not above one or two trunks at home to lay up their wearing apparel. Some also add to the purse or keys several strings of the sacred tree.

Ornaments.

All women
work.

As soon as ever those *Black* ladies return home, they take off all their rich apparel, which they lay up in their trunks, and instead of it wrap about them a country cloth, reaching only from the waist to the knees, that they may be the less encumbered to attend their work, or housewifery, as the meanest slaves might do: for there the women of the greatest quality must set their hands to the work of the house, even to the meanest drudgery, without any regard to quality; the only exception being, that those who are rich, exempt two of their wives, the chief wife and the second, called *Bossun*, who is consecrated to their deities, and those two are free from work, and as it were housekeepers, commanding over all the rest, of which more hereafter. Thus it appears, those females are not so lazy and haughty as some would represent them.

Meaner
sort.

The meaner sort of women, wear a veil or mantle, made of four or five ells of *Leyden* serge, to keep them from the cold and rain; adorning their arms and legs, with tin, copper, and ivory rings, and some of iron, of which sort they also wear many on their fingers; and when they go to market, they walk very gravely, holding up their arm with a pewter basin, or wooden platter, on the palm of their hand. In short, there are many other dresses used among the women, which would be too tedious to recite in particular.

Boys and
girls na-
ked.

The youngest people of both sexes, about the coast, are seldom clothed till eight or ten years of age, but go stark naked, playing, bathing, and swimming together, without any distinction, in the sea and rivers, as shall be again taken notice of hereafter.

The women on the coast are more lascivious than those of the inland countries, which is attributed to their frequent commerce with *Europeans*, who commonly keep many of them; and their example has such an influence over the young girls, that they are soon brought to comply; especially such as are put to dancing-schools, where they are taught many indecent postures. Thus we see the *Europeans* are the occasion of that lewdness they seem to find fault with, and it is no wonder that dancing-schools should make women unchaste there, since we see them to produce the same effect in *England*.

Few women there have above five or six children, which those, who find fault with all things abroad, ascribe to their lasciviousness; tho' it is not very common in *Europe* to have above that number, and it may rather be imputed to the mens having so many wives.

MARRIAGES,

BARBOT.


ARE there concluded without the previous formalities of courtship, disputes about settlements, or nicety about the disparity of persons; the highest quality marrying their own slaves, or other inferiors, according as they fancy, in which there is no opposition, or disgrace. The methods are several, whereof I shall mention two or three.

First, When a *Black* settles his inclination on a young woman, to marry her, he applies himself to her father, mother, or nearest relations; and is very seldom refused by them, if the maiden is willing to comply. Then he takes her home with him, if marriageable, or leaves her for a time with her parents, if too young, tho' this last is not always done. The bridegroom, according to his ability, defrays the expence of the wedding-day; being a small present of gold to the father and mother, or nearest relations of the bride, and wine, brandy, and a sheep to treat them, as also new clothes for the bride; of all which he keeps an exact account, that he may demand it again; and it must be made good to him, in case she ever takes such a dislike as to leave him, or he can show sufficient reason for leaving of her.

There is no very great feasting on the wedding-day, but the bride is dressed very fine, and set off with gold and other ornaments, either bought by the bridegroom, or borrowed, as is frequently done upon such occasions: for the bride brings no other fortune but her person, nor does the man require much. At night she is conducted to the bridegroom's house, attended by a young woman of her familiar acquaintance, who stays there a whole week, to bear her company, and by degrees to make her new condition agreeable.

The second method is, when a man designs to marry his son, he pitches upon such a young woman as he thinks most acceptable to him; and having obtained the consent of her parents, they, if rich, pay her portion, commonly amounting to about thirty pounds sterling in gold, with one slave, to attend on her, when married; the kings seldom allowing their daughters a greater fortune.

On the wedding-day, the parents on both sides meet, and cause the bride to swear she will always be very submissive and obedient to her husband, and never wrong him with any other man. The bridegroom is also obliged to promise, that he will take special care of, and use her kindly, till death, unless she should give him just grounds to be divorced. The rest is much as above.

The

BARBOT. *The third.* The third method; in my time, at *Acra* a *Black* of about forty years of age, married a girl of eight, at most. 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, abundance of their musick, and no less dancing. When that was over, the young bride was again adorned with more gold toys and strings of coral, about her head, neck, arms, and legs; and then the bridegroom made the declaration as above, in the presence of their priest. After which, the bride was carried to his house, and bedded between two women, in the bed where he lay; and this to prevent his offering to meddle with her, by reason of her tender years. This was repeated three nights successively, after which the man sent her back to her father's house, to be kept there till she was of age to consummate the marriage.

I was informed, that when that time came, all the young women of the place, in their richest apparel, would accompany the bride to her husband's house, she being as costily dressed as possible; and then each of those attendants, tho' they were fifty in number, was to be presented by the bridegroom with the value of half an *Ackye* in gold, which, as has been said above, is the sixteenth part of an ounce. Then they were all to dance most part of the night about the house of the new-married couple.

The fourth. The fourth: At *Manfrou* they commonly marry people thus; when a *Black* thinks his son marriageable, he picks out the young maid he thinks properest in the village, and sends his son to court her. If the damsel admits of his addresses, for there the women are left at their own disposal in this point, the *Manceroe*, or young man, acquaints his father, who applies himself to her parents, in behalf of his son. If they approve of the match, the wedding-day is appointed; and then the bride, in the presence of the priest, is made to swear on the toys given them by the said priest, as their nuptial gods, that she will be loving and faithful to her husband, as long as she lives: and the bridegroom on his part swears, he will love and maintain her all the days of his life, &c. This being done, the parents on both sides present one another, according to their condition; and the remaining part of the day is spent in feasting, dancing, and such drinking, that many of the company return home drunk.

There are several other customs and formalities observed among the *Blacks* on the coast, in their marriages, which differ in some particulars, according to the countries and places; but are much the same in the main, as what has been mentioned, for which reason I think what is said may suffice.

The marriages of the *Israelites* were not attended with any religious ceremonies that I know of, except the prayers of the father of the family and the company present, to implore a blessing on the woman. Such were the marriages of *Rebecca* with *Isaac*, of *Ruth* with *Boaz*, of *Sara* with *Tobias*. I do not find that any offerings or sacrifices were made, that any went to the temple, or that the priests were called to them. All the business was transacted between the parents and friends; so that it looked but like a civil contract, attended with several days of feasting.

Kings and prime men there marry their daughters, without the least regard to high birth or quality, all persons being at liberty to do therein as they think fit; and those women having absolute liberty in their choice, will not scruple or be ashamed to marry a slave, as frequently happens; as it does, on the other hand, to see a king's son marry a woman slave: the only difference being, that the children a king's daughter has in wedlock by a slave are free, whereas those a king's son has by a female slave, are reputed slaves, because the children must follow the mother.

Married people in these parts have no community of goods, but each their own property; the man and his wives agree the matter together, both bearing the charges of housekeeping; but the clothing of the whole family is at the man's expence.

Every man there marries as many wives as he can keep, seldom exceeding the number of twenty, and when any one takes so many, it is to appear very great; the more wives and children a man has among the *Blacks*, the greater is his reputation, and the respect paid him: but the most common, is to have from three to ten wives, besides concubines, whom they often prefer before their wives; but their children are counted illegitimate, and not reckoned among the relations.

Most of those women so married to one man, must till the ground, sow *Indian* wheat, or millet, plant yams, or work some other way for their husbands, and each of them is sure to do her best to please him, and gain his affection in a more particular manner, that she may be by him preferred above the rest, and have the most of his company; which altogether depends on the man's pleasure, tho' the common method is to oblige every wife in her turn, that there may be no controversy. If she whose turn it is happens to be a favourite, she lies with her husband all the night; if not, when her turn is over, she must withdraw, whether she will or no.

Thus there are rich merchants, and of-ficers of towns, who have twenty, or thirty wives, according to their circumstances; but

Marriages of Israelites.

Goods not in common.

Polygamy.

Women labour.

Multitude of wives.

but the kings and great governours, take some eighty, some an hundred and more, with as many concubines or slaves to wait on them.

Each wife lives apart. Each of these wives has her particular hut, adjoining to the husband's house, where she lives, lying on a mat of rushes, with a piece of wood for her boulder; and thither the man repairs, to lie with them in their turns; or if it happens that his inclination leads him to be more frequent in his visits of love to one than to the rest, he must be cautious that they do not know it, to avoid the trouble and discord that would ensue if they knew it.

Children coveted. The *Hebrews* coveted to have many children, because in their country those were accounted fortunate and happy, who had a numerous issue, as in *Prov. xxvii. 6. Children's children are the crown of old men.* The pagans had the same notion, and the poets talk much of *Priam's* fifty children; the *Greeks* being very fond of fruitful women, and barrenness being so ill looked on, that even maids were accounted unhappy for dying before they were married. The daughter of *Jephtah* bemoaned her unhappiness in that particular. Therefore it was that the *Hebrews* took so many wives, looking upon it as great and honourable. It is not to be admired that God tolerated polygamy, which was in use even before the flood, tho' contrary to the first institution of matrimony, which was first instituted in paradise, before concupiscence was known, and ever since has been honoured, and highly favoured; but during those intervals when grace was suppressed, and sin prevailed, it was God's goodness to allow a greater indulgence, and polygamy was permitted after the same manner as divorce, concerning which *JESUS CHRIST, Matth. xix. 8.* tells the *Jews*, *Moses suffered them to put away their wives, because of the hardness of their hearts; but from the beginning it was not so.*

Besides the wives, it was also permitted to have concubines, which were commonly slaves. The difference between them and the lawful wives was, that the children of the latter were to inherit; so that the name of concubinage did not signify living in leudness, as with us, but was only a less solemn marriage.

Polygamy inconvenient. However, this liberty rather made the yoke of matrimony heavier than easier; for a married man could not divide his affection so equally among all those women, as to please them all, and was therefore obliged to govern them with an absolute power, as they still do in the *Levant*, and thus in matrimony there was no equality, true friendship or society. It was still more difficult for the rivals to agree among

themselves, but there were perpetually divisions, animosities, and domestick broils among them. Every woman's children had as many step-mothers as his father had other wives: every one sided with his own mother; and looked upon the children of the others as strangers and enemies. We have an instance of these domestick jars in *David's* family, and a greater in *Herod's*.

The rich *Blacks*, as I have hinted above, have two wives, who are exempted from labour, the principal called *Mother Grande*, which is the *Portuguese* name, not of the language of the *Blacks*, which signifies the great wife, who has the charge of governing the house and family. The second privileged wife is called *Bossom*, because she is consecrated to their deity, which bears that name. The husband is very jealous of those two principal wives, but more especially of the latter, and will be enraged and almost distracted, if any man kisses her; and, could he do it privately, would punish her severely for permitting it. As for his other wives, he is nothing near so much concerned, tho' they do not live altogether regularly, especially if it yields him any profit or advantage.

The *Bossom* wives are commonly slaves, purchased on purpose to be consecrated to their deity, and for the most part of an agreeable face and mien; and with them they lie, either out of a religious notion, or for the sake of their beauty, on certain fixed days, as on their birth-day, or on the day of the week, dedicated and set apart for their religious duties, which is *Tuesday*. This preference makes the *Bossoms* esteem their condition above that of the other women; who, as has been said, must till the ground, sow corn, plant yams, and do all other work for their husbands, and have the trouble of dressing his meat; tho', as they eat very poorly, that work is soon done. The husband spends most of his time very idly, either talking, or drinking of palm-wine, which those women are forced very often to get with hard labour, to satisfy the greedy appetite of those slothful drones; I mean many of them, for the wine-drawers and fishermen are laborious enough, the first in getting and selling their wine, the others in fishing, or hiring themselves to the factors on the coast, as occasion offers, to row or paddle their canoes. These, by their own toil and industry, save their wives much labour at home.

The principal wife has the keeping of the husband's money, to lay it out as the family has occasion; and these are so far from being jealous of their husband's taking too many women, that they often press them so to do, because there is a fee of four or five *Ackyes* of gold due to them, from every

BARBOT. every one of those women he takes, as a present; besides, the superiority over them, in every particular, even to lying with the husband three nights together to their one, and that by turns, according to the order of time when they were married.

One to succeed her. When this principal wife is grown very old, or sickly, the man by her consent, chuses one of the others, whom he likes best, to succeed in the functions and privileges of the former, and then she is to meddle no more with any concerns of the family. This new governess, thus preferred, if she has been formerly ill used by her that is laid aside, will then show her repentment, using the other in a haughty manner, and almost like a slave.

Merchants wives happiest. These wives cannot be put away unless in case of adultery; but in general the wives of merchants and traders are the happiest, as not being obliged to labour without doors, and on the contrary well kept by their husbands.

Wives exposed for gain. There are other *Blacks*, who marry many wives, only to get money by them, allowing them to lie with other men for gain; and especially with strangers, whom those women allure by many subtilties, persuading them they are not married; and when got into the net, and in the height of their familiarity, the husband, who is upon the watch, surprizes them, and makes him pay dear to get off.

Gallants ensnared. Others, whose gallants know they are married, will promise upon oath to keep the secret, but yet betray them to their husbands; which in reality they cannot well avoid, because it would go hard with them, should he come to the knowledge of it any other way. Thus they catch them together and receive the man's composition, which he pays to avoid attoning for his offence by a greater fine.

Fine for adultery. If the person is rich, who has had to do with the principal wife of some man of note, the fine is one or two hundred pounds, and the woman is turned off, unless she had the husband's consent to prostitute herself for money. If this happens between a man and woman of the meaner sort, the fine does not exceed four, five, or six pounds sterling; the cause being nicely tried before the proper judges of the country, of which more hereafter.

Women with child. When a man's wife appears to be with child, she is much more regarded by him and taken care of than before; and if it be her first, rich offerings are made to their deities, for her safe delivery. The ceremonies observed upon such occasions are very foolish and ridiculous, one of them being, that as soon as the woman finds she has conceived, she is conducted to the sea-shore, a great number of boys and girls following

and throwing all manner of filth and dirt at her, as she is going thither, and there she is plunged and washed clean; being of opinion, that if this were not done, the infant in her womb, or some of the kindred would certainly die very soon.

BIRTHS.

W H E N a woman is in labour, abundance of the neighbours resort to the house without distinction of sex or age, to attend and help her in case of need, for it is no shame there for a woman to have a croud of men and boys present at her labour. As soon as she is delivered, which is generally within a quarter or half an hour, without any shrieking or crying out, they make her drink a calabash, or gourd full of a sort of liquor made of *Indian* wheat, steeped in water, wine, and brandy, tempered with *Guinea* pepper; and then covering her warm, that she take no cold, they let her rest and sleep for three hours, after which she gets up, washes the new-born babe, and falls to her household work, as she did before, without the least show of pain, or uneasiness: which is a proof of the strength of their constitution.

This puts me in mind of a woman slave, who was delivered aboard our ship, on the bare deck, between the carriages of two guns, in about half an hour; who, the very next moment, took the infant herself, carried it to a tub of water, washed it, and having rested about an hour, fell to work, as busily as ever; helping our cook, which was her peculiar business, carrying the babe at her back, wrapped up in a clout.

Thus child-bearing is there very little trouble to the men, and it is very rare to hear of any woman dying in child-bed, or being so ill as to keep up some days. There is no gossiping, nor groaning feast, nor any provision made of clouts or other necessaries for the new-born babes, and yet all their limbs grow as strong and proportionable as any in *Europe*; only they have longer navels than our children, which must be attributed to the mother's fault, or ignorance.

Those children are for the most part so strong a constitution, that they require little care to be taken of them: for as soon as they have been washed, either in the sea or rivers, they are wrapped up in a small piece of stuff, and laid down on a mat, or on the bare ground, and left to themselves to roul about, which is practised for five or six weeks: after which, their mothers carry them hanging at their back, in a piece of stuff, as our gypsies or beggars do, and keep them there most part of the day, notwithstanding the hard labours they are employed in themselves; and thus they suckle them

them from time to time, lifting up the children to their shoulder, and turning the breasts up to them. And some women, especially when they grow old, have their breasts so long, that the children will hold them with both their hands, without leaning far over the mother's neck; as is also reported of the women of *Cbili*, in *America*, who are said to have very long breasts. Nor is it to be thought strange, those women never wearing any thing to stay up their breasts, which occasions their own weight, especially when full of milk, to extend them; and if we did observe it in *Europe*, we should find women enough in every country that might do the same.

What has been said of the women nursing their infants after this manner, is to be understood of the meaner sort, or slaves: for the women of a higher rank, and more wealthy, never carry their children about with them, but leave them at home, when they go abroad.

*Children
frait, and
go soon.* It is very rare to see any of those children lame, crooked, or ricketty; but they are all found, healthy, strait and well limbed, and before they are eight months old, their nurses let them crawl about alone stark naked, on all fours, feeding heartily on dry bread, and as well satisfied as ours with all their dainties; generally growing so lusty and strong, that they begin to go and talk before they are a year old. Nor are their mothers much troubled with them, but do their work either at home or abroad without any interruption from them: and this is rather to be looked upon as the customary way of breeding them up, than any want of tenderness in the parents; who upon all occasions sufficiently make it appear, that they are as fond of their offspring as other people. Some women will suckle them three years, tho' others do it not a quarter of the time. They take great delight in adorning them with several sorts of gold toys, strings of beads, ivory rings, and some of the sacred tree about their necks, arms, waists, and legs; but they are particularly careful to make them wear several strings of the sacred trees, which they have from their priests, who are sent for as soon as an infant comes into the world, and bind a parcel of strings, coral, and other baubles about their heads, bodies, arms, and legs, and then use exorcisms, according to their manner, believing these to be extraordinary preservatives against all accidents and diseases; but in particular they think they hinder the devil from doing them any harm: and as the children grow up, they buy other new strings of those forcerers, or priests, or as they call them *Confoes*. They fancy each string has its peculiar property and virtue; some to prevent

vomiting, which they put about the child's neck, others about its hair, to keep them from falling; others are to hinder bleeding at the nose; others to make the child sleep well, and others to secure them against venomous creatures. There every mother suckles her own child, and each infant knows its own mother. BARBOT.

EDUCATION.

THUS they breed them up till they are about eight or nine years of age, ^{Boys and girls only learn to swim.} wholly in idleness and play, learning nothing all that while but to swim well, and continuing, as I have said before, stark naked, as they come out of their mothers wombs; boys and girls daily running about the town, or market-place, in some places many hundreds together. It was sometimes very diverting to me to see great numbers of both sexes, indifferently mixed together, playing with much activity and dexterity, among the surges of the sea, about the shore, some on pieces of timber, others on bundles of rushes, made fast under their stomachs, the better to learn to swim; others ducking under the water, and continuing there for a considerable time, the *Blacks* on the coast looking on it as a great perfection in a boy or girl to swim well, which may be of use to them some time in their life. The inland *Blacks* are not so expert at swimming, as being far from the sea, and having few great rivers in their countries, which makes them little regard it.

One great fault in these *Blacks* is, to let their boys and girls eat all manner of carrion they find abroad, as they commonly do, and will often fight among themselves desperately about dividing of it; but considering that the old *Blacks* are generally so filthy and nasty in their way of feeding, and greedy of stinking flesh and rotten fish, it is no wonder the young ones should be of the same temper. Eat carrion.

They rarely correct or punish their children, for any other faults, than wounding of others, or suffering themselves to be beaten; in which cases I have seen some so severely beaten with a stick, that I was amazed their limbs were not broken, and no less at the stubbornness of the boys, who were so far from amendment, that they immediately were guilty of the same offences. Punishment.

When the children are come to seven, or eight, and sometimes nine years of age, they hang before them, at their waist, half a yard of stuff, or the country cloth, like an apron, and then by degrees they are brought to work. If the father is a fisherman, or husbandman, or of any other trade, as a merchant, or a factor, &c. he brings up his boys to his own profession. When a youth is grown up to a competent age,

BARBOT age, he must shift for himself, and as opportunity offers, lays up all he can conveniently get against that time, which the parents seldom or never obstruct. Being thus brought up to their several professions to about twenty years of age, two or three of these youths will associate and keep house together, working for themselves; the father, if he is able, sometimes giving his son a slave to help him in his calling.

Girls the women's business.

The women breed their daughters to beat or pound the corn and rice, to bake bread and dress meat, to clean the house, to take care of their parents clothes, as well as their own; and in general, to all parts of good housewifery. If they are market-women, to sell their provisions; others to weave mats, and make baskets of stain'd rushes of various colours, bedding, coarse cloth of the hairy bark of palm-trees, spin, and many other sorts of works; which those girls, having good natural parts, soon learn, and become perfect in them: for it is observ'd, that the female sex are there generally more ingenious and industrious than the males; so that the maidens, tho' married very young, are capable of housekeeping, and helping their husbands with something of what they had got by their work before.

NAMES.

Children of most have three names.

AS soon as the *Confoe*, or priest, has bless'd the child, if we may so call it, or hung about it those preservatives above-mention'd, the next thing is to give it a name. If the family be above the common rank, the infant has three names given it; the first is the name of the day of the week on which it is born; the next, if a son, is the grandfather's name; and if a girl, the grandmother's; others give their own name, or that of some of their relations.

At *Acra*, the parents having call'd together all their friends, take the names of all the company, and give the child that which is born by most in the company.

What sorts.

THE names for boys are commonly, *Adom, Quagou, Quaw, Corbei, Coffi, &c.* and for girls, *Cancw, Jama, Aquouba, Hiro, Accassaffa*, and many more. Besides these names of their own for boys, they frequently add our christian names, as *John, Antony, Peter, Jacob, Abraham, &c.* being proud of those *European* names; but that is practised only by those that live under the protection of the forts on the coast.

Names from actions.

Besides those two or three names given them, as soon as born and consecrated by the priest, they take several others as they advance in years; for if a man has behaved himself bravely in war, he receives a new name, derived from thence; if he has killed a ravenous beast, he has a name to that ef-

fect; as was practised by the ancient *Romans*, who had performed any great exploits, as in *Africanus, Britannicus, Partbicus, Asiaticus, &c.* The same was used among the *Jews*, and is still among the *New-England Indians*, who call themselves *Sa-Ga-Yeatb, Rua-Getb-Ton*, being several names belonging to one man.

The titles given to our nobility are not known among those *Africans*, nor were they to the *Israelites*; but the names of these last had some great signification, as those of the patriarchs. The name of God entered into the composition of most of them, as *Elias* and *Joel* are composed of the two names of God severally joined. *Jehosaphat*, or *Sephanie* signifies God's judgment; *Josedeck* or *Sedechiab* his justice; *Jobanan* or *John* and *Hananiab*, his mercy; *Natbanuel, Elnatban, Jonatban* and *Nathania*, import all four, given of God, or the gift of God. Sometimes the name of God was implied, or to be understood, as in *Natban, David, Obed, Ozab, Ezra*, as appears by *Eliezer, Oziel, Abdias, &c.* where it is expressed. There were also some mystical and prophetic names, as *Josbua*, or *Jesus*, and those which *Oseab* and *Isaiab* imposed on their children by God's special command. Other names denoted the piety of their parents, as may be seen in the names of *David's* brethren, and his sons. Such are the names which our ignorance of the language makes us think barbarous; and certainly much better than the extravagant surnames of godfathers, now frequently given to children for christian names, so much practised in *England*.

It would take up too much time to recite all the names given to *Blacks*, and the occasions of them, some of them having at least twenty; the principal and most honourable of which, is that given to every one in the market-place, when they are there drinking palm-wine together. However, the common name they go by, is that which was given them at their birth. There are some also who take their name from the number of their mother's children, as the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, which is never done unless the number exceeds six or seven.

CIRCUMCISION,

IS used at no place on the whole coast, but only at *Acra*, where infants are circumcised by the priest, at the same time that they receive their names; and the ceremony is performed in the presence of all the relations of both sexes, and ends with dancing and feasting.

MATRIMONIAL STATE up the INLAND.

HAVING given an account of the marriages, births, and education of the *Blacks* along the coast; it remains that I say some-

something of the behaviour of the inland people in the state of matrimony.

Many wives honourable.

It has been declared, that the *Blacks* on the coast have many wives, which is also practised up the inland country; this multitude of wives being looked upon as the chiefest glory and grandure of the husbands, as their wealth consists in the number of slaves, tho' this often proves their ruin, every man being obliged to make good the damage done by his slave, in cases of theft or adultery, according to the fine imposed for his crime, and to be responsible for their children, nephews, and other relations; but this sometimes not in the whole, because it is usual for the relations to help one another by mutual contributions, every one according to his circumstances; else the criminal would be condemned to slavery or death.

Punishment of Adultery.

In those inland countries, he who debauches a married woman is not only ruined himself, but his relations suffer with him. If the man, whose wife is so debauched is rich, or in some considerable post, he will not be satisfied with ruining the criminal, but will do his utmost to have him made away. If the offender be a slave, his death is inevitable, and that in the most cruel manner, but his master must also pay a fine: and the woman is in great danger of her life, unless her relations do pacify her husband with a considerable sum of money. But if she has committed adultery with her husband's slave, she is without appeal condemned to die with her adulterer, and her parents obliged to pay her husband a sum of money. For here every such considerable *Black*, thus injured, is properly his own judge; or if he is not himself strong enough, to see reparation made him, his friends join and assist him, they being sure to get some part of the fines.

Mighty fines.

Those *Blacks* being much richer, than the others that live near the coast, and amongst the *Europeans*, the fines are carried to four or five thousand pounds sterling, for the crime of adultery. Whereas at the *Gold Coast*, no man whatsoever, even a king, tho' he should sell all he has in the world, could raise such a sum of money on any account whatsoever, excepting the kings of *Acron*, and *Aquamboe*, which possess great riches, and if their wealth was joined would amount to a greater sum, than that of all the others on the coast could make up together.

Lewdness of women.

The great punishment inflicted here on women for adultery, being either a cruel death, or excessive fines, is not sufficient to restrain their lust: they being of a nature so much hotter than the men; and ten, fifteen, or twenty married all to one husband; it is

easy to conceive how insufficient he must be to satisfy so many: thence it is, that notwithstanding the severities they incur, they are continually contriving to get the company of some other men; and they dreading the event, are not easily brought to comply with them: which puts that sex upon studying means and contrivances, to allure them; and sometimes, if they chance to get a young brisk fellow alone, they will tear the clout or stuff which covers his middle parts, and throw themselves upon him; swearing that if he will not satisfy their desires, they will accuse them to their husbands, as having attempted their chastity. And tho' he were as chaste as *Joseph*, being seen in that posture, it would little avail to plead he came thither by chance, or surprize; the woman's accusation would prevail, and the poor wretch, tho' never so innocent, would suffer cruelly, and lose his life, in horrid torments, if neither he, nor his relations were able to atone it by great fines.

Others of those lewd women, will observe the place where the person on whom they cast their lustful eyes used to sleep; then steal to, and lie softly down by him; after which awaking him, they use all their arts to bring him to satisfy their passion: and the more to allure him, will swear and assure him, no person whatever knows of their coming to him, and that they can retire without the least suspicion of their husband, or any other person; adding, if he still proves insensible to gratify their desires, that they will make such a noise, as shall occasion their being surprized together. Upon which protestation the youngman is forced to yield, and satisfy the lustful woman as well as he can: and if this familiarity can be kept some time secret, they perhaps repeat it so often, that at last it is discovered; and then they receive the aforesaid punishments. Thus it appears that men there are very jealous of their wives, and act in this particular with too much partiality and injustice, as not making it reciprocal, since they themselves spare no cost or inducements to corrupt the wives or daughters of other men.

For how jealous soever the women may have cause there to be of their husbands, they have no other satisfaction, for their many infidelities, than to study to wean them from that vice, by soft and tender admonitions or endearments, none of those women, except the chief wife, daring to chide them for it. Which particular prerogative of the chief wife, tho' exerted as opportunities do offer, charging them severely on that head, and threatening to forsake their house, and company, if they continue that vicious course; yet it must

BARBOT. be done at such time as the husband seems to be in a good temper, else it would avail little, and she might perhaps find him too hard for her, or give little ear to her remonstrances.

When married women have their usual courses, they are reputed so unclean, that they must be separated from their husbands, and kept in a small hut near theirs, or their own father's house.

If a man gets a child by his slave, whether married to her or not, his heirs will look upon it, and keep it, only as a slave; for which reason, those who have a tender

affection for their slaves, will take care to make their children free, with the usual ceremonies, before they die; after which, such children are treated as free persons, in every particular, amongst the people.

I desire to be excused, if the variety of subjects, which occur to my memory, makes me, perhaps, not treat of them in that order as is requisite; and being now upon giving an account of women in general, either married or unmarried, concubines, or harlots, I shall refer what more is to be said of them to the next chapter.

C H A P. XIX.

Ceremony observ'd with fruitful women; single men and women; publick harlots. Right of inheritance; language; degrees of people. Mulattoes.

CEREMONY with FRUITFUL WOMEN.

IT is the custom in the country of *Anta*, when a woman has born ten children, to keep separate from her husband in a small hut, remote from the concourse of people, for a whole year, where she is very carefully provided with all manner of necessaries to maintain her. When that time is elapsed, and all ceremonies, usual on that occasion, perform'd, she returns to her spouse's house, to live with him as she did before. This practice is so singular in it self, that it must needs proceed from some superstitious notion, which we can give no account of; but only that it is peculiar to *Anta*.

A year's confinement.

SINGLE MEN and WOMEN.

Several of both sexes here live single, at least for some time; tho' commonly the number of females exceeds that of single men; because they live more pleasant and free unmarried, than they should if wedded: and perhaps have the more liberty to enjoy the company of men. Women of that temper, afterward usually marry among the common people, with whom they may more safely continue this vicious course of life; the meaner *Blacks* being less provok'd at the infidelity of their wives than the better sort.

Loose livers.

Another reason also may be, that there being very many more women than men, they must wait the opportunity of being asked, to marry. And in the mean while, they satisfy their sensuality, without incurring the scandalous name of whores, but are rather look'd upon as the better fitted for wedlock, by many *Blacks* who are not rich; and thus they can wait the opportunity of being asked in marriage, with more satisfaction.

More women than men.

Few of the men die unmarried, unless very young; but commonly take a wife as soon as they can raise money to defray the

wedding-charges; which, as I have said before, being so very inconsiderable, they soon speed. But the children of the chief, or rich sort of people, are generally married before they are able to make distinction of sexes; when the parents or relations are inclined to it, and want no money. There are also several families, which interchangeably marry their children, almost as soon as they are born, without any other formalities, but the consent and agreement of both parties, willing to be more nearly allied.

Infants married.

PUBLICK HARLOTS.

Several women never marry, but take the character and profession of publick whores, for the *Manceroes* or batchelors; as is commonly seen in the countries of *Isfeny*, or *Awine*, *Egwira*, *Abocroe*, *Ancober*, *Axim*, *Anta*, and *Adom*; where several women in each country are initiated in that trade, after this manner.

The *Manceroes*, or batchelors, having petitioned the *Caboceiroes*, or rulers of their towns or villages, to set up a publick whore for their use; the *Caboceiroes* accordingly, or sometimes the *Manceroes*, with their consent, buy a beautiful woman slave, who is brought to the publick market-place, accompanied with another already of that profession, to instruct her in the mysteries of her trade: after which, the novice is smeared all over with earth; and then, they make several offerings for her good success, and better performances in the course of her employment thereafter. This being done, a little boy, yet unripe for acts of love, makes a representation of lying with her in the sight of all the people there present; and then it is declared to her, that thenceforth she is obliged to receive all persons without distinction, even boys, that shall desire her company. Then the harlot is conducted

to

to a small hut, built for her, a little out of the way, and there, for eight or ten days together, lies with every man that comes to her: at the expiration of which time, she has the name of her profession, *Abrakrees*, or *Abelecre*, which imports *Common Whore*; and has a dwelling-place assigned her, near one of her masters, or in a particular place of the town, where, during her life, she is obliged to deny no person the use of her body, tho' he offers never so small a sum for her reward; which sum seldom is above a penny: if any give more, it is their free-will or civility, because some, perhaps, may be better pleased with her company than others.

Each of the above-mentioned towns has two or three such *Abrakrees*, according to the number of the inhabitants. The money those wenches get, by their fordid prostitution, they carry to their masters, who allow them as much out of it as is necessary to subsist and clothe them.

In the countries along the *Coast* from *Quaqu* to *Axim*, they have three such *Abrakrees* in each town, set up by the governors, and yielding them considerable profits. Every *Black*, who passes through the market-place, where these whores dwell, being obliged to give them some few gold *Krakra*; there these publick women have also the privilege to take what provisions, or clothes they can lay their hands on, without impunity; nor are they to be denied it, in so great favour and esteem they are.

Among the other ceremonies practised for installing them in that profession, which are like those already mention'd, the offering to be made is a hen, which when killed, they cut the bill of it, and so let it bleed on the woman; but to what purpose, I know not, only that the *Blacks* say it signifies, she will not be ashamed of her profession, of which she maketh a publick declaration, to all the people present.

These common women daily prostituting themselves to abundance of men sound, or unsound; live in perpetual danger of being infected with the foul disease, which they seldom escape: and when once they have it, no body takes any care of them, nor the masters they belong to; who seeing their profit at an end, neglect them: and thus forsaken, these unhappy wretches live as miserable a life for a while, as their end is deplorable.

On the contrary, as long as these women are in their prime, fresh, and healthy, they are much regarded and esteemed by all persons; insomuch that when the factor at *Axim*, for instance, has any controversy with the *Blacks* there, he has no better way to bring them to a reasonable composition, than by taking one of those *Abe-*

leces, into his custody, in the fort. For ^{BARBOT.} as soon as the *Manceroes* hear it, they wait with great eagerness on the *Caboceroes*, to require him to give the factor satisfaction, that he may set their harlot at liberty again: urging for their reason, that during her confinement, such as have no wives will be prompted to run the danger of lying with married women. And it has been seen there on the like occasion, that the whole town came upon their knees, to intreat the factor to release them; and among them, several who had no particular interest in it. And it may truly be said, that it is not possible to afflict a land or town more sensibly than by seizing their *Abrakrees*. Whereas it also happened there, that when the factor had seized and confined, five or six *Caboceiroes* in the fort, tho' they are the magistrates among the *Blacks*, scarce any body, besides their own relations, was concerned for them. Throughout all the lands of *Fida*, they have a vast number of those publick women: there you may see an incredible number of huts, not above ten foot long and six broad, near the great roads, through the whole coun- ^{Harlots} try, in which, on certain appointed days, ^{left as le-} those women wait for any body that ^{gacies.} has occasion to make use of them; and they are very many, the country being extremely populous, both in freemen and slaves, and the married women kept up very strict. It is easy to judge, that these women on such days have very much business upon their hands; and it is reported there for a certain truth, that some of them have had the company of thirty men in a day, at the common price of three *Boefjes* (or *Cauris*) a sort of little white shells, of the *Maldivy* islands in the *East-Indies*, which are there the current money, and those three *Cauris* may perhaps cost us about a farthing; and this is the set price, for every man that wants the company of those harlots, and their subsistence, besides what they can earn on other days, by more honest industry and work: for being at their own disposal, and not solemnly initiated to this profession, as at the *Gold Coast*, so they have no overseers to account with; but they are generally appointed for the publick use, by some of the most considerable women, as legacies on their deathbed: it being usual for them to buy some fine female-slaves to that purpose, out of a charitable design, as is supposed, believing they shall receive their reward in the other world; and consequently the more of such harlots they present to the publick, the greater their reward shall be.

These harlots having more business on their hands there commonly, than the others on the *Gold Coast*, of consequence involve them-

Small reward for the use of a woman.

Privilege of harlots.

Initiating.

Contemn'd when unsound.

Honour'd in their prime.

BARBOT. themselves in more misery than they; by having to do with more unsound men, and accordingly like them come to a wretched miserable end, and sometimes very young too: seldom any arriving to a moderate age.

This infamous practice of publick prostitutes is of a very ancient date, as may be inferred from the history of *Judab*, and *Tamar* his eldest son *Er's* widow, (*Gen. xxxviii. 14, to 23.*) *Tamar* put her widow's garments off from her, and covered her with a vail, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place, which is by the way to *Timnath*: and *Judab* seeing her, thought her to be an harlot, because she had covered her face. And he turned unto her by the way, and having agreed with her for her price, and given her his signet, bracelets, and staff, for a pledge of the kid from the flock, he had agreed to give her, and so came in unto her, and she conceived by him, &c. In which, *Tamar* followed the usage of the common harlots amongst the *Adullamites*, a pagan nation, amongst whom *Judab* and *Tamar* dwelt; in whose country *Hebron* was situated, who allowed of publick harlots, to set with a vail on the high roads, for the use of travellers. On the other hand, those *Adullamite* idolaters accounted fornication as a thing dishonest, vicious, and infamous, as may be inferred from the expression of *Judab* himself, after his friend and own god-father *Hira* the *Adullamite*, by whom he had sent the promised *Kid* to *Tamar*, whom he all along thought a publick harlot; and he had reported to him, he could not find the woman, she being gone away, and having laid by her vail: *Let her take it*, (meaning the pledges he had given her) *to her, lest we be ashamed*. As if he would have said, lest by making too strict inquiry after her, to have the aforesaid things returned, we discover the vicious act I have committed with a publick harlot on the high way, which would turn to my dishonour, amongst the inhabitants of the country.

The custom of the *Adullamites* publick harlots, was to beautify their faces, and being covered with a vail, to sit on a high way where two roads parted. It is apparent by the passages of the first of *Kings chap. xv. 12.* and *chap. xxii. 47.* that in the reigns of *Asa*, and of *Jehosaphat*, kings of *Judab*, the *Israelites* allowed men to make a trade of a publick prostitution of themselves to *Sodomy*: which is yet far more criminal. It is true, *Asa* took away the greatest part of these *Sodomites* out of the land, and *Jehosaphat*, the remnant of them.

INHERITANCE,

THE right of inheritance all over the *Gold Coast*, except at *Acra*, is very strangely settled; for the children born legitimate, never inherit their parents effects. The brothers and sisters children are the lawful heirs: and all that the son of a king or *Brasso*, or *Caboceiro*, has of right, is his deceased father's office, his shield and cymiter, but no goods, chattels, or money: unless his father, which seldom happens, out of his tender affection in his life-time bestow something on him very secretly; for if it comes to be discovered after his decease, they will force the son to return it to the last penny.

The brothers and sisters children 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. The father himself nor his relations as brothers, sisters, &c. have no claim to the goods of the deceased.

In some places, the wife of the deceased is obliged to give over to his brother, if any, or his father, if living, all the effects he had, without reserve for herself or his children; and in case of a married woman's death, her husband must refund all he received from her parents for her portion. Thus whatsoever way it is, the children are left so unprovided, that they must hire themselves, as shall be said hereafter, to subsist: for there no body is allowed to beg, therefore the father in his life-time, if he has any paternal affection, tho' ever so rich, will have them trained up to some profession, to serve them in that extremity. *Acra*, as I said above, is the only place, where the children are the sole lawful heirs to their father's or mother's effects; except in point of succession of the crown, which by law devolves to the deceased king's eldest brother, or sister's husband, in default of the former.

It is supposed the *Blacks* in this particular follow the maxim of some eastern nations of the *Indies*, which adopt their sisters children, to inherit their dignity and effects; because they cannot question such being of their own blood: whereas, they can have no positive certainty that their own wives have not committed adultery at one time or other, and born children of a strange blood; but of this more hereafter, concerning succession to the regal office.

LANGUAGE,

THO' the *Gold Coast* be but of a small extent, as has been shown, yet have they seven or eight languages, so different from space.

from one another, that three or four of them are unintelligible to any but the respective natives. The people of the country called *Junmore*, twelve leagues west of *Axim*, cannot understand the language of *Egwira*, *Ancober*, *Abocroe*, and *Axim*; and those between *Cormentyn*, and *Acra*, have also four several dialects, tho' there are but twenty leagues distance from the former to the latter.

some very ude. The *Axim* idiom has a very disagreeable brutish sound; that of *Anta* is sweeter and more pleasing, tho' not very beautiful neither. But that of *Acra* is the worst of all, and the most shocking, and nothing like any of the rest.

The language of the inland *Blacks* of *Dinkira*, *Akim*, *Adom*, and *Accany*, is much pleasanter, and more agreeable; as any person of but indifferent judgment may soon discern; and not only better sounding, but more intelligible, and might be learned very well in a few years: whereas those on the coast can scarce be attained in ten years, to any perfection; the sound of some words being so strange, that it is extremely difficult to express them by *European* letters, and more particularly by the *English* alphabet: the pronunciation of letters being in *English* of another sound, than they are in all other nations of *Europe*. And since the *Blacks* can neither write nor read, and have no use of any characters, it is consequently impossible to express their faults, and as difficult to learn their language, in two or three years, of constant practice amongst them; for many have lived there ten years, and yet could not understand and speak it to perfection, nor scarce hit the pronunciation.

The *Fetu* language being most generally understood at the *Gold Coast* amongst the *Blacks*, as I have said before; I have made a collection of some familiar words and phrases, which shall be found in the supplement: and if the letters and vowels are pronounced as in *French*, I doubt not but a *Black* will understand it, when so founded and expressed. Had I lived any considerable time amongst them, I had collected a much greater number of phrases and words, to help sea-faring men in their commerce with the natives of the *Gold Coast*; besides the other languages, in which we can talk to them: for many of the coast *Blacks* speak a little *English*, or *Dutch*; and for the most part speak to us in a sort of *Lingua Franca*, or broken *Portuguese* and *French*.

DEGREES of BLACKS.

BEfore I proceed any farther in describing the manners and customs of the *Blacks*, both in civil and religious respects; I

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think it convenient, first, to make some BARBOT. general observations of the several degrees they have among them, which are five.

In the first rank, are their kings or captains, the word being there synonymous; Kings or captains. for as I have before observed, the *Blacks* never used to give their chiefs or principals any other title than that of colonel and captian, before the *Europeans* came among them.

The second rank, must be given to their chief governours or magistrates, in civil affairs; whose province it is only to administer justice, and see order kept under their kings, in the respective towns or villages. These are called *Caboceiroes*, or chief men.

The third degree, is of those, who either by inheritance or their own industry in traffick, are possessed of much money, and many slaves: such are improperly the nobles of their country; and tho' it cannot be very well made out, that they have any particular sense or knowledge of nobility, in the manner as it is acquired amongst the polite nations of the world, by some heroic actions, or eminent services performed for the advantage of their country; yet, I shall not scruple to call these rich *Blacks* nobles, tho' some persons seem to ridicule it.

The fourth order of *Blacks*, must be the common people; that is, fisher-men, husband-men, wine-drawers, weavers, and other mechanicks. Commons.

In the fifth and last rank, I place the slaves, whether become so by poverty, or sold by their relations, or taken in war.

As to the first degree, the dignity of king or captain, in most countries descends by inheritance from the father to the son, and in default of such issue, to the next heir-male. In some other countries, the richest man in slaves and money, will be preferred before the right heir, if he is poor. I shall speak of the inaugurations of these kings hereafter.

The second degree, viz. the *Caboceiroes*, or magistrates, are generally limited to a certain set number, chosen from among the commonalty, and are generally persons pretty well advanced in years; young men are seldom or never put into such an office. According to the custom at *Axim*, the candidates for such office, must be natives of the country, and living or at least keeping a house there, inhabited by one or more of his wives, or by some of his family, and he himself residing there also. Sometimes there, on occasion of adding one or more *Caboceiroes* to the assembly or common-council of the town, he or they are brought to the *Dutch* factor in the fort; with a request that such, or such, may be admitted into

S f f

their

BARBOT. their said common-council, the *Dutch* there having the right of sovereignty over those *Blacks*. If the factor has nothing to object against the person, he administers an oath to him on the bible, to be ever true to the *Dutch* nation in every respect, and to aid and assist them to the utmost of his power against all their enemies whatsoever, *Europeans* or *Blacks*, like a loyal subject. After which the factor causes him to take another oath, respecting his own country-men and nation: which being done, he obliges him to confirm and ratify these two formal oaths, by this imprecation: *That God would strike him dead, if he swore contrary to his intentions, or doth not keep his oath.* Then the bible is held on his breast, and laid on his head, by way of farther confirmation of all the former obligatory oaths and imprecation. After which, his name is registered, and the *Dutch* governor acknowledges him a member of their assembly, and admits him to all the rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging thereto: and having made the due presents to his brethren, he is a *Caboceiro* during life.

At other places not subject to the *Dutch* government, some of their *Caboceiroes* dying, and the vacancies not being filled, when in their assembly they find the numbers of them too small, they chuse others, as has been said, out of the commonalty, persons in years, and so put them into office. The persons thus nominated, are to treat their brethren of the common-council, with a cow, and some drink; which being done, they are *ipso facto* admitted and confirmed.

Creation of nobles.

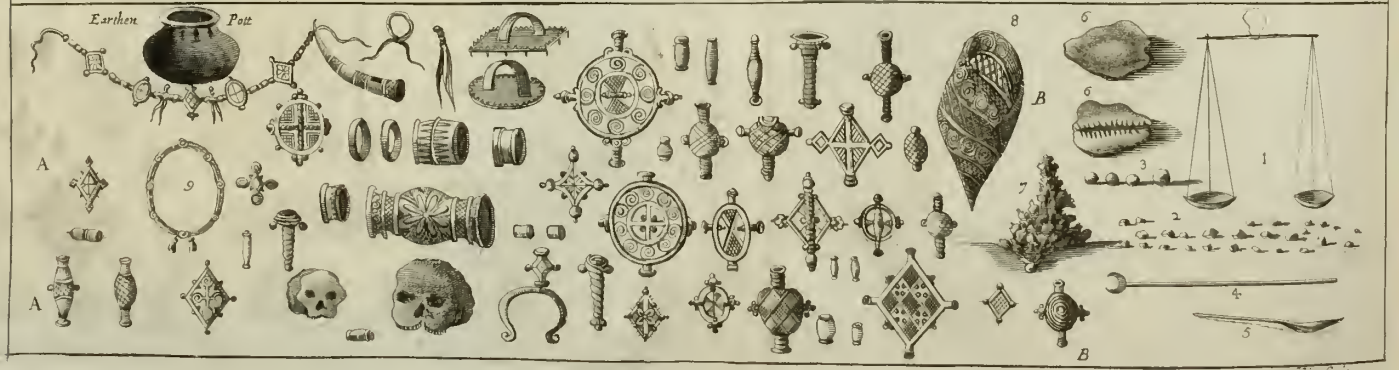
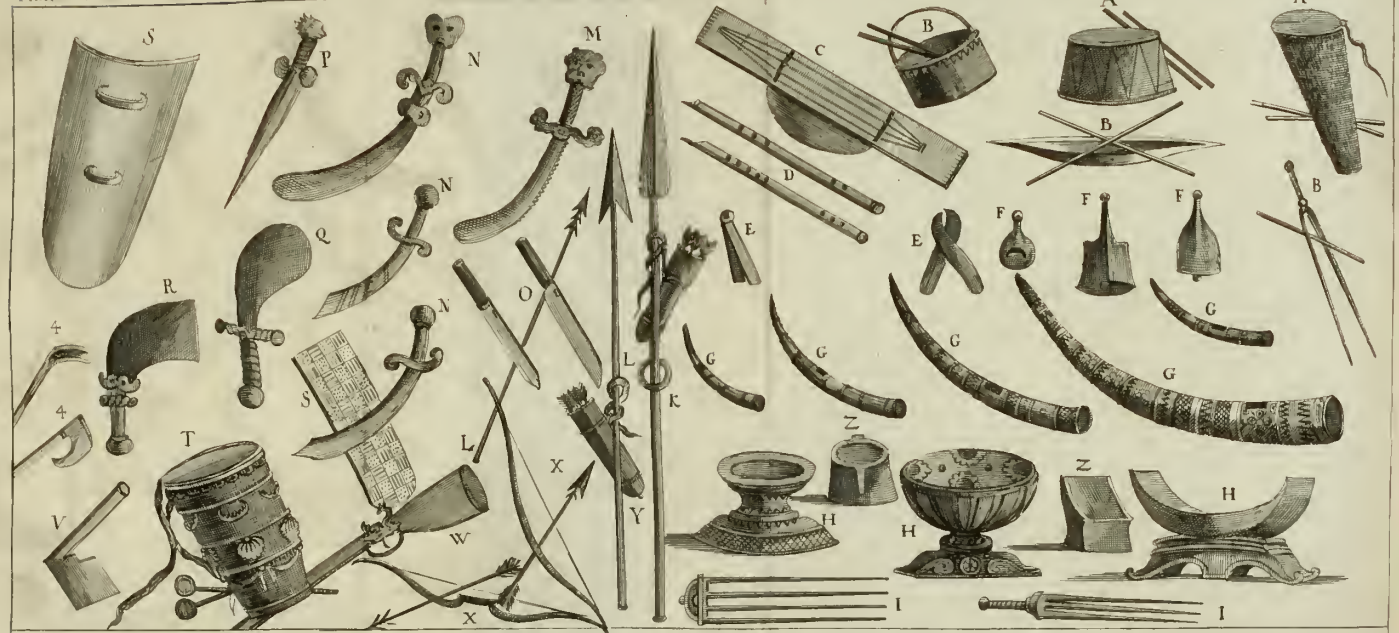
As to the third rank of *Blacks*, whether we consider them as nobles, tho' they may not be properly so call'd, as having no notion of that true nobility which is the reward of great publick services, or barely as rich men, by inheritance, or industry; it is to be observed, that the *Blacks* in general do all they can to acquire a reputation, or great name among their countrymen. At some places, when a *Black*, who thinks he has money enough to defray the expences usually made at the installing himself into this third order, and has proposed his design to the king or *Caboceiroe* of his village or town, the principal men appoint a day for the publick ceremony; at which time, the man brings a cow to the market-place, or, if he is not rich enough, a dog, or a goat. Then he sends to all the noblemen of the place, and to his other friends, a little gold, and a hen, to each of them: those who are so invited to assist at the ceremony, dress themselves as fine as they can, and repair to the market-place, where the *Black* waits for them, as richly adorned as he can pos-

sibly; follow'd by a little boy, who carries his wooden seat or stool, and many slaves, with all the other men and women of the village, great and small, armed after the *Moorish* fashion, singing, dancing and skirmishing, men against men, to the sound of their horns or trumpets, and other instruments of their musick, at the head of all the company; at which is the *Brasso*, or *Caboceiroes* if the king be not there himself in person, with their javelins and shields. After which, they proceed to the ceremonial, in this manner.

They seat the *Black* on some straw, so that he may not touch ground, the people wishing him all happiness; the wives of the other nobles, or rich *Blacks*, at the same time, wishing much joy to his wife. When the felicitations are over, the man is adorned with abundance of gold toys about his head; a gold ring about his neck, and another on his left arm, having two round clasps, one at each side. They put into his left hand, an elephant's, or a horse's tail; then all the assistants, placing themselves each in his proper rank, the men on one side, the women on another, and the king, *Caboceiroes*, and nobles, in another body; some *Blacks* lead the beast, destin'd for sacrifice, all over garnish'd with toys, and boughs of the sacred tree; and some bugles, or green glass beads: and after it is carried on four other men's shoulders, the person who occasions the ceremony sitting on his stool; having two slaves under him, to hold his legs and feet: and at the head of them, his horn-blowers or trumpeters. After him, follow all the people; and with this equipage and attendance he is carried all about the town, and round the market-place, that every body may for the future honour him, as a person of distinction.

The women of the town, with those of the adjacent villages, which as well as the men commonly resort to such spectacles, walk also two and two, in order, before the man's wife; throwing flower of *Indian* wheat at her face. When the procession is over, he is carried to his house, where a treat is prepared for the chief of the people; and a white sheet displayed, on the top of the house, in sign of honour.

These formalities are repeated for three days successively; and being expired, the publick executioner of the place, kills the beast appointed to be sacrificed to their God, with all the others the invited gentry use commonly to bring on the like occasions, which are kept for three days before in the market-place. These being thus slaughtered, they are divided into as many parts as there are men invited, the head being usually reserved for the founder of the



the feast, especially if it be of a cow or an ox, to be kept in his house, as a testimonial of his nobility, and of the right he has thereby acquired to traffick every where, to buy and sell slaves, &c. to keep drummers and horn-blowers of his own, which the common people are not permitted to do; but if they are inclined to divert themselves, must borrow them: which makes those *Blacks*, who have purchased the said privilege, as proud as any of our upstart quality; and, like them, will scarce speak to the common sort, looking on them as unworthy of their conversation. The new couple of nobles must not eat of the flesh of the beast sacrificed on their account, believing if they did, they should certainly die that very day.

When the feast is over, both man and wife take new deities, and having washed and dried the cow or goat's head, hang it up in their house, as an ensign of their nobility; and it is accounted the principal ornament of the house.

The expence of this ceremonial commonly costs them seven or eight *Bendas* of gold; or about sixty pounds sterling, more, or less: but the presents they receive from all their friends, often defray one half. But such is the vanity of the *Blacks* in general, that if they can but raise so much money as to clear these expences of the ceremonial, to be install'd among the rich or nobles, they care for no more; and sometimes those poor fellows are obliged, the very next day after their promotion, to go a fishing to maintain their family; and will nevertheless, upon all occasions, entertain the *Europeans* they have the opportunity to converse with, with their wealth and abilities.

Musical
horns.

In some places the blowing horns, which those distinguished *Blacks* are allowed to have, are about seven, made of small Elephant's teeth, curiously wrought with several odd figures of beasts, and other things, cut all over them, as represented in the

PLATE 22. CUT.

On those horns they cause their family to be taught all sorts of tunes usual among the *Blacks*, which when they have learnt, they inform all their relations and acquaintance, that they intend to show their blowing horns publickly, that they may come and make merry with them for several days together; whilst they, their wives and slaves appear with all the pomp possible; borrowing gold and coral of their friends, to make the greater show; and distributing presents amongst them, so that this ceremony becomes very expensive, but when over, they are free to blow their horns at pleasure. I must not omit, being upon this subject, to take notice of a most horrid practice amongst the *Blacks* of *Fetu*, when

any one has new drums or horns, they there consecrate them with human blood. To this effect, the slave appointed to be sacrificed is made to drink and dance merrily all the day, and at night they throw him down, with his face in the sand, then cut his head off, and in four or five hours after, they drink palm-wine out of the upper part of his skull, in the sight of all the people.

The pretended new nobleman, thus install'd, commonly purchases first one, and then another buckler or shield; of which he makes as publick and pompous a show as that of the horns; and is obliged to lie the first night, with all his retinue, in the open air, to express that he will dread no dangers, nor spare any hardships in defence of his family. After which he spends the next and the remaining days of the feast, which commonly last about eight days, in shooting and warlike exercises, as well as dancing, and all sorts of mirth; himself, his wives, and family, being as richly drest as they possibly can, exposing all he has in the world to publick view, and removing from place to place: but this festival is not so expensive as the former, for instead of making presents, as usual in that, at this, on the contrary, he receives very valuable gifts; and when he designs to go to the war, he is allowed to carry two shields, which men of the inferiour rank are not permitted to do.

These nobles are generally very un-*Nobles* nimous, and live friendly together, being *friendly* ready upon all occasions to help one another, and feasting amongst themselves, from time to time, by turns. They have commonly two such publick feasts, the first is to celebrate the anniversary of their installation, each in his order, as it happens. On that day they consecrate new idols, and adorn the cow's heads with them, making great rejoycings, &c.

The other is a general feast, falling *Feasts* usually on the sixth day of *July*, during which they all have one and the same idol to which they sacrifice. On that day each of those nobles wears a green bough of the sacred tree, platted about his neck, in the manner of a collar, or garland, their bodies being smeared with a red and white dye, and then change the toys about their cow's heads. This feast ends the night, when the *Caboceiroe*, or chief of the town, treats them all; and with such plenty of liquor, that they all go home very drunk.

Whatever notions the *Blacks* may have of this their gentility, several *European* factors can boast, that for several years they have been waited on by some of these nobles, in the capacity of their footman, or *Valet de Chambre*.

BARBOT. *Chambre.* However it is certain, on the other hand, that generally there, those gentlemen are put into offices and places of trust, next after the king's relations, as occasion offers.

The *Blacks* of the three chief orders I have described, will not be called or looked upon as *Moors*, which they fancy implies slaves, or some wretched poor creatures; but desire to be called *Pretos*, which in *Portuguese* signifies *Blacks*.

Of the fourth and fifth sorts of *Blacks* above-mention'd, I shall speak more particularly hereafter, and repeat, for the present, that they are common people and slaves.

MULATTOES.

BESIDES the above five orders of men, inhabiting those countries, there is a sixth, which must be taken notice of; and is, the *Mulattoes* or *Tapoeyers*, as the *Blacks* call them; being begotten by *Europeans* upon the *Black* or *Mulatto* women, of a tawny, yellow-brown complexion, neither white nor black, who, when young, are far from handsome; and when old, frightful; especially the old women, who look as lean and poor as envy it self can be represented. In process of time the bodies of *Mulattoes* become speckled with white, brown and yellow spots, like leopards, and resembling them in their barbarous nature; which all who

have any thing to do with them, must certainly own. They are generally profligate villains, a bastard race, as unfaithful to the *Europeans*, as untrue to the *Blacks*, and very rarely agreeing among themselves; and tho' they assume the name of christians, are as superstitious idolaters as any of the *Blacks* can be: and whatever is in its own nature worst in the *Europeans* and *Blacks*, is united in them. Most of the women are common whores, publickly to the *Whites*, and privately to the *Blacks*. The men are for the most part soldiers, in the service of the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*; clothed like them; but the women, different from the *Black* women's dress: for they prink up themselves after a particular manner. Such of them as pretend to any fashion, wear a fine shift, and over that a short jacket of silk or stuff, without sleeves; which reaches from under the arms to their hips, fasten'd only at the shoulders. On their heads they wear several caps one over the other; the uppermost of which is of silk, pleated before, and round at the top, to make it fit fast: over all which, they have a sort of fillet, going twice or thrice about the head, which dress makes a great show: their lower parts are clothed like the *Black* women. Those who are poor, have the upper part of their body naked.

C H A P. XX.

Roads, towns and houses. Diet. Rain much dreaded. Civility. Merchants; fishermen; blacksmiths; goldsmiths. Arms; tools, and musical instruments. Husbandry; canoes; potters; thatchers. Markets and slaves.

ROADS, TOWNS and HOUSES.

THE *Blacks*, in building their towns or villages, have very little regard to the pleasantness, or conveniency of the situation, either for fine prospect, pleasant walks, or other advantages; which they might procure to themselves, if they were sensible of such benefits, since they have many noble rivers, pleasant valleys, and well-planted hills; but, on the contrary, they commonly build them in dry and disagreeable places. Nor are they any wiser or more curious in the making of roads and paths, from place to place, as I have before hinted: for they are generally crooked, rough, and uneven; so that the distance between places is made almost double; nor will they be persuaded to mend or alter them, as they might very well, with little labour; to save to themselves the inconveniency of such crooked, intolerable roads.

Bad roads.

Irregular towns.

Their towns and villages are composed of several huts, standing in parcels, and

scattering; which by their disposition, or situation, form many little lanes, crooked, and very irregular; all of them ending at the wide open place, which they commonly leave in the centre of the town, and call it the market-place: serving daily both to hold the market, and to divert the inhabitants.

The towns and villages of the inland countries, are generally much larger than at the *Gold Coast*, and consequently much more populous. But neither the inland towns, nor those at the coast, have any walls or pallisadoes, like those of the *Moors*, dwelling about the river *Niger*; which are fenced round with elephant's teeth, to keep off the wild ravenous beasts.

The strength of their villages, in some parts, consists in their being situated on some steep, barren, high ground or rocks, or in a marshy, swampy place, and but rarely on a river, or brook; accessible only by some narrow, uneven paths, or crooked lane; or through some large thick woods: and

and some also in the midst of a wood. At the coast, they are commonly placed on a dry barren ground, or on a flat rock, or some gravelly sandy place.

The houses are generally small and very low, looking at a distance, more like barracks in a camp than dwelling-houses, except some of those about the *European* forts, which are somewhat larger and more commodious; the natives there having learnt of us how to order them to a greater advantage than others; as I have before observed, at *Mina*, and some other places on the coast, they are one or two stories high, with several ground rooms, and some of them have flat roofs.

Houses how built.

The *Blacks* generally build their houses on four posts or trunks of trees, drove into the ground, at such distance as they design the largeness of the house to be, and about six or seven foot high. To those main corners of the houses they fasten three or four long poles athwart, at equal distances one above another, and again others across them downwards, from the uppermost to the ground. The house being thus framed, they lay on a sort of clay or plastering both within and without, about eight inches in thickness; which in a very short time, by the heat of the sun, becomes almost as hard and solid as a stone wall, leaving a few small lights or holes in the wall, and a very low and narrow door, or passage, to go in or out at. Lastly, they for the most part colour the inside of the wall, white and red, or black and yellow, as every one likes best.

The roof.

On those mud and timber walls they lay small quarters across both ways for the roof; and instead of tiles, cover them with palm tree, or rice leaves, or bulrushes, as the place they live in affords. In most houses the roof is so contrived, that it opens at the top, to let in air, when the weather is hot.

Doors.

The door-way is so low, that no man can go in, without bowing himself almost double; and for a door, some plat bulrushes flat and very thick together; others have some sorry pieces of boards, hung with ropes instead of hinges, and both sorts of them open either out or in, as they think fit.

Floors.

The ground-floor of the house is of the same sort of hard clay, as the walls, and in the midst of it is a hole, to hold a pot of palm-wine, when they meet to make merry.

Out-houses.

Adjoining to the houses of the common sort of people, they build two or three small huts for offices; the houses of the richer sort having generally seven or eight such huts somewhat distant from each other, some of them for their wives to live in, some for their children, and others to dress their meat, keep their provisions and the like. Most of those huts are divided into two or three

parts by partitions, made of rushes bound close together. The better sort of houses are commonly enclosed with all their said small huts, or out-houses by, as it were a hedge, made 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 out into the street being through the main house.

BARBOT.

The houses of the kings and other great men, are generally built by themselves near the market-place, being much larger than the others, and having more out-houses and offices, but all of the same materials as those already described of the inferior people, disposed without any order. In the midst of them is a kind of pavillion, where the king or chief man holds his court, and before the door are two large earthen pots, set in the ground, full of fresh water, for their deities; and by them a few sentinels or guards, armed with javelins, who do duty there continually, and are lodged and maintained in the palace, as are the owner's wives.

Houses of great men.

A house is there built in seven or eight days, and with a small charge, as seldom costing above forty shillings to pay masons and carpenters; for the materials, either timber, clay, or leaves to thatch them, are taken where they can be found about the country, and that is the business of the slaves.

Cheap building.

Every family has commonly a sort of store-house, or granary without the town, or village, where they keep their *Indian* wheat, millet, or rice, for the year's provision.

Store-houses.

The houses in every village, or town, being thus built near, tho' not joining to one another, and as it were in a heap, without allowing spacious streets; it is very ill walking through the said towns, especially in rainy weather, because the lanes being so narrow, they who have occasion to go along them in rainy weather, cannot avoid receiving all that runs off the eaves of the thatched houses: but the stench of the towns is much more insupportable, for, as has been said before, the *Blacks* commonly ease themselves in those very lanes, only throwing a little earth upon their excrement, as was enjoined in the *Mosaical* law, *Deut. xxiii. 13. Thou shalt have a paddle, and when thou wilt ease thyself abroad, thou shalt dig therewith, and shalt turn back and cover that which cometh from thee.* Some of the principal houses there have a small sort of necessary house without for that use, but they take so little care to bury it well when full, that it rather increases the stench, especially in the hot scorching weather; whence it is easy to guess, what a suffocating nauseous air men breath there. Add to this the vast quantity of fish kept about their towns rotting,

Narrow lanes.

Great stench.

BARBOT. rotting, for five or six days, as I have before observed they like it best when so putrified; and all together produces such a violent stink, that it is very offensive a ship-board, particularly in the night time, when the land-breezes carry it off from the shore, two or three *English* miles, for so far from the land the ships ride; the ill favour being the more, the greater the towns are.

No paving. Another great inconveniency is, that the streets or lanes in the towns not being pav'd, are very muddy in rainy weather; for I do not remember to have seen any places pav'd, except the markets at *Mina* and *Corso*.

Nor are the *Blacks* at all curious in planting trees in their villages, to shade their houses, as they might easily do, except at *Axim*, where they have many fine lofty trees set about, and in the town, which are a great ease to the people against the scorching heat of the sun.

Household goods. They are as little nice, even among the highest rank, in furnishing their houses with proper goods; for all they have in them is only a few wooden seats or stools, some wooden or earthen pots, to hold fresh water, and dress their meat; some cups and troughs, and their arms hanging about the walls. The topping people have tables, and beds or quilts made of rushes, on which they lay a fine mat at night, to lie on, with a bolster much of the same sort, and by it a large brass kettle, with water to wash them. The meaner sort have no quilts, but lie upon a mat laid on the bare ground, with one arm under their head, instead of a bolster, or else have a little block for that purpose, without any vessel of water standing by it, but always go out of the house to wash themselves. All the said goods, among persons of distinction, are generally placed in the houses of their wives, the men keeping nothing in their own, but their arms, seats and mats; but among the common sort all is huddled together in a disorderly manner, with the tools and instruments of their profession.

All eat apart. The constant employment of the women is doing the work of the house, and dressing the meat for the family, under the direction of the chief wife, whilst the husbands are about their business, or sit idly drinking; and, which is very odd, the husband commonly eats by himself, in his own hut, and every one of the wives in hers, with her own children, unless by chance some of them agree to join together, and sometimes the husband happens to eat with her he likes best, or with his chief wife.

Good management. I have elsewhere taken notice, that commonly the chief wife is entrusted with the husband's money, as he earns it by his labour or industry, that she may subsist the

whole family; and it is very remarkable, how well those women manage it, diverting none to any other use, so that it is very rare to hear of any mispent.

D I E T.

HAVING in another place mention'd what *Poor food.* poor and slender food those people allow their children, it is no wonder, that being used to eat so meanly from their mother's womb, they are afterwards so frugal and temperate in their diet, when come to age. Two-pence a day, or less, is sufficient to feed a *Black*; but this frugality is not the effect of virtue, or because they do not desire better, but only proceeds from absolute covetousness: for when any of the better sort are admitted to eat with *Europeans*, they will fill themselves for three days to come, and that of the best which comes to the table.

The common food of the meaner people *Of the meaner sort.* is a pot of *Indian* wheat boil'd to the consistence of a pudding; or else yams and potatoes, over which they pour a little oil, with a few boil'd herbs, to which they add some stinking fish, and this they reckon a nice dish: for it is but seldom that they can get fish and herbs, especially in the winter season.

On their festivals they live better, providing for those times, either oxen, sheep, goats, dogs, or poultry, as shall be mentioned hereafter.

Europeans, having never been used to *Different food of nations.* see dogs flesh eaten, are apt to admire, that the *Blacks* should be so fond of it; but they would wonder less, did they observe what is practised in other nations. Throughout all *China* asses flesh is valued above any other, tho' there are capons, partridges, pheasants, and all other rarities we esteem most. Dogs flesh is the next in value, and horse flesh is accounted extraordinary good, especially with a little milk. Snakes are also eaten; and even toads, one sort whereof is much more deformed than ours, are reckoned a morsel for a prince. A pound of frogs is worth two of any fish whatsoever; and mice are also served up at table. The *Iroquois* *Aguies*, a nation of *North-America*, near *New-York*, boil frogs entire, without fleaving them, to season their *Sagamite*, which is a sort of pottage made of *Indian* wheat. In *France* the hind legs of frogs are commonly eaten fricasseed, not for want, as ignorant people imagine, but because they are an excellent dish, little or nothing inferior in goodness to chickens legs, and serv'd up at the tables of rich persons. The *Tartars* eat horse-flesh; the *Indians* crocodiles and serpents. In the *Philippine* islands rats are good meat. Rooks and jackdaws are frequently eaten in many countries. *Oleaster* on the

the seventh of *Gen.* arguing whether any creature be unclean by the law of nature, defines and proves there is none.

Food of the
better sort.

The *Blacks* of higher rank do not fare much better than the others; only they allow themselves a little more fish, and more herbs for their common diet: and for an extraordinary dish, which they call *Malaguet*, they boil some fish, and a handful of *Indian* wheat, as much dough and some palm-oil in water, which they reckon a princely entertainment, and indeed it is not disagreeable, when once used to it, and wholesome enough.

Other
dishes.

Others boil their fish in water season'd with salt, and their pepper; and roast the yams and potatoes under the embers, and then make a sort of pap, and so eat it. They bake green unripe figs, which serve instead of bread, as does *Indian* corn toasted over the fire.

They boil rice with fowls, or mutton, which is a *Portuguese* dish, or only with salt and palm-oil; as also herbs and beans season'd with salt and oil, and some of them eat elephant's and buffalo's flesh boil'd.

The richer people, who converse most with *Europeans*, have learnt of them how to dress beef, mutton, pork, goat's flesh, venison and fowl; and even to make soup, or pottage, with cabbage and other herbs; besides several other sorts of dishes, which they manage very indifferently after their way, and teach them to other *Blacks* about the country, their pepper being always the predominant seasoning. Some are also so far improv'd by conversing with the *Whites*, that they will have their meat served upon a table, and sit about it, with their slaves waiting; but the common sort generally sit to their meat on the bare ground, cross-legg'd, like our tailors, and leaning to one side, or else with both their legs strait under them, and sitting on their heels.

Manner
of eating.

They generally eat very greedily, and after a disagreeable filthy manner, which I could not bear with, when I happened sometimes to be treated by any of the prime men; for they use neither table-cloths, nor napkins: what meat or fish they dress, is always half rotten, and most dishes are season'd with palm-oil, which, tho' pretty good to such as are used to it, has a sharpish taste, and a smell very nauseous to strangers. I could not but admire the power of habit and custom in those people, who were wonderfully pleased with the most corrupted stinking food, and fed on it most greedily; for till they have satisfied their stomach, their hands are never still, either tearing the meat with their long nails, or else rowling up the gobbets in the palms of their hands, as I have said to be practis'd by the *Blacks* at cape *Verde*, and at *Rufisco*; and then tossing them into their mouths, open'd as wide

as they can gape; so that every morsel is thrown down to the very gullet. Then they shake their greasy fingers, as they come from their mouths, over the dishes the meat is served up in.

They make two meals a day, the first in the morning, the other towards night, drinking water and brandy at their first meal. In the afternoon, when the palm-wine comes from the fields into the market, they must have it, cost what it will; and for brandy, or any other strong liquor, they will sell all they have, or do any thing, tho' ever so vile, for it. Men, women and children are wonderful fond of it, for which reason the *Europeans* in the forts must take special care of their cellars at night, those people knowing very well how to come at them.

In some places they also in the morning drink a sort of beer of their own brewing, call'd *Pitow*, and made of *Indian* wheat.

They never drink any palm-wine in the morning, because too stale, if left from the day before, and not fermented, when just drawn from the tree; but in the afternoon, that wine drawn in the morning is in its perfection. As soon as ever the country people bring it into the market-place, three or four *Blacks* club for a pot, and sit round it, with their chief wives, till near night, all of them drinking out of a calabash, or gourd, after this manner: the person that is to drink sits, and all the rest of the company stand up, with their hats or caps in their hands, crying, *Tautossi, Tautossi*, whilst the other drinks; who when he has done, answers, *i, o, u*, and at the same time spills a small quantity of wine on the ground for their deity.

Some of them, before they drink, take a little of that wine into their mouth, and spurt it upon their arms and legs, when they are adorn'd with their superstitious toys; believing their deities would be very angry with them, if they should omit that ceremony.

The ceremony of spilling a little wine on the ground is very ancient in *China*, and observed to this day, as it is among the *Blacks*. For the better understanding whereof, it will not be improper to insert in this place, what *Navarette*, in his account of *China*, says to that purpose. After what *F. Prosper Intorceta* writes in his *Sapientia Sinica*, p. 73. §. 4. speaking of *Confucius*, he says, *tho' he fed on the coarser rice, yet pouring one part upon the ground, he sacrificed to those dead persons, who in former ages had taught the way of tilling the earth, dressing meat, &c. And this was the custom of the ancients, in token of gratitude, and he performed those things with much gravity and reverence.* Thus, adds the author, it appears,

BARBOT. pears, that the shedding any part of meat or drink on the ground, is in *Cbina* called a sacrifice, and is no civil or political action.

The same, in my opinion, may well be said of the custom of the *Blacks*, generally to spill a little wine on the ground for their deities.

Nothing can be more mean than the diet and food of these, and all other *Blacks*, nor more nauseous than their way of eating.

Food of
Israelites.

The most usual provisions of the *Israelites* were bread, wine, wheat, barley, meal of all sorts of grain, beans, lentils, pease, raisins, dried figs, honey, butter, oil, beef, mutton, and veal; but most especially grain and pulse, as appears by the account of the provisions *David* received at several times from *Abigail*, *Siba* and *Berzellai*, and those brought him to *Hebron*.

This was also the common food of the *Egyptians*, and the *Romans*, in their soberer times, and when they applied themselves to tillage. The great names of *Fabius*, *Piso*, *Cicero* and *Lentulus* are well known to be derived from several sorts of grain, or pulse. What use the *Israelites* made of milk, may be known by the advice of the wise man: *Let the milk of your goats suffice for your nourishment, and for the wants of your house.* Tho' they are allowed to use fish, I do not find it practised till the latter ages.

It is thought the ancients despised it, as too dainty for hardy men; *Homer* takes no notice of it, nor is it mentioned in what the *Greeks* writ of the heroick times. Nor do we read that the *Hebrews* regarded sauces, or fine dishes, their feasts and banquets consisted of solid fat meat. They looked upon milk and honey as the greatest dainties; and indeed before sugar was brought from the *West-Indies*, nothing was so much valued as honey. Fruits were preserved with it, and there was no fine pastry without it. The cream was often called by the name of butter, as being the most delicious part of it. The offerings enjoined by the law show, that even in the days of *Moses*, they had several sorts of pastry, some kneaded with oil, and some fried in oil.

EMPLOYMENT of WOMEN.

I Come now to the employment of the women at home. In the evening they set by the quantity of corn, which is thought necessary for subsisting of the family the next day, which is brought by the slaves from the house or barn where it is usually kept, without the village, as before mentioned; tho' others have their storehouse at home. That corn the women beat in a trunk of a tree made hollow for

that purpose, like a mortar; or else in deep holes in rocks appropriated for that use, having wooden pebbles to beat it with; then they winnow and afterwards grind it on a flat stone, much as our painters do their colours. Lastly, they mix it with flower of millet, and knead it into a sort of dough, which they divide into small round pieces, as big as a man's fist, and boil it in a large earthen pot full of water, in the nature of a dumplin.

That sort of bread is indifferent good, *Bread.* but very heavy on the stomach. The same sort of dough baked on very hot stones is much better; and that which is made at *Mina* exceeds any other of that coast, the women being there more expert at making of it.

They also bake it into a sort of bisket, *Bisket.* which will keep very good three or four months, to victual the large canoes, in which they make coasting voyages, as far as *Angola*. Besides, they make a sort of round twisted cakes, called there *Quanquis*, which are sold at the markets, to supply such people as are unprovided at home. Those *Quanquis* are agreeable enough.

Tho' this way of beating and dressing the corn is hard and toilsome; yet the women perform it merrily, in the open scorching air, many of them at the same time having their infants at their backs.

The aged or lame people are put to some labour, or work suitable to their condition; some to blow the bellows at the smith's forge; others to press the palm-oil, or to grind colours to make mats, or to sit in the markets with provisions to sell, according as the governours direct; it being one part of their care, to see such people employed, that they may earn their bread. The youth are lifted in the soldiery of the country, and thus no person goes about begging; which is a thing highly commendable in the government of the *Blacks*.

Some poor *Blacks*, who know not how to subsist, will bind themselves for a certain sum of money, or have it done by their friends: and the person to whom they are so bound, supplies them with all necessaries, employing them about some work that is not slavish; particularly they are to defend their patron, or master upon occasion, and in sowing-time they work as much as they please themselves.

On the other hand, the *Blacks*, tho' never so rich, and even their kings are not ashamed to beg any thing they have a mind to, tho' of never so little value; and are so importunate in it, that there is no getting rid of them without giving something: but of this more in another place.

RAIN much DREADED.

IT is scarce credible how much those *Blacks* in general dread the rain should fall upon their bodies. As soon as ever a heavy shower begins to fall, they quake, and clap their arms across over their shoulders, to keep it off as much as possible, if they cannot get under shelter; and this apprehension is still much greater at the time of the tornadoes, when they shiver, as if they had an ague upon them; tho' the rain is commonly luke-warm, the air being violently hot. The best reason they can give for being so strangely fearful of the rain is, that the water which falls is very pernicious and unhealthy. For the same reason, during the rainy season they all keep fires, during the whole night in the middle of their rooms, as has been observ'd in the description of *Sestro*, lying about it in a ring, with their feet to it, to extract the moisture contracted by walking on the wet ground; and in the morning they commonly anoint their body and legs with palm-oil, and the very soles of their feet, the better to repel the supposed malignity of the wet.

Fires in rainy weather.

Ancient custom.

Herein they seem to follow the example of the *Hebrews*, and all eastern nations. For this reason the scripture speaks so much of their washing their feet, when they went into their houses or tents, to wash off the dust that clung to their feet and legs, because they wore only sandals, open and made fast at the instep with latches, without any stockings. The same they practised when lying down to their meals, as was then used, and going to bed: and in regard that washing dries up the skin and hair, therefore they afterwards anointed it, either with plain oil, or else with some aromatick balsam, somewhat like our essence.

By what has been said of the nature and unwholesomeness of the rains in the winter season on that coast, we may conclude the *Blacks* to be in the right in being apprehensive of it, being the best judges of its pernicious effects, by constant experience of all ages.

CIVILITY.

THO' the people of *Guinea* are thought to know little of ceremony and courtesy, yet those particularly who converse most with *Europeans*, when they meet one another take off their hats or caps; but the inland people do not look upon that as any act of courtesy or respect. Next, they take one another by the arms, as if they were going to wrestle, and then by the fore-finger and the thumb of the right hand, as if they would pinch them; lastly, when they let them go, they snap them together, so as to make a noise, three several times,

salutes.

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bowing their heads towards each other, and *BARBOT.* saying *Auzy, Auzy*, which imports as much as good-morrow, or good-day to you. Then the one asks, how did you sleep? The other answers, very well; and then asks the same question of the first; who, if he has slept well tells him so. Whence may be imply'd, that they look upon sound sleep to be a sure token of health. When the *Blacks* of the coast meet with an *European*, they only take off their hat, or cap, and drawing back one foot, as we call making a leg, say, *Aqui Segnor*. Some will also take him by the fingers of the right hand, and nip them with their fore-finger and thumb, making a snap, as they do among themselves.

Others, as about *Mina*, being men of *Other sorts.* any note, when they salute one another, 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. Inferiors salute their superiors after this manner; they first wet their finger in their mouth, then rub it on their stomach, and that done, present it to the superior.

Upon visiting, the person visited takes *visiting.* his guest by the hand, and nipping his two middle fingers together, only bids him welcome; if it be his first visit: but if he has been there before, and is making another visit, he bids him welcome, saying; *You went out and are returned.* To which the other answers, *I am come again.* This is the polite behaviour and manner of saluting among them.

When visited by persons of another *Civility to country,* they show them very much civility; *strangers.* and as soon as the compliments are over on both sides, the wives, or female slaves bring water, palm-oil, or a sort of ointment like grease, to wash and anoint the stranger: as was practised in the first ages of the world by the eastern nations, who used to wash and anoint the feet of their guests; as for instance, in *Abraham*, washing the heavenly guests that were sent to him, *Gen. xviii. 4.* and our Saviour washing the feet of his disciples.

When a king, or other *Black* of the highest rank designs to visit another of the same *visits of kings, &c.* degree, and is come to or near the village or place, where the person to be visited resides, he commonly sends some of his retinue to compliment him; who sends one of his own train back with the other that came to him, to return the compliment to the visitor, and assure him of a hearty welcome. In the mean time his soldiers, to the number of three or four hundred are drawn up in the market-place, or before the palace, to do honour to his guest, who advances but slowly, attended by a great number of armed men, who all leap and dance with a sort of martial cadence and noise.

U u u

Being

BARBOT. Being thus come to the place where the person visited sits, expecting his coming, he detaches all his armed attendants of any distinction to present their hands, by way of salutation to the others men, that are about him, as well as to the master. When this ceremony is over, the two kings, or great men, each carrying his shield, approach one another. If the visiter be of a higher degree than the other, or the latter inclin'd to give him an extraordinary reception, he embraces and bids him welcome three times successively; but if he who visits be of an inferior rank, then the visited makes three several advances to welcome him, each time only presenting his hand, and filling his middle finger. This done, the visitant sits down, with his retinue, directly before the other, expecting his coming to welcome him, with his attendants; which the visited presently performs, by three circular advances, and then returns to his own place and sits down, sending some officers to salute the rest of the visiting company, to enquire after their health, and the occasion of their coming, which the chief generally answers by messengers of his own.

Tedious ceremonies. This ceremony commonly lasts an hour or two, or till the visited rises, and desires his friend to go into his house, where he causes him to be presented by the great men of the village, with sheep, fowls, yams, potatoes, or other acceptable things; besides which, there are many other ceremonies too tedious to be particularly mentioned.

Professions. I have before observed, that the *Blacks* on the *Gold Coast* were naturally inclinable to seek their ease, and averse to labour; it is certain nevertheless, that there are very many who industriously apply themselves to some particular profession, or handicraft, as *merchants, factors or brokers, gold and black-smiths, fishermen, canoe, or house carpenters, salt-boilers, potters, mat-makers, busbandmen, porters, watermen or padlers, and soldiers*; in each of which professions they not only endeavour to live, but to grow rich, being much encouraged so to do by the example of the *Europeans*, to whom they are now nothing inferior in covetousness; whereas formerly they were satisfied with bare necessaries to support life.

Having from the beginning of this description resolved not to omit any minute circumstance that should occur to my memory, I shall now give some account of each of the aforesaid professions on the *Gold Coast*; tho' some perhaps may think it too trivial, yet it may be acceptable to others no less judicious, wherefore I shall take them in the same order as mentioned above.

MERCHANTS.

I Have before observed, that trading is *First trade* the employment of the prime *Blacks*, *there.* both in rank and riches. The *French*, according to some authors, having been possessed of the castle of *Mina*, for about an hundred years, without interruption, from their first founding of it in the year 1383, and the *Portuguese* having supplanted them in 1484; each of those two nations had in a manner the sole trade on that coast, during those former centuries, furnishing the natives with many things they had never before seen or heard of; which prov'd so acceptable and useful to them all in general, as well on the said coast as far up the inland, that those near the sea embraced the commerce from the first coming of the *French* among them; buying their goods to sell again to the inland people nearest to them, who again carried those goods to others more remote; and so from hand to hand they convey'd them even beyond the river *Niger*, the prices, as may be imagin'd, advancing the farther they were carried, and yet the commodities were every where acceptable, as being not only new, but also useful.

In process of time the mystery of trade was well establish'd among those people, *Trade advanced.* in every part of it, many of them applying themselves wholly to it, and the profit being considerable, many from the inland, thought it worth while to come down to the coast, to buy *European* goods of the *Portuguese* and other *Whites*, to furnish the markets in their several provinces; others settling there with their families, as brokers and factors for their correspondents, residing in remoter parts, great numbers of which sort are to be found, settled at many places under the *European* forts, especially at *Commendo, Mina, Corfo, Mouree, Cormentin, and Acra*, as has been mentioned before. Thus in process of time, from generation to generation, the resort of trading *Blacks* has been greater and greater, as the several *European* settlements at the coast have encreas'd the plenty of goods, and consequently lessened their prices; which has been a greater encouragement to those people to drive the greater trade in the remote inland countries, and by it very many have been vastly enriched, and so easily induced to perpetuate so beneficial a profession in their posterity.

I have been told, that when the *Euro Blacks* first came acquainted with those people, *formerly afraid.* many of the inland *Blacks*, who, as well out of curiosity as for profit, ventured to come down to the coast, to see *White* men, a thing wholly new to them; they were afraid to come near them because of the whiteness of their complexion; and much less

less would they venture to go aboard their ships, being frightened at the swelling and breaking of the waves, and because such as ever did hazard themselves were sea sick, having never been used to that element, which had such violent operation on them, that some died of it. This so much daunted those inland people, that when returned home, they thought it best to employ as factors or brokers, either some of those *Blacks* living on the coast, or some of their own kindred or country-men, sent to settle there and do business for them, allowing them a competent profit out of the goods they should buy, for their account. Thence as the trade increased in the course of a century or more, the number of those factors or brokers has also multiplied to what they now are; as has the number of fairs and markets in many parts of that vast country.

Those *Guinea* merchants and factors commonly go aboard the *Europeans* ships and to the forts, or factories, to buy such goods as they have occasion for, either for their proper account, or by commission.

Those who go aboard the ships, which many do as soon as they see them at anchor, often going out, when they only hear of their being near their places of abode, in small neat canoes, paddled by two *Blacks*, the merchant or factor sitting in the middle of it on a little wooden seat, or stool, with a pipe in his mouth, his cymiter by him, and a basket of rushes or straw to hold the things he intends to buy; and for fear the canoe should over-set, as often happens, he keeps the gold which is to purchase the goods he designs to buy in a little leather bag, or a small box, made fast to the girdle that is about his waist, or in a sort of handkerchief well tied about his neck, so as it may be no hindrance to him in swimming, if he should have occasion, till the paddlers have turned it up again, and thrown out the water, which they do very dexterously, and in a short time, tho' the sea runs never so high; as I shall have occasion to mention more particularly.

Trading
aboard.

Blacks
have great
memories.

The quantity of gold a factor commonly carries aboard ships, consists of fifteen, twenty, or more small parcels, wrapped up in bits of stuff, or linen, or leather, tied at the top, like a purse; and tho' I never could observe any mark on any of the many I had thus brought aboard, yet those factors exactly know whose every parcel is, and what goods they are ordered to purchase with it, and that without any other help than strength of memory; the *Blacks*, as I have said, being utter strangers to writing and reading.

Each person that employs, gives them ^{BARBOT.} his gold by weight ashore; and if that weight falls short aboard, or in the *European* factories, when they go thither to buy goods, he makes it up out of some of the other parcels, taking notice of the quantity, to be accountable to the owners.

The difference in weight often occasions ^{European} great contests between the supercargo of the ^{fraud.} ship and the *African* factors; because many of our *Europeans* making no scruple to weigh the gold by a heavier weight than they ought, as I have already observed, the *Blacks* can scarce submit to be so basely imposed upon, and some will rather return to shore without purchasing any goods.

On the other hand, I took notice of several of those factors, who, either to make ^{Cheats of} the parcel of gold answer, or exceed, would ^{the Blacks.} slyly blow upon the scale it was in; others making a show, as if they added more gold, would take it up between their nails, which, as I have observed, are very long, and the tops of their fingers.

They are generally very cautious in the ^{Cautious-} choice of the wares they are to buy, ^{ness.} whether well conditioned, and of the quantity and quality of the samples, or of the usual standard: and this ever since the *Europeans* were so base as to disgrace themselves formerly several times by imposing on those people; for till then the *Blacks* having an extraordinary opinion of the candor and integrity of *White* men, took whatsoever they sold them upon content, without any scrutiny or examination.

I shall hereafter set down at length the several sorts of *European* goods, commonly sold at the *Gold Coast*, and the uses they are put to.

The *Blacks*, who buy goods aboard ships ^{Merchants,} for their proper account, which is generally in the summer season, for the most part keep them to dispose of, when the bad weather comes on, there being fewer trading ships at that time.

The profit of the brokers, or factors, is ^{Factors.} also considerable; for the inland people, who by reason of their remoteness are unacquainted with the usual prices those goods are sold at, are generally imposed on by those brokers, or defrauded by them in the weight or measure: and tho' some of those who employ brokers to buy for them, are themselves at times present aboard the ships, yet those crafty factors will cheat them to their faces, either in concert with the supercargo, or by amusing them with some sham, whilst another broker or *Black*, who is in the secret, cuts off some part of the linen and stuff he has bought for them, or alters the weight of what is weighable, or mixes ^{Their} liquors with water. As for instance of this ^{fraud.} fraud

BARBOT. fraud in liquids; I have seen some in cape *Corso* road, who by that means gained three anchors of brandy at one time, on a parcel they had bought for others. The better to conceal their knavery, they leave that aboard till night, which they have defrauded others of in the day, and then return aboard to convey it privately ashore, running it in the dark, to prevent its being seized by the *Dutch* factors, at such places as are under their jurisdiction, or at other places exempt from the dominion of the *Dutch*, to save the king's custom or duties.

Another way those factors have to deceive their principals, is in the weighing of the gold they are to be intrusted with to buy goods: when the crafty knaves will put their hands into the scales, as it were to pick out some gravel or small stones, that happen to be sometimes mixed with it, and some of the gold never fails to be lodged under their long hooked nails, whence they convey it into their mouth, nose, or ears, and sometimes between their toes. In short they are most expert thieves, and perhaps in that dexterity outdo the most skilful of the ancient *Lacedemonians*.

Presents made them.

They also are considerable gainers by the dastly or present, which the *Europeans*, either aboard their ships, or in the forts or factory must unavoidably make them, when they have agreed for any parcel of goods; which leads me to say something in particular concerning those presents.

Introduced by the Dutch.

The *Dutch* first brought up that disagreeable and burdensome custom. Their design at first was only to draw off the *Blacks* from trading with the *Portuguese*; but those people having once found the sweet, could never be broke of it, tho' the *Portuguese* were actually expelled all the places of trade they had been possessed of on the coast; but it became an inviolable custom, for all *Europeans* as well as the *Dutch*. Some of those people are so very eager, that they will demand it with much importunity, even before they bargain for any thing, which is a great trouble and loss, because it lowers the profit upon goods, by four or five *per Cent.* and occasions great contests and clamours; many of the *Blacks* not resting satisfied with what is offered them, especially the poorer sort.

Other gifts.

Another encumbrance introduced also by the *Dutch*, before they were settled in a company, exclusive to all others of their nation, and which is also extended to all other *Europeans* trading thither, is, that several ships happening in those times to meet together on that coast, each particular commander, or super-cargo, offered some particular gratification to such broker or factor, as would prefer him in the sale of his cargo, and procure him most buyers; and

promised them still greater rewards, if they would bring them some of the rich inland traders, because those generally buy much greater quantities of goods, than any of those living on the shore. This practice is still more and more in use at this time, when the number of trading ships from many parts of *Europe*, is far greater than it was formerly, and consequently obliges every agent or commander, to procure what customers he can by such promises and gratifications.

The merchants and factors generally come aboard the ships, a little after sun-rising, with the land-breeze, which makes the sea pretty calm; and return again ashore about noon, with the sea-breeze, which they call *Agombretou*, before it blows too fresh and the sea runs high. If they have any of the inland people with them, they will return ashore about eleven of the clock, just at the beginning of the breeze, before the sea is rough; because those inland *Blacks* cannot endure it; and at their landing on the beach, they are met by abundance of young *Blacks*, who usually wait there about that time, for the return of the canoes, some to unlade the goods they are loaded with, and others to carry the canoes ashore, and lay them with the bottom upwards on some short posts stuck in the ground for that purpose, that they may dry the sooner; and for that service the owners of the canoes allow them a certain reward, either of the said goods in specie, or in gold *Krakra*. Their business is also to help when canoes, either empty or laden, chance to be over-set, as it often does, when they come near the beach, by the breaking of the waves. Upon such occasions they are not easily satisfied with what is given them, pleading great merit.

Going aboard and landing.

Those who come from the inland countries, to trade with the *Europeans*, either ashore, or aboard their ships, are for the most part slaves; one of which number, in whom the master confides most, is appointed the chief of that caravan a-foot, the goods bought being carried by those slaves to their habitations up the country, as using neither carts nor horses. These slaves carry all on their shoulders or backs, so that if there be any considerable parcel of goods, it requires a considerable number of slaves to transport it so far, especially when the goods are ponderous, as lead, iron, or tin; two or three hundred weight whereof, requires fifty men or more. The *Europeans* commonly show much civility to the chiefs of such companies of slaves, and are so far from treating them according to their servile condition, that they study all ways to oblige them, well knowing they are in special favour with their masters, and may go

Goods carried by slaves.

to other *European* forts or ships; for which reason they are often better used than their masters would be if present.

Men hired. Those inland *Blacks*, who come down without slaves of their own to carry back the commodities purchased, hire either free-men or slaves, who commonly live under the forts, at such rates as they can agree upon, according to the distance of the places the goods are to be carried to; which is a considerable advantage to those at the coast, tho' the money is hardly enough earned, those poor wretches having high hills to climb, and bad ways to pass.

The caravans go generally well armed to defend themselves against robbers, and wild beasts.

Slaves sold. The merchants and factors on that coast pay for the commodities they buy, not only in gold, but in slaves, which they call by the *Portuguese* name *Cativos*, carrying two, three, or more aboard together in a canoe. Sometimes they in that manner carry great numbers of slaves aboard, at other times fewer, according as they happen to be at peace or war with their neighbours. In the year 1682, I could get but very few, because there was at that time almost a general peace among the *Blacks* along the coast; and consequently they were two or three pieces of eight a man dearer than at my former voyage. I shall have occasion to speak more particularly of slaves, consider'd as a peculiar commodity.

No ivory. There are very few elephant's teeth sold along the coast, for tho' the natives have them from the inland countries, or from the coasts of *Quaqua* and *Congo*, brought in canoes, they commonly make use of them to make blowing horns, or trumpets, and in other ways, as for rings about their arms, &c.

Nor wax. Nor is there any quantity of wax to be had, unless it be accidentally, though there is enough of it; but the natives having learnt to make candles of it, spend it that way.

F I S H E R M E N .

Bred to it. THE business of fishing is there look'd upon as next to trading, and those who profess it are more numerous than any other sort of people. Those who follow that profession bring up their sons to it from nine or ten years of age, at *Anta*, *Commendo*, *Mina*, *Corso*, *Mource*, *Cormentin*, and some other sea-towns to the eastward; but the greatest number is at *Commendo*, *Mina*, and *Cormentin*.

Fishing tackle. From each of these last mentioned places there commonly go out every morning in the week, except *Tuesday*, which is their sabbath, or day of rest, five, six, and sometimes eight hundred small canoes, each about thirteen or fourteen foot long, and three or four in breadth; and put out about two

leagues to sea, commonly with one paddler, *BARBOT* or rower, besides the fishermen; and some with two, as also their fishing tackle, consisting of great and small hooks, and harping irons, which they use dexterously when the hooks have caught a fish too big for the line to bear. They are also furnished with casting, and other large nets, some twenty, and others twenty four fathom long, made of the coco thread or yarn which they spin, and of which their lines are also made. They place their nets in the sea over night, not far from the shore, in the months of *October* and *November*, securing the two ends with stones, and draw them in the morning, when they are commonly full of all sorts of fish; the coast being every where plentifully stored, as I have already observed.

Every fisherman always carries a scy-*Manner of* miter in his canoe, with some bread, water, *fishing.* and a little fire, on a flat large stone, to roast fish, when he has occasion. The rower, or paddler commonly sits at the stern, paddling very slowly, and the other stands, both of them plying the fish with long and short lines, some of which have five or six hooks hanging at them. Some make fast a line about their heads, others holding it in their hands; and thus I have often seen them draw up five or six fishes at one cast of a line. They labour thus till about noon, and seldom later, because then the wind begins to blow very fresh, and so they return ashore with the sea-breeze, each canoe being generally well stor'd with fish, there being such plenty in that sea, as has been said. Those who stay out later, design to dispose of their fish aboard the ships for brandy, garlick, hooks, and other inconsiderable things; as thread, needles, pipes, pins, tobacco, bugles, ordinary knives, old hats, old coats, small ordinary looking-glasses, &c.

These men, by constant practice, are become very dexterous at their trade of fishing, and 'tis no small diversion to see so great a number of canoes at that sport. If a sword-fish, or any other of the greatest bulk, happens to be in the net they have laid in the sea over night, it is certainly torn to pieces; but if the owner of the net has notice of it in time, he desires the assistance of his friends, and two or three canoes go out together, provided with strong harping-irons to strike it, and the *Blacks* being fond of that fish above any other, one of them makes amends for two or three nets torn, by the price it yields.

They catch the *Machoran*, by the *Dutch* call'd, *Baerd-Manetie*, and by the *English*, *Cat-fish*, with nets spread floating, and fastened to two little poles, to which they tie iron bells, like those put about the

BARBOT. necks of cows in several parts of *Europe*, which being shaken by the waves, make a tinkling noise, that attracts this sort of fish, and brings it into the net. I have been told, that cod is taken after that manner in some parts of *Europe*, but do not remember where.

River-fish. They also take river fish with proper nets, and several sorts of instruments, both by day and by night, but not in such quantities as the sea affords. They are generally indefatigable at this employment, at the proper times and seasons.

Night-fishing. There are several ways of fishing by night, both up the country and at the coast, according to the variety of places. Some of the *Blacks* at the coast, in the night hold in one hand a piece of combustible wood flaming, having first dipped it in oil or rosin; and in the other a small dart or spear, with which they strike the fish, which commonly makes to the light. Others have a gentle fire always burning in the middle of the canoe, the sides whereof being bor'd through, at certain distances, the light strikes through upon the water, and attracts the fish, which they also strike with their spears.

Another way. Others go into the water up to their middle, with a light in one hand, and a basket in the other, which they clap upon the fish, and take it; but this way of fishing, being subject to unlucky accidents from the sharks, often playing near the beach, few dare follow it, for fear of being devour'd by those ravenous monsters.

Shark-fishing. When they design to take sharks, which is often done, as well to destroy the species, having a particular hatred to it, for the mischief it does, as for the benefit they reap by selling them to the inland people, who are fond of it dried in the sun, they use proper hooks and lines; and when one of the larger size has swallowed the bait, they help one another to tow it ashore, and distribute it among the people, by whom it is eaten in revenge, as has been elsewhere observed.

Fishing in shoal-water. They also take abundance of very good large and small fish, between the rocks, near the shore, where the water is shallow enough, killing them with a sort of iron tool, shaped much like that with which the country people of *Aulnix* in *France*, and the isle of *Rbe* kill congers. Among the various sorts of fish they catch, is that they call the *King-fish*, very good, and of a delicious taste.

Muscles. They there get great store of muscles, as sweet as those of *Charon* near *Rochel*, and accounted excellent food in their proper season.

Oysters. They have also such large oysters, that two or three of them will fill a man, but they are commonly tough, and the best

way of eating them is boil'd, and then cut in pieces and fry'd.

Small fish is also taken there with a piece of canvas, or other coarse stuff, holding the ends of it with both hands, under water, and raising it up hastily, when they see any fish swimming over it.

B L A C K - S M I T H S.

THE chief handicraft at which these *Their skill.* *Blacks* are best skilled, is smithery; of which I shall now speak. The black-smiths there, many of whom are at *Boutroe*, *Commendo*, *Mina*, *Berku*, and other places, with such sorry tools as they have, can make all sorts of martial weapons they have occasion for, guns only excepted; they also make whatsoever is requisite for husbandry, and for their household uses. Tho' they have no steel, yet they make their cymiters, and other cutting instruments. Their principal tools are a hard stone, *Tools.* instead of an anvil, a pair of tongs, and a small pair of bellows, with three or four noffels, an invention of their own, and blows very strong. Their files of several sizes, are at least as well temper'd as we can make them in *Europe*. Hammers of all sizes they have from the *Dutch*. Their forges are commonly smaller than ours.

G O L D - S M I T H S.

THEY outdo the blacksmiths in their *Curious workmen.* performances, as having been taught their art by the *French*, *Portuguese*, and *Dutch*, in former times, and now make of fine gold, breast-plates, 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 wild and tame beasts; the heads and skeletons of lions, tygers, leopards, oxen, deer, monkeys, goats, &c. which serve them by way of idols, either in plain work, or filigrene, all cast in moulds; of which sort I brought over several pieces of figures, but particularly that of a perwinkle, as big as an ordinary goose-egg; which were all much admired at *Rochel* and *Paris*, and even by the best goldsmiths. The thread and contexture of their hatbands and chain-rings is so fine, that I am apt to believe, our ablest *European* artists would find it difficult to imitate them. For the satisfaction of the reader I have taken the pains to draw most of the pieces of both gold-smiths and black-smiths work in the cut; which being *PLATE 22.* divided into three parts, I shall here give a short account of them.

In the first division of the cut, I represent all sorts of martial weapons, as also the instruments for tillage and household uses; in the second, under it all the varieties of

of gold-smiths works; and in the third again, on the right hand, the whole variety of their musical instruments, either for diversion or war, with the various sorts of seats, or wooden stools.

For the better understanding of the figures in the first division :

ARMS, TOOLS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
and ORNAMENTS ;

Spear. **K.** IS a javelin or spear, with a quiver full of arrows, the javelin having a ring in the middle to fasten it to their body when they travel.

Dart. **L.** An *Affagaya*, a *Moorish* word used in *Portuguese*, and thence taken by the *Blacks*, being a long dart, to be cast at a distance, with another sort of quiver, and three arrows in it. The quiver they hang about their shoulders, at a leather thong, or belt, as mark'd *X*. These darts are commonly about two yards long, and pretty large, the end pointed with iron, like a pike, and some of them covered with iron a span or two in length. This weapon serves them instead of a cymeter; that holding their shield in the left hand, they may the more conveniently dart it with the right; for they have commonly some body to carry it after them, when they cannot well hang it on their shoulders.

Bows and arrows. **X.** Represents their bows and arrows, at present not much used by them at the coast, excepting the *Aquamboe Blacks*, who are most dexterous at shooting those arrows, which have feathers at the head, and are pointed with iron. The people of *Afwine* used to poison them; but on the coast they do not, being utter strangers to poison.

Small dart. **L. O.** A small dart to be cast by hand, about a yard long, and very slender.

Razors. **O.** Razors, with which they shave their beards.

Swords. **N.** Three different sorts of swords or cymeters, with iron, or wooden hilts, or a monkey's head cast in gold, and look'd upon as sacred, or a spell. Two of the swords shaped like chopping-knives, being about two and a half, or three handfuls broad at the end, about one at the hilt; and three or four spans long at most, bowing a little at the top. Those cutlases are very strong, but commonly so blunt, that it requires two or three strokes to cut off a head. They have a wooden hilt and guard, adorned, sometimes on the one, and sometimes on both sides, with small round knobs, covered with a sort of skin, or a rope black'd with the blood of some tame beast. Others also adorn it with a tuft of horse-hair. Persons of note cover the hilt with thin plates of gold. The leather scabbard is almost open at one side, to which they hang, by way of or-

namment a tyger's head, or a large red shell, ^{BARBOT.} to enhance the value of it. They hang these cutlases at their left hip, by a belt, girt about them; or else they stick them in the clout they wrap about their body, and between their legs, that they may run the swifter, when they go to war in an enemy's country, and have also about them a bandelier belt, with about twenty bandeliers hanging to it.

M. Another sort of cymeter, part of the edge whereof is made like a saw, to saw off the bones of their enemies. The pommel is the muzzle of a beast, cast in gold, for an idol or spell. ^{Cutlases like saws.}

This sort of cymeter or cutlase, must be a particular weapon, used in ancient times by the *Ammonites*, who being abominable bloody idolaters, in the days of *David*, and using to sacrifice their own children to *Moloch*, or *Malcheu*, making them pass through the fire, or burning them in a barbarous manner, as we read in *2 Kings* xvi. 3. and xxiii. 10. and *Levit.* xviii. 21. and xx. 2, &c. were peculiar at inventing of horrid torments for their enemies, and used to put them under saws, and under iron harrows, and axes of iron; and made them pass through the brick-kilns, as may be reasonably conjectured from the dreadful punishments *David* inflicted on all the towns of that execrable nation, when he had taken *Rabbah*, their royal city, by his army, under the command of *Joab*, causing all the *Ammonites*, according to the equitable rule, call'd *Lex Talionis*, to be put to death, by the same sorts of torments they had put others to, as we read, *2 Sam.* xii. 31. So that it is not unlikely those savage *Ammonites* might also have invented this sort of cymeter, or sword, like a saw on the one side; which by the *Arabs*, their neighbours, might, in process of time, be carried into *Africk*, and by degrees convey'd down to the *Blacks* of *Guinea*, living near them. Some of those exquisite torments anciently used, are still known in the eastern parts; we have an account that the prophet *Isaiah* was saw'd in two, by order of king *Manasseb*, with a wooden saw, which must have been a more grievous torture than if it had been of iron.

P. A Ponyard, or Bayonet, after their ^{Ponyard.} manner.

Q. A round ax, with a blunt edge on the one side.

R. An ax of another form; both these ^{Axes.} for husbandry.

V. An ax of a third make, to hew, or fell timber.

S. A shield, or buckler, of dress'd leather, used by the *Blacks* of note, in war, or on festivals; or when they visit others of an equal rank. These shields are four or five ^{Shields.} foot

BARBOT. foot long, and three in breadth, the under part made of osiers, some of them covered with gilt leather, or with tygers skins, or the like. Some also have broad thin copper-plates, made fast to each corner, and in the middle, to ward off arrows and darts, as well as the strokes of cutlases; but they are not proof against musket balls. They are wonderful dexterous at managing of these shields, which they hold in their left hand, and the sword in the right, and skirmishing with them both; they put their bodies into very uncommon postures, covering themselves so nicely, that there is no possibility of touching them, *2 Chron. xiv. 8.* *Asa* king of *Judab*, had an army of three hundred thousand men, armed with shields or bucklers and javelins, and two hundred and eighty thousand men with shields and arrows, against the king of *Ethiopia*.

S. Another sort of shield, made of osiers or bulrushes, for the common sort of people.

Drums. *T.* The royal drum, used when a king takes the field and heads his army, adorned with shells, and jaw-bones of their enemies slain in battle. The sound of it is not unlike that of our kettle-drums. The body of it is a piece of wood made hollow, covered at one end with a sheep-skin, and left open at the other, which is set on the ground. It is beaten with two long sticks, like hammers, and sometimes round, as in the figure. They also sometimes beat with a strait stick, or with their hands. To be intrusted with this drum, is looked upon as an office of honour.

They have above ten several sorts of drums, most of them being trunks of trees hollowed, of several degrees and sizes. They generally beat these drums in concert with the blowing horns, made of elephants teeth, which together make a hideous noise; and to help it out, they set a boy to rattle on a hollow piece of iron, with a stick: and this addition is so far from rendering the noise more agreeable, that it rather becomes more unsupportable to our ears.

Tools.

4. 4. Two sorts of tools for tillage.

A musket.

W. Such a musket as they buy from *Europeans*. They handle their fire-arms very cleverly, discharging them several ways, when drawn up, one sitting and another lying down, never hurting one another. Abundance of fire-arms, gun-powder and ball are sold there by all the trading *Europeans*, and are a very profitable commodity, when the *Blacks* of the coast are at war; yet were it to be wished they had never been carried thither, considering how fatal they have been, and will still be upon occasion in the hands of the *Blacks*, to *Europeans*, who for a little gain sur-

nish them with knives to cut their own throats, of which, each nation is sensible enough, and yet none will forbear to carry that commodity, which proves so dangerous in the hands of those *Blacks*; and the best excuse we have for this ill practice is, that if one does not, still the other will sell them; if the *French* do not, the *Dutch* will; and if they should forbear it, the *English* or others would do it.

In the second and under DIVISION.

* **A**N earthen pot, as they are generally made of several sizes, large and small. *Pots.*

Just under the pot, a woman's necklace, of *Contas da Terra* and *Agri*, adorned with gold spells, and slips of the sacred tree; such necklaces are reckoned there very ornamental, and cost a considerable sum of money. *Necklace.*

9. A gold hat-band, of curious work-*Hatband.* man-ship.

From *A.* to *B.* sundry sorts of their gold toys worn as spells, or things sacred, and bracelets of six sorts, one of them so long, that it reaches to the elbow; and over them two sorts of flat arm-rings. Under those rings some cast heads of beasts, used also as spells, or holy things, and near the biggest head a gold bracelet, which can be contracted, or extended, as narrow, or as wide as they please on the arm. *Toys and bracelets.*

Above those rings, a small blowing horn of gold used by the better sort. *Horns.*

7. A piece of natural gold near an ounce in weight, which I have still by me, being like a piece of a sharp-pointed rock. *Natural gold.*

8. A large whilk, or perwinkle, cast in gold filigrene work, a very curious piece. *Gold per-winkle.*

6. Two *Bousies*, or *Cauries*, *East-India* shells, which serve for ornaments in necklaces, and go for money at *Fida* and *Ar-dra*.

4. A great iron pin, with a small semi-circle at the end, like a half moon, which is current money at some places, for a certain value. *Money.*

1. Small scales of their making, to weigh gold. *Scales*

3. The beans, or pease, with which they weigh gold dust, as has been said before. *Weights.*

5. Little wooden spoons to put gold into the scales, or take it out, to adjust the weight. *Spoons.*

2. Gold *Krakra*, which is their small money. *Krakra.*

In the third DIVISION, on the right-hand,

I. **C**OMBS, made of a ponderous hard wood. *Combs.*

H. Three several sorts of wooden stools, or seats, as commonly used by the better sort. *Stools.*

fort of people, and carried about with them, when they go a visiting.

Others.

Z. Two different sorts of small seats or stools, which they always carry in their small canoes, to sit on in the middle of them.

Horns.

G. Blowing horns, made of elephants teeth, of several sizes, the biggest of which weigh about thirty pounds; they have a peculiar art to hollow them from one end to the other. At the lower end of them is a piece of rope, blacked with sheep or hens blood, and a square hole, blowing into which makes a preposterous noise, by them reduced to a sort of tone and measure, and altered at pleasure. Sometimes the tone is more tolerable, according to their skill. On it are carved many figures of men and beasts, and others only the product of fancy.

Bells.

F. Three sorts of tinkling bells, which make up part of their musick.

Castagnets.

E. Two sorts of castagnets used in dancing.

Flutes.

D. Two flutes, differing from ours, by having more holes.

Cittern.

C. A sort of cittern, made of a calabash, or gourd, over which is a long narrow piece, made of reeds set close to one another athwart; and over all, four strings, which give the sound, when play'd upon with the fingers, after the manner that the Portuguese touch the guittar; and I am of opinion the Blacks made this instrument in imitation of that.

Kettle.

B. A brass kettle, with two sticks, to beat it, in musical manner.

Drums.

A. Two several sorts of drums, with their sticks, the round one used at feasts and in war; the long one also serves sometimes for the same uses, and sometimes in religious worship to honour their deities, or upon other extraordinary occasions.

Tongs.

B. A pair of tongs, with a stick to beat and rattle them, being another of their musical instruments.

Of these and all other things represented in the figures, I shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter.

In relation to the above-mentioned household goods and arms of the Blacks, it may be here observed, as to their weapons, that they are much like those used by the Greeks and Romans, being swords, bows, arrows, darts and lances made like half-pikes; for the lances of the ancients were not like those of our former horsemen, with large butt ends; and their swords were broad and short. It is said that king Saul commonly held a lance in his hand, as Homer gives one to his heroes, and the Romans to Quirinus and their other Gods; which lances exactly answer the Assagayas, or javelins used by the people of Guinea, and many other Africans.

Ancient and modern weapons.

VOL. V.

The ancient Greeks and Romans never wore offensive arms, but in war; nor did the Israelites, who had the same sort of weapons. David commanding his men to march against Nabal, bid them take their swords, tho' they were then subject to perpetual alarms. The custom of wearing swords at all times, was peculiar to the Gauls and Germans.

BARBOT.
Arms not worn in peace.

The defensive arms used by the Greeks, Romans, and Israelites were shields, and bucklers, helmets, coats of mail, and sometimes greaves, or armour for the thighs, which was very rare among the Israelites, and much more among the natives of Guinea.

Defensive arms.

As for the furniture of houses among the Israelites, the Levitical law often mentions vessels of wood and earth, and earthen vessels were most common among the Greeks and Romans, before luxury had prevailed among those nations. Such utensils are mentioned in the catalogue of the refreshments brought to David, during the war with Absalom. We see what was reckoned necessary furniture in the words of the Shunamite, a wealthy woman, who harboured the prophet Elisha; *Let us make a little chamber, with a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick, for the prophet*; 2 Kings iv. 10. The candlestick there mentioned must have been a lamp, for then and long after candles were not used, and all people burnt oil in lamps. The beds were commonly mats, or carpets of Dedan, in Arabia, brought by the Arabs to Tyre; and the Tyrians, who drove a great trade of fish and other commodities with the Israelites, conveyed them to Jerusalem. Those beds were without curtains, and generally placed against the wall, as may be observed by the account of Hezekiah. Persons of the highest rank had beds of ivory, perfumed and adorned with rich stuffs, as the prophet Amos reproaches the rich Jews, his contemporaries.

Household goods.

The houses were flat roofed and terraced, the windows having only curtains or lattices before them: and there were no hearths or chimneys; the people for the most part living altogether on the ground-floor.

Ancient houses.

HUSBANDRY.

I Have already spoken of their husbandry, which is but indifferently managed, which some will attribute to their slothful temper, tho' we see in other things, by what has been said, they are as industrious as any other people; and it may as well be ascribed to the frequent wars among them. Whatsoever the reason may be, they are very often in want of corn, and sometimes come almost to a famine; which may proceed from other causes, since

Y y y

we

BARBOT. we see the same happens in the most fruitful countries of *Europe*, where people might perish, if not supplied from other places.

C A N O E S.

A X I M, *Ackuon*, *Boutroe*, *Tacorary*, *Commendo*, *Cormentin* and *Wineba*, are the most noted places for canoes; the natives there making and vending great numbers of them yearly, of all sizes, both to *Europeans* and their neighbours. The largest are forty foot long, six in breadth and three in depth, and so from this size down to the smallest sort; which, as has been said, are about fourteen foot long, and three in breadth, few reaching to four foot.

Sizes.

The largest.

The largest canoes are commonly made at *Axim* and *Tacorary*, and carry eight, rarely twelve tun of weighty goods, besides the crew. These canoes serve either *Whites* or *Blacks* to transport any sort of goods and cattel from place to place, over bars and breaking waters; and are more particularly necessary at *Fida* and *Ardra*, above any other parts of *Guinea*, as I shall observe hereafter. The *Mina* men, who are the most skilful of all the *Blacks* in rowing and managing this sort of canoes, over the most dangerous bars and raging waters, venture to sail in the largest all about the bight of *Guinea*, and even to *Angola*.

Men.

They navigate them with masts and sails, and with oars and paddles, when the wind proves contrary, or in a calm; being commonly manned from twelve to eighteen hands, according to their bulk and cargo.

Paddles.

The rowers or paddlers sit two and two, on benches, or boards nailed athwart the canoe, at equal distances, each of them having, instead of an oar, a paddle, made like a spade, about three foot long, with a small round handle, about the same length, with which they paddle the water, using both hands to it, and all striking together, they give the canoe a very swift motion, those boats being very light. The steersman sits quite at the stern, with a paddle somewhat longer than the others for rowing.

Those canoes laden with goods and men, are conveyed by the *Mina Blacks* over the worst and most dreadful beating seas, all along the coast, especially at *Fida* and *Ardra*, where no manner of trade could be carried on between the shore and the road, without that help. Those *Blacks* manage them with such extraordinary dexterity in the most dangerous places, that it is much to be admired; and if ever the canoe happens to be overfet, the sea swelling and breaking more than ordinary with some violent wind, those people being used to such accidents, and excellent swimmers and divers, soon turn it up again, without any other

Bar canoes.

damage than what the goods may receive by the sea-water, according to their nature; for they are always so well stowed, and so firmly made fast with ropes to the canoe, that there are seldom any lost by its oversetting; there being also cross pieces of wood in those bar canoes, for so they are there called, at certain distances, which secure the cargo upon such occasions.

The canoes for war, commonly carry *War canoes* fifty or sixty men, besides ammunition and provisions for fifteen days, if it be requisite.

When the bar canoes, or any other smaller sizes, are to stand in for the land, through the breaking waters; the crew narrowly observes to have the three high surges, which usually follow, one upon the back of another, pass over, before they enter upon beating waters. The *Blacks*, who, at those times always wait on the beach, either to succour the canoes coming in, if any accident befalls them, or to unlade them as soon as they are safely arrived on the strand, give a shout from the shore, which is a signal to those in the canoe, that the three great surges are over; which they can better judge of from the land, as being higher above the water. Then the canoe men all together, with wonderful concert, paddle a main, and give the canoe such swift way through the beating water, which foams and roars in dreadful manner on both sides, that it is got half way through, before the succeeding surges, which commonly rise and swell prodigious high, the nearer they come to the beating, can overtake it: and thus the canoe holding that rapid course in the midst of the foaming waves, runs itself at once almost dry on the sandy beach; many of those *Blacks*, who continually attend there for that purpose, running into the water up to the knees, or middle, before it has touched the ground, and take out the passengers on both sides, whom they carry ashore; tho' often very wet with the waves breaking into the canoe. After that, they also take out the goods, and carry them where commanded.

Manner of managing them.

As to the launching and running out of *Putting out to sea* those canoes over the bars, and through the breaking waves; they generally lade them first, with goods or passengers, as they lie dry on the beach; and when ready, a number of men proportionable to the bigness of the vessel, besides its crew, taking hold on each side, from one end to the other, hale it into the water, making a dismal cry, and when afloat in the breaking water, they leave it to the crew, who holding it on each side, with the head directly to the surges, swim along with one hand, till it is so carried as far as they think fit into the water, when they all leap into it from

from both sides, and sitting on their benches, paddle with all their might, through the rolling surges, keeping the head of the canoe directly to them: for should they miss of so doing in the least, the waves, which run as high as mountains, would soon fill it up, beat it to shivers, or at least overset it. Thus either going in or out the canoe is lifted up, and let down by the waves, with a frightful noise.

Dangerous times and places.

The danger is much greater in the months of *April, May, June* and *July*, and still more at the new and full moons, especially at *Fida* and *Ardra*, as I shall observe, when I come to the description of those countries. There dismal accidents are very frequent, and great quantities of goods are lost, and many men drown'd; whereas at the *Gold Coast* those things happen but seldom, tho' they use smaller canoes, the landing being nothing near so bad as at those other places. I have gone several times ashore at the *Gold Coast*, both in great and small canoes, without any ill accident, by reason of the good management of the paddlers, who were all chosen men, and because it was always at the best seasons: yet I must own, that sometimes I escaped narrowly, and wish'd my self elsewhere, being in a small canoe, for a quarter of an hour, or better, waiting between two dreadful waves, and rolling surges, for a proper minute to launch thro' the breaking sea, before *Cormentin*, which is generally the most dangerous landing-place of all the *Gold Coast*; in such manner, that it almost made my hair stand up an end with horror. At another place, I think it was *Mouree*, I ventured to go ashore in the pinnace, and landed pretty well; but the worst was to get off again: to which purpose I hir'd several *Blacks*, who, with my own men, all swimming with one hand, kept the head of the pinnace right against the rolling waves, but could not prevent my being thoroughly wet.

Dexterity of fishermen.

I have often admir'd the dexterity of the fishermen, when some of them happened to come ashore later than is usual, in the afternoon, at which time the sea-breeze makes the sea swell considerably near the land: I observed how two or three men, in so small, so low, so narrow, and so light a boat, in which he who sits at the stern to steer seems to have his posteriors in the water, could so swiftly carry the canoe through the breaking sea, without any misfortune, and with little or no concern; but this must proceed from their being brought up, both men and women, from their infancy, to swim like fishes; and that, with the constant exercise, renders them so dexterous at it, that tho' the canoe be overturn'd, or split in pieces, they can either turn it up again in the first case, or swim

ashore in the second, tho' never so distant from it. The *Blacks* of *Mina* out-do all others at the coast in dexterity of swimming, throwing one after another forward, as if they were paddling, and not extending their arms equally, and striking with them both together, as *Europeans* do. There, as I have hinted before, may be seen several hundred of boys and girls sporting together before the beach, and in many places among the rolling and breaking waves, learning to swim, on bits of boards, or small bundles of rushes, fasten'd under their stomachs, which is a good diversion to the spectators.

BARBOT.
Excellent swimmers.

I would advise those, who are to go ashore, to send their best clothes before them, in a trunk; for I have often spoil'd good apparel upon such occasions, and especially when the *Blacks* lift a man out of the canoe just when it reaches the beach, as has been said before: for they being always anointed all over with grease, or palm-oil, certainly leave the impression of it on his clothes, wheresoever they touch them, and it is scarce ever to be got out. There every *European* of any note, commonly wears fine silk, or woollen suits, and often adorned with gold, or silver galoons; according to the post he is in, each studying to exceed another; besides that the *Blacks*, as well as other nations, show most respect to those who are best dressed.

Advice for landing.

There is another sort of very fine canoes, of about five or six ton burden, which every commander of an *European* fort keeps for a pleasure-boat, to pass with his attendants, as occasion offers, from one place to another. The *Danish* general in my time, had the finest of that sort. In the midst of it was a large awning, of very good red and blue stuffs, with gold and silver fringes, and under it handsome seats, covered with *Turkey* carpets, and curious curtains to draw on iron rods. At each end of the awning was a staff, bearing a little streamer, and another at the head of the canoe, and under it the *Danish* flag. These canoes are represented in the cut of the prospect of fort *Fredericksburg*, at *Manfrou*, near *Corso*; where is also another canoe, which was for the *Danish* general's servants and soldiers, which usually attended his own canoe. In the cuts of the castle of *St. George* of *Mina*, cape *Corso* castle, and *Christiaenburg* at *Acra*, are exact draughts of the great canoes, used by the *English* and *Dutch* to carry goods and passengers along the coast; to which prints I refer, as to the form of the canoes, and the manner of fitting and rigging them. But I must take notice, that the sails those people use, are commonly made of rush mats, or a sort of cloth of the bark of trees, having long hairy threads, like the

Sails and rigging.

BARBOT. *Coco-tree*, which they spin and weave into a sort of canvas, and their rigging is of the palm-tree yarn. The *European* canoes have commonly *European* canvas and cordage.

Spells, or idols. The canoes are also commonly painted, both within and without, as well as they can do it, and adorn'd with abundance of their toys, or idols, fore and aft, which they look upon as patrons and protectors of them; and consist, for the most part, of ears of *Indian* corn, among several dry heads, and muzzles of lions, tygers, goats, monkeys, and other animals. The canoes which are to make a long voyage, commonly, besides all those spells, carry a dead goat, hanging out at the head of the vessel.

Canoes all of one piece. By what has been said of the bigness of the large canoes, it is easy to guess what prodigious bulky trees there are in that country, considering that those boats are made of one piece or trunk; as also to conceive, what tedious work it is to fell such trees, and work them into that form, all being done with only a sort of crooked large knives those people make; and it were scarce practicable, but that the *Capot* trees, of which they always make the canoes, are very porous and soft, as has been observed before.

How made. When the trunk of the tree is cut to the length they design the canoe, they hollow it as much as they can, with their 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 invention, both within and without, leaving it thickness enough, that it may not split when heavy loaded.

Shape. The bottom is made almost flat, and the sides somewhat rounded, so as that it is somewhat narrower just at the top, and bellies out a little lower, that they 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 at both ends, upon occasion, to lay it up ashore, and turn it upside down, the better to preserve it from the weather, and especially from rain, and therefore they make it as light as possible.

Small canoes. The lesser canoes, which the *Blacks* call *Ekem*, and the *Portuguese*, *Almadias*, are reckoned to be best made by the people of *Commendo*, and a great number is made at *Agitafi* and *Commami*, in the country of *Commendo*. The name of *Canoe* is properly of the *West-Indies*, where such boats are used; and from those people the *Spaniards* learnt it, and all other nations have taken it from them.

This sort of little canoe is exactly represented in its proper form and shape in

the print, showing five or six hundred of them abroad a fishing, at *Mina*; and just under it is the other sort of canoe, carrying slaves aboard the ships, both of them differing much from the bar canoes, and those made to perform voyages. The latter is exactly drawn in all its parts, to give the reader a just idea of it, and the way of rowing and steering, and therefore it will be needless to say more of it.

I have before spoken of carpenters and house-builders, as well as of porters.

POTTERS.

THERE is not much to be said of them, but that they were formerly taught by the *Portuguese* to prepare the clay, to form and mould it into jugs, pipkins, pots and troughs of several sizes; and then to bake it in proper ovens, so that the earthen ware made there, tho' very thin, is yet extraordinary hard, and as good as any in the world to boil meat, or other provisions, or for any use whatsoever. The clay they generally have, is of a dark colour, and the vessels made of it will endure the most violent heat.

THATCHERS.

THESE have a peculiar way of ranging and ordering the leaves of palm-trees, or of *Indian* wheat, or rushes, one over another, all bound and fasten'd together, on round poles of several sizes; which they expose to sale in the markets, where any one, who is to build or repair a house, has the choice of what is most for his purpose.

The inland *Blacks* have also several trades, and abundance of husbandmen among them. Besides, they have many that make various sorts of caps and hats of the skins of beasts, and with straw and rushes; and great numbers of weavers, who work cloths very artificially, in little portable looms, to be carried about, as at cape *Verde*, spinning the bark of certain trees, and dying it of several colours. The people of *Iffeny*, and the country about them, are the most skilful at it of any on the *Gold Coast*.

MARKETS.

I Have elsewhere observ'd, that the *Blacks* have publick markets or fairs, appointed in several parts of the country, on certain days of the year, for the conveniency of trade; besides that which is peculiar to every village for provisions.

It would be endless to attempt to describe each of those publick fairs or markets, as well up the inland, as at the coast; and I think it will suffice to speak of one for all, which is that of cape *Corso*, accounted the most considerable of all the coast, and even of all other parts of the country.

Cape Corfo It is kept every day, except *Tuesdays*, which are holy, or their sabbath, in a large place at the end of the town, whither great numbers of all the neighbouring people resort every morning very early, with all sorts of goods and eatables the land affords; besides the *European* goods carried by us.

Good order. This place is so disposed, and the rules prescrib'd for the more orderly keeping of the market so religiously observ'd, that all who are of one trade, or sell the same sort of things, sit in good order together; and they are mostly women, who, as has been hinted before, are commonly employ'd to keep market, being looked upon as fitter for it than the men, and commonly sharper than they for gain and profit. They come thither by break of day, from five or six leagues round about, loaded like horses, with each of them one, or more sorts of goods; as *sugar-canes, bananas, figs, yams, lemons, oranges, rice, millet, Indian wheat, malaguette, or Guinea pepper, bread, kankies, fowl, fish raw, boiled, roasted, and fried, palm-oil, eggs, pomfions, earthen-ware, beer called Petaw, wood for fuel, thatch for houses, tobacco of the growth of the country, &c.* The *Blacks* of the coast also carry thither several sorts of *European* goods; and early in the afternoon the palm-wine drawers carry that liquor, fresh from the fields, and the fishermen the fish they have caught in the morning. There the country women barter or exchange their provisions for fish, or other necessaries, and about three of the clock return to their respective dwellings, several of them together in a company, very merrily, singing and sporting all the way, tho' it be ever so far, and that they are loaded with as much as they can well carry; besides sometimes an infant tied at their back, which, as has been said, they always carry wheresoever they go, as long as it sucks. Where any of their idols are set up in the roads, and there are great numbers of them throughout all the country, they never pass by, without leaving some small part of what they carry, by way of offering.

Palm-wine. Of all the sorts of goods, or provisions sold at this market, the palm-wine has the greatest vent, because of the great number of fishermen and factors, resorting thither as soon as they come ashore from trading or fishing at sea in the forenoon; who having earn'd some money, are very free to spend it in that liquor, and drink plentifully the rest of the day, with their friends and neighbours, till supper-time, when most of them go home drunk: and notwithstanding those excesses, it is rare to hear of any quarrel or disorder committed, by reason of the good government of the *Caboceiros*, or magistrates, during the market.

At this market, not only the neighbour-*BARBOT*-ing inhabitants, but also the crews of *European* ships riding in the road, are plentifully supplied with many necessaries and refreshments; the latter commonly bartering with the market women, for garlick, pins, small looking-glasses, ribbands, flints and steels, and such like trifles.

At other places up the inland they have *Fairs*. set fairs, at some once, and at others twice a year; but so that no two fairs may fall out at the same time, lest the one be an hindrance to the other. There they also expose to sale all sorts of things they have of the product either of *Europe* or *Africa*, and there is a mighty concourse of people, from all parts, tho' very remote from the place where the said fair is kept.

In former times those people had no other *Money*. way of vending their commodities among themselves, than by bartering or exchange; but since the *French* first, and after them the *Portuguese*, taught them the way of cutting coarse gold into very small bits, by them call'd *Kra-kra*, to facilitate the buying and selling of small things, the *Blacks* have so well improv'd that sort of money, that now pretty large sums are paid in it, all along the *Gold Coast*, except at *Acra*, where it is little used; but instead of it, for the conveniency of buying small things in the market, they have a sort of large iron pin, with a semicircle, or half-moon at one end of it, exactly of the form and bigness as represented in the cut of their smithery. PLATE 22.

Having already spoken sufficiently of the *Kra-kra* money, and of the manner of the scales and weights they use to weigh it, or any gold dust, I refer the reader back to it; as well as for what I have there also said of their way of measuring all sorts of linnen, cloth, or ituffs, by a measure almost nine foot long, by them called *Jelam*, and of their manner of valuing slaves, at a set rate, but alterable according to the times.

I have also given an account of their language among themselves, and in what sort of dialect they converse and trade with *Europeans*; and that they know nothing of writing or reading, tho' some *Blacks* of *Cape Verde*, and *Rufisco*, are acquainted with both. They only make to themselves some *Art of memory*. rules for memory, the better to manage their affairs, so that they are rarely guilty of omitting, or forgetting the least thing that is material. For their way of casting up any numbers, they commonly tell from one to ten, and then tally on their fingers, or by *Taccoes*, and so successively other tens, till they come to an hundred, which they tally or score down in the same manner, and begin again from one to ten. Some of the better sort of *Blacks* have proper names for numbers to an hundred, &c. as may be

BARBOT seen set down in the vocabulary of their familiar words and phrases hereafter inserted.

SLAVES,

Being one part of their riches, and properly a commodity in this country, as they were in ancient times at *Tyre, Ezech. xxvii. 13. Javan, Tubal and Meshech, they were thy merchants; they traded the persons of men, &c.* it will not be improper to say something of them.

Parents selling their children.

They are, for the most part, people taken in war; but sometimes sold into bondage by their own relations, in this particular, like the *Chinese*, who sell their sons and daughters when they please, and practise it frequently. The *Sclavonians* had the same custom, and were also free to kill them. The *Persians* kept them as slaves. *Vid. Navarelle, pag. 51.*

Kidnaping, &c.

Others are sometimes stolen away, out of their own countries by robbers, or spirited by kidnappers, who often carry away many children, of both sexes, as they find them about the country, being set to watch the corn-fields of their relations, as has been said in its place. Some also through extreme want in hard times, also insolvent debtors, and such as are condemn'd to fines they are not able to pay, sell themselves willingly for slaves, to others of their country people, and there are of both sexes and all ages; but the much greater number of slaves, as has been said, are taken in war, either in battle, or by making excursions into the enemies country.

The trade of slaves is in a more peculiar manner the business of kings, rich men, and prime merchants, exclusive of the inferior sort of *Blacks*.

Barbarous usage.

These slaves are severely and barbarously treated by their masters, who subside them poorly, and beat them inhumanly, as may be seen by the scars and wounds on the bodies of many of them when sold to us. They scarce allow them the least rag to cover their nakedness, which they also take off from them when sold to *Europeans*; and they always go bare-headed. The wives and children of slaves, are also slaves to the master under whom they are married; and when dead, they never bury them, but cast out the bodies into some by place, to be devoured by birds, or beasts of prey.

Those in the West-Indies hap-pier.

This barbarous usage of those unfortunate wretches, makes it appear, that the fate of such as are bought, and transported from the coast to *America*, or other parts of the world, by *Europeans*, is less deplorable, than that of those who end their days in their native country; for aboard ships all possible care is taken to preserve and subside them for the interest of the owners, and when sold in *America*, the same motive ought to pre-

vail with their masters to use them well, that they may live the longer, and do them more service. Not to mention the inestimable advantage they may reap, of becoming christians, and saving their souls; whereof some instances might be brought: tho' it must be owned, they are very hard to be brought to a true notion of the christian religion, and much less to be prevail'd on to live up to its holy rules; being naturally very stupid and sensual, and so apt to continue till their end, without the least concern for a future state of eternal bliss, or misery, according as they have lived in this world.

It must also be own'd, that the christians in *America* are much to be blamed in this particular; and more especially the protestants, which I beg leave to take notice of with some concern, take very little care to have their slaves instructed in the christian religion; as if it were not a positive duty incumbent on them, by the precepts of christianity, to procure the welfare of their servants souls, as well as that of their bodies. This has been expressly declared by two synods of the protestant churches of *France*, the one held at *Roan*, the other at *Alençon*, in 1637. upon the questions put in those assemblies by over-scrupulous persons, who thought it unlawful, that many protestant merchants, who had long traded in slaves from *Guinea* to *America*, should continue that traffick, as inconsistent with christian charity. The synod thereupon, after a long discussion of the point, decreed as follows: Tho' slavery, as it has been always acknowledged to be of the right of nations, is not condemned in the word of God, and has not been abolished in most parts of *Europe*, by the manifestation of the gospel, but only by a contrary practice, insensibly introduced; nevertheless, since several merchants, trading on the coast of *Africa*, and to the *Indies*, where that traffick is permitted, acquire slaves of the *Barbarians*, either in exchange, or for money, the possession of whom they transmit to others by formal sales, or exchange; this assembly, confirming the rule made on that subject in *Normandy*, exhorts them, not to abuse that liberty, contrary to christian charity, and not to dispose of those poor infidels, but to such christians, as will use them with humanity; and above all, will take care to instruct them in the true religion.

But how far most protestant planters and other inhabitants of *European* colonies in *America*, are from following such reasonable advice, every person that has conversed among them can tell. There, provided that the slaves can multiply, and work hard for the benefit of their masters, most men are well satisfied, with-

Slaves should be instructed in christianity.

Neglect of them.

without the least thoughts of using their authority and endeavours to promote the good of the souls of those poor wretches. In this particular I must say, the *Roman-Catholicks* of the *American* plantations are much more commendable; for at *Martinitico*, one of the *French Caribbee* islands, all who have been there may have observed, that every *Sunday* morning early there is a mass celebrated in the chappel of the *Jesuits*, called the mass of the *Blacks*, as being particularly appointed for those slaves in the island; and every planter, who lives within a reasonable distance of it, is obliged to send his *Blacks* to be present at it, and at other devotions, according to the service of the *Roman* church.

It is also notorious, with what application the *Portuguese* have endeavoured, for these two last centuries, to propagate their religion amongst the *Blacks* in general, at *Guinea*, *Congo* and *Angola*, by keeping a great number of missionaries there, in several places: and even in *Brasil*, what care they take to instruct so many thousands of *Black* slaves, as are employed in the service of their plantations, as shall be farther declar'd when I shall treat of those peoples sense, or belief of religious worship.

Excuses of
the English
for not in-
structing
slaves.

Before I leave this subject, I shall mention two principal reasons, to pass by several others of less moment, which protestant planters usually alledge, in the *English* colonies of *America*, to excuse this neglect: the first, the great incumbrance it would be to a planter, who has a great number of slaves, some one, others two hundred and more, first to have them learn *English*, and afterwards to instruct every one of them in the principal articles of the protestant belief, those slaves being generally of a brutish temper, and prepossessed with fantastical superstitious practices of the grossest and most absurd paganism; which, in reality, most of them always adhere to, tho' they have lived ever so long among protestants. The other argument, on which many seem to lay much stress, is, that if their slaves were made christians by baptism, &c. they should, according to the laws of the *British* nation, and the canons of its church, immediately lose the property they had before in those slaves; it being inconsistent with the protestant religion, that any of its professors should be kept in bondage for life. But this is a false notion, for neither the laws of the nation, nor the canons of the church of *England*, nor of any other christian people in *Europe*, that I could ever hear of, do discharge any *Black* slave, that has received baptism, from continuing so till death. I have in this point had the opinion of very learned *English* and *French* divines, alledging one instance of the like case in *Onesimus*, a

christian slave, in whose behalf *St. Paul* BARBOT. writes to *Philemon*, his master, in so affectionate a manner; *vid.* his epistle: by all which it is apparent, that in those times, the primitive christians had many slaves among them, who were also christians.

To conclude on this head, it may safely be affirmed, that if the protestants were careful to have their *Barbarian* slaves baptized, and well instructed in the principles and maxims of true christianity, many of those poor wretches would behave themselves much more humanely and dutifully towards their masters and fellow-slaves than they do, for want of such instructions; and consequently we should not so often hear of their mutinying and deserting, as has been known at *Barbadoes*, and other colonies. The maxims of christianity would doubtless be a curb to their rude temper, and the planters might expect the blessing of heaven on their plantations, as a reward of their charitable endeavours to convert those gross pagans from their deplorable state of deprivation, in all malice and vileness towards God and man.

The *Gold Coast*, in times of war between the inland nations, and those nearer the sea, will furnish great numbers of slaves of all sexes and ages; sometimes at one place, and sometimes at another, as has been already observed, according to the nature of the war, and the situation of the countries between which it is waged. I remember, to this purpose, that in the year 1681, an *English* interloper at *Commendo* got three hundred good slaves, almost for nothing, besides the trouble of receiving them at the beach in his boats, as the *Commendo* men brought them from the field of battle, having obtained a victory over a neighbouring nation, and taken a great number of prisoners.

At other times slaves are so scarce there, that in 1682, I could get but eight from one end of the coast to the other; not only because we were a great number of trading ships on the coast at the same time, but by reason the natives were every where at peace. At another time, I had two hundred slaves at *Acra* only, in a fortnight or three weeks time; and the upper coast men, understanding I had those slaves aboard, came down to redeem them, giving me two for one, of such as I understood were their near relations, who had been stolen away by inland *Blacks*, brought down to *Acra*, and sold to us.

I also remember, that I once, among my several runs along that coast, happened to have aboard a whole family, man, wife, three young boys, and a girl, bought one after another, at several places; and cannot but observe here, what mighty satisfaction A whole family slaves. those

BARBOT. those poor creatures expressed to be so come together again, tho' in bondage. For several days successively they could not forbear shedding tears of joy, and continually embracing and caressing one another; which moving me to compassion, I ordered they should be better treated aboard than commonly we can afford to do it, where there are four or five hundred in a ship; and at *Martinico*, I sold them all together to a considerable planter, at a cheaper rate than I might have expected, had they been disposed of severally; being informed of that gentleman's good-nature, and having taken his word, that he would use that family as well as their circumstances would permit, and settle them in some part by themselves.

I have elsewhere spoke of the manner of valuing and rating the slaves among the *Blacks*, and shall conclude this chapter, which proves to be one of the longest, with an odd remark; which is, That many of those slaves we transport from *Guinea* to *America* are prepossessed with the opinion, that they are carried like sheep to the slaughter, and that the *Europeans* are fond of their flesh; which notion so far prevails with some, as to make them fall into a deep melancholy and despair, and to refuse all sustenance, tho' never so much compelled and even beaten to oblige them to take some nourishment: notwithstanding all which, they will starve to death; whereof I have had several instances in my own slaves both aboard and at *Guadalupe*. And tho' I must say I am naturally compassionate, yet have I been necessitated sometimes to cause the teeth of those wretches to be broken, because they would not open their mouths, or be prevailed upon by any intreaties to feed themselves; and thus have forced some sustenance into their throats.

At the end of the supplement to this description, may be seen how I ordered the slaves to be used, and managed, in our passage from the coast to the *West-Indies*; which if it were well observed by other *Europeans* following that trade, would certainly save the lives of many thousands of those poor wretches, every year, and render the voyages much more advantageous to the owners and adventurers; it being

known by a long course of experience that the *English* particularly every year lose great numbers in the passage, and some ships two, three, and even four hundred out of five hundred shipped in *Guinea*.

Before we leave this subject, the following observation may not be unacceptable. Slaves in ancient times. The *Israelites* had the power of life and death over their slaves, and that right was then common to all nations; for captivity was derived from the right of war, when instead of killing the enemies it was judged more adviseable to save their lives, and make use of their service. It was then supposed, that the conqueror always reserved to himself the right of taking their lives, if they became unworthy of his mercy; that he acquired the same right over the children of slaves, since they could never have been born, had not he preserved the father, and that he transferred that right, in disposing of his slave.

This is the foundation of the absolute authority of the masters, and it was very rare that they would abuse it; their own interest obliging them to preserve their slaves which were a part of their wealth. That is the reason in the law of God, for not punishing him, who had beaten his slave so unmercifully, that he died in a few days after. 'Tis his money, says the law; to show that his loss was a sufficient punishment: and it might be presumed in that case, the master only intended to correct him. But if the slave actually died under the blows, it was an inducement to believe that the master's design was to kill him, and therefore the law declared him guilty; wherein it was more merciful than the laws of other nations. The *Romans* for above fifty years had the right of putting their slaves to death; of laying their debtors in irons, for non-payment, and of selling their own children three several times successively, before they were out of their power. All this was pursuant to the laws of the twelve tables which they brought from *Greece*, about the time when the *Jews* were again re-establishing themselves, after their return from captivity, and about a thousand years after *Moses*. More of these remarks may be found in other parts of this description treating of slaves. Power of life over them.

C H A P. XXI.

European goods for *Guinea*; uses they are put to; duties paid for goods. Safe riding at the coast. Merry-making and dancing. Feast made by the Danish general. Manner of taking an oath.

EUROPEAN GOODS for GUINEA.

AS to the different sorts of goods the *Europeans* generally carry thither for trade; each nation commonly supplies the coast, as much as is convenient, with such

as their respective countries afford; and what they want at home for well assorting their cargo, they buy in other parts of *Europe*. For instance,

The

The *French* commonly carry more brandy, wine, iron, paper, firelocks, &c. than the *English* and *Dutch* can do, those commodities being cheaper in *France*; as, on the other hand, they supply the *Guinea* trade with greater quantities of linen cloth, bugles, copper basons, and kettles, wrought pewter, gun-powder, faves, perpetuanas, chints, cawris, old sheets, &c. than the *French*; because they must get these wares from *England* or *Holland*.

What the French carry.

The *French* commonly compose their cargo for the *Gold Coast* trade, to purchase slaves and gold-dust; of brandy mostly, white and red wine, ros solis, firelocks, muskets, flints, iron in bars, white and black contecarbe, red frize, looking-glasses, fine coral, sarsaparilla, bugles of sundry sorts and colours, and glass beads, powder, sheets, tobacco, taffeties, and many other sorts of silks wrought, as brocardels, velvets, &c. shirts, black-hats, linen, paper, laces of many sorts, beads, shot, lead, musket-balls, flints, calicoes, ferges, stuffs, &c. besides the other goods for a true assortment, which they have commonly from *Holland*.

Dutch lading.

The *Dutch* have *Coesveld* linen, sleyfiger lywat, old sheets, *Leyden* ferges, dyed indigo-blue, perpetuanas, green, blue, and purple: *Konings-Kleederen*, annabas, large and narrow, made at *Haerlem*, *Cyprus* and *Turkey* stuffs, *Turkey* carpets, red, blue, and yellow cloths, green, red and white *Leyden* rugs, silk stuffs, blue and white; brass kettles of all sizes; copper basons, *Scotch* pans, barbers basons, some wrought, others hammered; copper pots, brass locks, brass trumpets, pewter, brass, and iron rings, hair trunks, pewter dishes, and plates (of a narrow brim;) deep porringers, all sorts and sizes of fishing-hooks, and lines, lead in sheets, and in pipes, three sorts of *Dutch* knives; *Venice* bugles, and glass beads, of sundry colours and sizes; Sheepskins, iron bars, brass pins, long and short; brass bells, iron hammers, powder, muskets, cutlaces, cawris, chints, lead balls, and shot, of sundry sorts; brass cups, with handles, cloths of *Cabo-Verdo*, *Quaqu*, *Ardra*, and of *Rio-Forcado*; blue coral, alias akory, from *Benin*; strong waters, and abundance of other wares, being near a hundred and fifty sorts, as a *Dutchman* told me.

English cargo.

The *English*, besides many of the same goods abovementioned, have tapseils broad and narrow, nicanees fine and coarse; many sorts of chints, or *Indian* calicoes printed, tallow, red painting colours; *Canary* wine, faves, perpetuanas, inferior to the *Dutch*, and sack'd up in painted til-

lets, with the *English* arms: many sorts of white calicoes; blue and white linen, *China* sattins, *Barbadoes* rum, or aqua-vitæ, made from sugar, other strong waters, and spirits, beads of all sorts, buckshaws, *Welsh* plain, boyfades, romberges, clouts, gingarus taffeties, amber, brandy, flower, *Hamburg* brawls, and white, blue and white, and red chequer'd linen, narrow *Guinea* stuffs chequer'd, ditto broad, old hats, purple beads.

Barbadoes

Note, That all the iron for *Guinea*, is of the very same size and weight as described in the description of *Nigritia*; and is called at *London* by the name of *Voyage-Iron*, and is the only sort used all over the coasts of *North* and *South Guinea*, and in *Ethiopia*.

The *Danes*, *Brandenburghers*, and *Portuguese*, provide their cargoes in *Holland*, commonly consisting of very near the same sort of wares, as I have observed the *Dutch*, make up theirs; the two former having hardly any thing of their own, proper for the trade of the *Gold Coast*, besides copper and silver, either wrought or in bullion, or pieces of eight, which are a commodity also there.

Danes, Brandenburghers, and Portuguese.

The *Portuguese*, as I have already said, have most of their cargoes from *Holland*, under the name of *Jews* residing there, which consists in many of the same sorts of goods, mentioned in the article concerning the *Hollanders*; to which they add some things of the product of *Brazil*, as tobacco, rum, tame cattle, *St. Tome* cloths, and others from *Rio-Forcado*, and other circumjacent places in the gulph of *Guinea*.

The *Blacks* of the *Gold Coast* having traded with the *Europeans*, ever since the beginning of the fourteenth century, are very well skilled in the nature and proper qualities of all the *Europeans* wares, and merchandize vended there; but in a more particular manner, since they have so often been imposed upon by the *Europeans*, who in former ages made no scruple to cheat them in the qualities, weight and measure of their goods; which at first they received upon content, because they say it could never enter into their thoughts, that *White* men, as they call the *Europeans*, were so base as to abuse their credulity, and good opinion of us. But now, they are perpetually on their guard in that particular, examine and search very narrowly all our merchandize, piece by piece, to see each be of the quality and measure contracted for by samples: for instance, if the cloth or faves are well made and strong, whether dyed at *Haerlem* or at *Leyden*; if the knives be not rusty, if the basons, kettles, and other utensils, of brass or pewter, are

Blacks examine what they buy.

BARBOT. not crack'd or otherwise faulty, or strong enough at the bottom. They measure iron bars with the sole of the foot; they tell over the strings of contecarbe, taste and prove brandy, rum, or other liquors, and will presently discover whether it is not adulterated with fresh or salt water, or any other mixture; and in point of *French* brandy, will prefer the brown colour in it. In short, they examine every thing with as much prudence and ability as any *European* trader can do.

Prices uncertain. All the before-mentioned sorts of *European* goods yield here a price, higher or lower, according to the briskness or dulness of trade, which is more or less proportionable to the quantity they know is at a time on the coast, either in the forts and factories, or aboard ships in the roads; or according as they are at peace or war amongst themselves, up the inland countries, as also answerable to the winter and summer seasons. So that I cannot say any thing precisely of the price of each individual commodity.

Rates set at times. The *Dutch* general, at *Mina*, sets a price current on all the *Dutch* goods, of which he sends copies to all his officers, of the out-forts and factories of his dependence on the coast, to disperse it all about the inland people in their several districts; and for ought I know, the *English* do the same in their several settlements.

Interlopers sell cheap. The goods sold by the *English*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Brandenburghers*, &c. ashore out of their settlements, are generally about 25 *per Cent.* dearer to the *Blacks*, than what they get aboard ships in the roads; the super-cargoes of the ships commonly falling low, to get the more customers, and make a quicker voyage: for which reason, the forts have very little trade with the *Blacks* during the summer season, which fills the coast with goods by the great concurrence of ships at that time from several ports of *Europe*; and as the winter season approaches, most of them withdraw from the coast, and so leave elbow-room to the fort factors, to trade in their turn, at a greater rate, during that bad season.

In the year 1682, the gold trade yielded hardly 45 *per cent.* to our *French* ships, clear of all charges, but that might be imputed to the great number of trading ships of several *European* nations, which happened to be at that time on the coast; whereof I counted forty two in less than a month's time: had the number been but half as great, that trade would have cleared 60 *per Cent.* or more; and if a cargo were properly composed, it might well clear 70 *per Cent.* in a small ship, sailing with little charge, and the voyage directly

home from this coast, not to exceed seven or eight months, out and home, if well managed.

Use made of EUROPEAN GOODS.

I Shall here mention, as briefly as possible, what use the *Blacks* make in general of the *European* goods they buy at the coast.

The broad linen serves to adorn themselves, and their dead-men's sepulchers within; they also make cloths thereof. The narrow cloth to press palm-oil; in old sheets, they wrap themselves at night from head to foot. The copper basons to wash and shave, the *Scotch* pans serve in lieu of butchers tubs, when they kill hogs or sheep; from the iron bars the smiths forge out all their weapons, and country and household tools, and utensils. Of frize, and perpetuanas, they make girts, four fingers broad, to wear about their waist, and hang their sword, dagger, knife, and purse of money or gold; which purse they commonly thrust between the girdle and their body. They break *Venice* coral into four or five parts, which afterwards they mould into any form, on whetstones, and make strings or necklaces, which yield a considerable profit. Of four or five ells of *English* and *Leyden* ferges, they make a kind of cloak to wrap about their shoulders and stomach, as has been observed before. Of chints, perpetuanas, printed calicoes, tapseils and nicanees, are made cloths to wear round their middles. The wrought pewter, as dishes, basons, porringers, &c. serve to eat their victuals out of. Muskets, firelocks, and cutlaces, they use in war. Brandy is most commonly spent at their feasts. Knives to the same purposes as we use them. With tallow they anoint their bodies from head to toe, and even use it to shave their beards, instead of soap. Fishing-hooks for the same use as with us. *Venice* bugles, glass beads, and contacarbe, serve all ages and sexes, to adorn their heads, necks, arms, and legs, very extravagantly, being made into strings, as has been observed: and sarsaparilla is used by such as are infected with the venereal disease. *French*, *Madera* and *Canary* wine, are little used by the natives, but commonly bought by the *Europeans* residing there.

DUTIES paid for GOODS.

ALL the goods the *Blacks* buy of us, are liable to certain duties or taxes, On the coast. amounting to about 3 *per Cent.* paid to the proper officers, the kings of the land have at each port-town; and even fish, if it exceeds a certain quantity, pays one in five.

five. These duties are paid either in kind or value.

None up the inland.

Up the inland, they pay no duty for river-fish, but are liable to a capitation of one shilling *per* head for the liberty of passing down to the sea-shore, either to traffick or attend the markets with their provisions, or other sorts of the product of the land, and pay nothing at their return home, goods or no goods, unless they chance to leave their arms in a village; then the person so doing, is to pay one shilling.

How collectors account.

The collectors account quarterly with their kings, and deliver up what each has received in gold at his respective post; but the fifth part of the fish they collect is sent to the king as they have it, and serves to feed his family.

No fisherman is allowed to dispose of the first fish he has caught, till the duty is paid, but are free to do it aboard ships; which perhaps may be one reason why so many of them daily sell such quantities of their fish to the sea-faring men, for several toys, as has been observed.

GOOD riding at the COAST.

ANY sort of ships may safely ride at all times of the year, before the *Gold Coast*; there being very good anchorage, from one end to the other, except at *Acra*, where the ground is rocky, as has been mentioned heretofore: but in the months of *August* and *September*, the fierce tornadoes blow horribly from the sea, on the land, and unless a vessel be well secured with several good cables and anchors, may force it ashore, as we heard of one so cast away at *Tackorary*, and another at *Commendo*, in the year 1679. and I was like to have had the same fate in my yacht, before *Infiama*, in the year 1682, by a tempestuous southerly wind, in the middle of the night, tho' but in the month of *April*, when I made a coasting voyage from *Acra*, where I left the man of war I was in, to some leagues above cape *St. Apollonia*, at the upper coast.

MERRY-MAKING and DANCING.

MEN and women there being, as I have before observed in their character, inclined to sing till they die, and dance into the grave; they scarce miss one day in their lives without some sports and dancing, especially the female sex are most particularly eager for it; insomuch that if amidst their hardest toils and work at home or abroad, they do but hear any one sing, or play on their musical instruments, they will fall a dancing: which gives me an opportunity to enter on the subject of their dances and pastimes.

It is a custom from time out of mind, *BARBOT.* amongst them, for the greatest part of the inhabitants of a town, or village, to meet together every evening, at the market-place, there to dance and be merry, for an hour or two, before they lie down to sleep. The women make the first appearance, dressed in their best garb; having abundance of tinkling small bells, tied about their legs: and after them the men, in the best equipage they can contrive; each carrying in his hand an elephant's tail, gilt at the end. The musicians stand by, at one corner of the place, some with brass basons, others with drums of two or three different sorts and tones, on which they commonly sit astride; others have wooden snappers, our boys use them in imitation of castanets, and others with reeds, flutes, and flagelets; others with a hand flat drum, made up with small belts round it; and others with their gittern, the best instrument they have; which is, a hollow piece of wood of two handfuls long, and one in breadth. From the hinder part of this a stick comes across to the fore-part, and upon the instrument are six extended strings; so that it bears some sort of resemblance to a small harp, and affords much the most agreeable sound of any they have. To these are adjoined the horn-blowers, or trumpeters.

Meetings to dance in the market.

All these instruments make a loud, strange harmony, together with the extravagant vocal musicians; and the men and women who are to compose the dance, divide themselves into equal numbers and couples, opposite to each other; and forming a general dance, meet and fall back again, leaping, beating their feet hard on the ground, bowing their heads to each other, and snapping their fingers, muttering some words at times, and then speaking loud; then whispering in each other's ears, moving now very slowly, and then very fast; men and women running against each other, breast to breast, and knocking bellies together very indecently; clapping their hands together, throwing their elephant's tail at one another, or tossing it about their shoulders, and uttering some dirty mysterious words.

Lead actions.

The women throw a little hoop on the ground, dance round it, then take it up again with their foot; others toss up, as high as they can, a small bundle of linen bound up hard together, and catch it again as it falls; others recite aloud, certain immodest verses, to which the other dancers answer much in the nature of a choir of musick. This sort of dance, is much like that we call in *France*, *La danse des filloux*. When they have thus spent about an hour and a half, or two hours, in that exercise, they

singing.

BARBOT. they retire to their respective lodgings to rest.

Variety of dances.

Their dances vary according to times, occurrences, and places, which would be too tedious to particularise: some of these dances being in honour of their deities, are more serious; others are by particular appointment of the kings: as for instance, at *Abramboe*, a large town in *Fetu*, every year, for eight days together, there is a resort from all parts of the country, of multitudes of people of both sexes; and this, they call the *Dancing-season*; where every one that comes, is dressed to the most of his ability and condition.

FEAST made by the DANISH GENERAL.

IT will not be unacceptable in this place to give a short account of an entertainment the *Danish* general made for me in his garden behind *Fredericks-burgh*, at *Manfrou*, in the month of *January*. After a splendid dinner, in the fort, we walk'd down the hill to that garden; where the company was scarce seated, in the summer-house, standing in the midst of orange-trees, before we were surrounded by about an hundred *Blacks*, arm'd from head to foot, in the most compleat manner they use to be when they take the field, but so fantastically adorned, with caps on their heads made of a crocodile's, or elephant's skin, having on each side a red shell, and behind a bunch of horse-hair, and a heavy iron chain, or something else instead of it, girt round their head, and their bodies coloured white; that really, they rather resembled devils than men. At first they made a horrid confused noise, beating upon one another's shields, firing their muskets at one another, and bowing to the ground.

This sort of skirmish being over, they withdrew to some distance; at which time we were entertained with a great consort of their vocal and instrumental wild musick; much in the manner, as I have described it before: during which, the general's concubines, and those of the other *Danish* gentlemen of the fort, attended by the best sort of the town's-women, came to visit us in their utmost gay and rich dresses. Immediately they were presented with *French* and palm-wine; mum, brandy, and sweet oranges: and during the collation, the armed *Blacks* began to wrestle, and make a sham fight among themselves, several of them intermixing it with dances by intervals, striking by measure and cadence, with their cutlaces, on their bucklers, much as the actors do at the opera of *Mars*, at *Paris*; whilst others, in couples, were continually firing their muskets towards the ground, leaping, and putting their bodies into such ridiculous strange postures, as if they had been possessed.

After them, the *Black* ladies took their *Dancing*. turn, and showed all their skill and dexterity by many sorts of dances, amongst themselves, pretty agreeably. All this while the fort, at certain intervals, answered the many volleys of the combatants in the garden, by firing five guns at a time, and continued so to do, till it began to be dusky, which obliged the company to return to the fort; being reconducted by all the armed men, who, whilst we were on the way, marched all round at the foot of the hill, and afterwards divided themselves into two bodies, each with its commander's drums, horns, and the *Danish* colours, opposite to one another, in order of battle. No sooner were we placed in the long gallery of the fort, from whence we could have a full view of them, but each body began to move towards the other, and skirmished together with fire-arms, without any order; after which, each man taking his javelin in one hand, and his buckler in the other, made a show of casting it at his opposite. At last, they fell in together confusedly, with their cutlaces, striking hard on their shields, till it being dark night, they left off; one body attending their officers home, to the town of *Manfrou*, the other guarding the *Danish* standard to the fort, where the general treated them with *French* wine, and brandy. This feast cost the general five *Bendas* of gold, or forty pounds sterling.

Another mock-fight.

Manner of taking an OATH.

I Have already hinted something concerning the manner of administering an oath to the *Blacks* at *Axim*; and more particularly, that of taking an oath to the *Dutch* officers there: I shall now make some farther observations on the same subject, as it is practised in *Fetu*, either towards *Europeans*, or among themselves, in things of moment.

Upon such occasions the priest or conjurer erects a pile of small sticks, in the form of an altar, on which he lays a canvas bag, sprinkled with human blood, containing some dry bones of men; to which he adds small pieces of bread, and a calabash or gourd full of the bitter water or drink, so much used among them in religious ceremonies, all which the priest exorcises, and causes the person to whom the oath is administer'd to swear on it, by *Osuré*, the name of their chief deity. To which he adds an exhortation, for the inviolably observing of the said oath in all points, with a terrible denunciation of a most horrible punishment in case of perjury; and if the person takes an oath to the *English*, or other *Europeans* there, he is made to swear on the bible.

They

They commonly prostrate themselves before them, embrace their feet, and lifting one of them from the ground, rub the sole of it on their own faces, stomachs and shoulders, uttering loudly this syllable, *jau, jau, jau*; snapping their fingers, stamping with their feet on the earth, and kissing the idols on their arms and legs: others add, to all these fantastical ceremonies, the draught of bitter water. Some of the most civiliz'd at taking an oath to a *White* man, will also cross their two fore-fingers, and carrying them to their mouth, kiss them, saying in *Portuguese*, *Por esta cruz de Deos*, which is, *By this cross of God*.

I have before observed, that these people, ^{BARBOT.} before the *Portuguese* came among them, were reckoned very conscientious, and true to their oaths; but whether by the frequent intercourse with *European* nations since that time, or whatever the occasion of so great a change may be, at present they are entirely degenerated: for tho' they will now take the most sacred oath, either in their own, or our way, they are very little to be trusted, especially by *Europeans*, as little valuing perjury, provided they can be gainers by it, or satisfy their passions. But of this, and other particulars relating to oaths and perjury, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

C H A P. XXII.

Diseases in Guinea, and their cures. Superstitions and funerals.

I HAVE before observed, that how unwholesome soever this country is, yet we see but few of the natives afflicted with distempers, which is one advantage of being born in this bad air, and bred up in stench; and when lingering under some distemper, it must really be mortal, to hinder them, either from their business, or taking their usual sports and diversions; as having always at hand a great diversity of medicinal herbs, and proper remedies, to ease and cure it in a short time, according to the skill they have, as will be made appear in this chapter.

DISEASES in GUINEA and their CURES.

Diseases in general.

THE distempers of the *Blacks*, are the venereal disease, megrim or head-aches, bloody-fluxes, fevers, which they call *A-brobra*, cholicks, pains in the stomach; the small-pox, which makes the greatest havock among them, as does also that strange disease of the worms.

Venereal disease, and its cure.

As for the venereal disease, which among them is a meer gallantry, every man being extravagantly addicted to a multitude of women of all sorts, found or unfound; they commonly cure it with *Sarsaparilla*, boil'd in brandy, using it by draughts till the patient is recovered found. This *Sarsaparilla* is brought them by the *Dutch*.

Head-ach and cure.

In their head-aches, they apply to the face of the patient, a pultice of sundry herbs, whose virtue is peculiarly known to that effect; which causes small tumours and pimples, which they scarify with sharp-pointed knives, if they do not break of themselves: then they lay on it a certain white mould, to dry and consolidate it, but it leaves behind the small scars, of which the faces of many persons of both sexes are very full; which inclines me to believe that their head-aches and megrim are very common and general.

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The cholick and bloody-flux is not so common among the natives, as the *Cholick and cure.* *peans*; many of whom are snatched away before they can be naturaliz'd to that unwholesome air; who generally, before they die, grow so benumbed in their limbs, and so lean, that they are frightful to behold. The *Blacks*, in case of a violent cholick, drink morning and evening, for several days successively, a large calabash of lime-juice, and *Malaguettes* mixt, which seems at first to be contradictory for such distempers, were it not known, that our physicians in *France* give *Limonade* for gravellous cholicks.

The *European* remedies against cholicks there, are to keep warm, not to lie down to sleep on the ground; to avoid the dew of the evening, and the rain; not to use spring-water, nor lemon-juice, nor any other acids: which refutes the too common use of punch, so much in vogue amongst the *English* *Guineans*; and which undoubtedly kills many of them, by causing violent cholicks.

Pains in the stomach are cured by taking four or five drops of balsam of sulphur, in a little quantity of brandy; which if the patient be well covered, after the dose is taken, will cause sweating. The day after this, to be let blood; and two days after, a gentle purge.

Another remedy, is to take every morning, a little of confection of hyacinth, and alkermes; and from time to time, good cordials, avoiding carefully any excess in wine or brandy.

I cannot omit, being on this subject, to mention how I used to live whilst I was at the coast of *Guinea*, and during the whole voyage; to which I very much attribute the perfect health I enjoy'd, without almost any ailing. I wore continually, day and night, a hare's-skin, well dressed, on my bare stomach, the hair next my body; which

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kept

BARBOT. kept it always in good order and activity; tho' I must own it made me often sweat wonderfully, in the scorching air of the torrid zone, but help'd digestion admirably. I observed very exactly, not to drink wine or brandy in the morning, as most seafaring men of all nations do; which is very offensive to an empty stomach, affecting the tender parts of it, by its corrosiveness, enfeebling and weakening its faculties by degrees, and consequently renders it incapable of digestion, altho' it seems, at the moment it is taken, to strengthen it: therefore I always took some nourishment before I would use it; and a quarter of an hour after, took the dram, neither would I drink any strong liquor, till a quarter of an hour after meals; much more did I shun to drink hard, of any corrupted liquors of *Europe*, and of the *Guinea* beer, called *Petaw*; all which so much abounds in the *European* forts at the *Gold Coast*. By this method my stomach was all along kept in good order, and digestion to admiration, notwithstanding the excessive heats, which naturally weaken its faculties.

Cure for the cholick. Again, for the cholick, besides what is above-mentioned for pains in the stomach, take about half the weight of a louis-d'or, of right orvietan, in four or five drops of anniseed oil; and use repeated glisters, composed of the decoction of common and marsh-mallows, or holyoaks, pellitory of the wall, and cassia-powder, with ten drops of anniseed-oil, keeping warm especially at night.

Distemper of worms. As for the disease of the worms, by the *Mina Blacks* called *Ikkon*, it is more peculiar to the natives than to *Europeans*, who are seldom afflicted with them.

This disease appears in several parts of the body, but more commonly in the fleshy parts, as the thighs, the haunches, the breasts; and even in the *scrotum*, a man will sometimes have nine, ten or twelve of these worms at once; some long, some short, and some deeper in the flesh than other, and there are often also some lodged betwixt the flesh and the skin. The worm generally shows itself by the swelling of the flesh; in some it causes violent agues, with great shiverings; others it torments with intolerable pains, all over the body, so that they cannot rest in any posture: others it casts into a violent fever, and continual deliriums. But those that grow in the breast or paps are the most afflicting, as those that come in the *scrotum* and yard are the most dangerous of all, as well as tormenting; insomuch, that they have put some men there into such a woful condition, that they grew perfectly mad and outrageous, so that it was requisite to bind them very fast.

Some of those worms are an ell and a half long, as big as a raven's quill, as I saw ^{Several sizes of them.} in one of our slaves aboard ship, winding almost twice about his waist, visibly apparent in many places; which our chief surgeon drew out entire in four days time; and when dry, it was almost like a white sinew. From this immense size of an ell and a half, the worms are of several other magnitudes, shorter and shorter, to six inches long, and proportionably thick to their length, the smallest no bigger than a hair.

The only way to cure this horrid tormenting disease, is to take hold of the worm, very gingerly, as soon as the head has made its way out of the swelling, and make it fast to a small piece of paste-board, or stick, till it draws back of itself; when it must by no means be forced, but the paste-board left over the wound, binding the said wound so fast that the worm may not re-enter, and applying to it pultices and fomentations, twice a day, to soften the tumour, and facilitate the coming out of the worm; every time the wound is dressed, turning the paste-board gently, and thus repeating the fomentations and winding of the worm twice a day, sometimes for a whole month, till it comes out entire, which is the greatest point of the cure, tho' the method be tedious: for if it should happen to break by being too hasty in drawing it out, that part which remains in the body, will soon putrify, or break out at some other part, which occasions double pain and trouble. We have seen men thus served, for whom no other remedy could be found to preserve their lives, than cutting off a leg, or an arm, or the privy parts; and if the worm is lodged in the trunk of the body, and broken, it is almost a miracle if the man does not die of the gangrene working to the vital parts. Commonly the worm brings along with it, as it is gradually wound out of a man's body, a great quantity of putrified matter. The principal point of this cure, besides the gentle drawing out of the worm, as has been said, is to keep the wounded part very warm, because the cold air would swell it, and consequently choak the worm's passage, which would cause intolerable torment. What has been said on this subject, properly concerns *Europeans* afflicted with this unaccountable disease; to which I shall add, that it is necessary, after the cure, to purge the patient, and take for a general rule, to prevent this disease, to live well, and soberly, to keep the stomach very warm, to shift linen, as soon as wet by rain or sea water; and generally to observe all the other prescriptions I have hinted at before, but especially to abstain, as much as possible, from the use of women.

As for the *Blacks*, they let the worm come out gradually of itself, not commonly taking such precautions as are above observed; so that we have seen a man there with five or six such worms hanging partly out from his body at once: and when the worm is quite out, they anoint the wound with butter and salt, and afterwards wash it from time to time with sea-water only, which proves very effectual.

This worm-disease is frequent all the coast over; the places at which the *Hollanders* find their men are the most tormented with it, are *Cormentin* and *Apam*, which they attribute to the foul water they are obliged to drink there. At *Acra* the natives are nothing near so much afflicted with it, as at all other places of the *Gold Coast*; the reason whereof may be, that the country of *Acra* not being a promontory, nor so woody as all the other parts of the coast are, the air is consequently wholesomer. I have been told there, that a man may have this worm-disease two years before it appears, and that in some *Europeans*, the worm did not break out for twelve months after they were got back from the coast of *Guinea*, to *Europe*, without feeling, all that while, the least pains.

Small-pox. The small-pox sweeps away great numbers of *Blacks*, of both sexes and all ages every year.

“I fear I shall prove tedious upon every subject I treat of; but my design having been, from the beginning, to omit no particulars of use, or for curiosity, to render the description of the *Coasts* of *Guinea* more compleat, than any yet published, in any language, I shall now enter upon a digression of the various causes, which are thought to breed the worms in men’s bodies in that part of *Africa*.”

NOTIONS of what breeds WORMS.

False opinions disprov’d. SOME fancy excessive luxury, in the continual use of a great number of women, to be the principal occasion of it: others attribute it to the frequent eating of a certain fish, whereof there is great plenty: others, that it comes from keeping so long in the sea-water every day; and others also, from excess of fatigues and long journeys a-foot. There are others who impute it to the excess of palm-wine, and the kankier made of maiz. But all these opinions appear to be groundless, by the frequent examples of many persons at the coast, who have been under all those circumstances, for many years together, even beyond expression, and yet have lived very free from that disease; whilst others, that live there temperately in many of the before-mentioned particulars, have been much tormented with it, especially the *Europeans*: and the *Blacks*

have often assured me, that the natives forty ^{BARROR.} or fifty leagues farther up the inland, know nothing of that disease, tho’ they are generally as intemperate in many regards, and particularly in the enjoyment of women, as any at the *Gold Coast*.

Others have been of opinion, that the too frequent use of pit-water is the occasion of it. To corroborate which notion, they produce an example of it at *Ormuz*, and in the neighbouring places, where the *Indians* having no other water to drink, but that of pits, are subject to this worm distemper; which has obliged them to fetch fresh water from out of the sea it self, in eighteen fathom deep, having men employed on purpose there, to dive so low for it: and that at *Mouree* and *Cormentin*, where they drink no other water, the people are much more tormented with the worms, than at other parts of the coast; but yet abundance of the natives there, tho’ they use as much of that water as any others, are very free from it.

Lastly, others are positive it proceeds from bad water, and ill food, together with the excessive malignant rains, and the mildews of the cool evenings, which affect many people there, and breed it in their bodies. To make out their assertion they alledge, that the people are most tormented with that disease in the rainy month of *August*, when the drops of rain that fall are commonly as big as large peas, and so malignant, that, as I have observed before, it will rot any woollen clothing in three days time, if not prevented by the person that has been so wetted, by shifting it presently, and having it dried. It is also positively asserted, that the mildew in that month is much more dangerous than at any other time of the year, tho’ it may be said to be bad at all other times, not excepting the summer season. Which of all these opinions, concerning the causes of this strange disease of the worms, is the most solid and probable, I will not venture to decide; only shall presume to say, this last seems to me the most natural, by what I know, and have heard of the surprizing effects of the rains in the month of *August*, and the corrupted air of that season, occasioned by them, as also by the horrid thunder, attended with lightnings and tornadoes, which are then so frequent.

The *Blacks* are well enough attended in sickness, according to their abilities; tho’ some represent them to be uncharitable, ^{Good attendance in sickness.} even to inhumanity, towards their sick relations, so as to deny them the necessary help and subsistence.

They are generally very much afraid of death; and use all possible methods to preserve their lives, not only by means of natural remedies, but also by the practice of

of several superstitions, as I shall hereafter mention; and yet when sick or wounded, they endeavour to appear unconcerned. The word *Mijarri*, in their language signifies to be sick; *Jarbakassi*, to be dying; and *Oii*, to be dead.

They dress their wounds with vulnerary herbs, of which they have above thirty sorts, of great virtue and efficacy, as I have observed before, wherewith they cure great and dangerous wounds to a wonder; but wanting skill to draw out musket-balls or the like from the flesh, they often heal them superficially. And I remember a slave, after having been three months aboard, had three musket-balls taken out of his body, by our surgeons.

SUPERSTITION.

*Priests
physicians.*

THE priests, or conjurers, are generally their physicians and surgeons, as well as spiritual guides; as we read the *Boyez*, or priests of *Cuba* in *America*, were among those people. The priests of the *Israelites* separated the lepers, and decided of legal impurities, and in that respect acted as physicians or surgeons; for the ancients did not distinguish between those professions. The law did condemn the person, who had wounded another, to pay the physician's fees: and in other places, mention is made of bandage, plaisters and ointments, but not, that I know, of any purges and diet. The *Greeks* of the heroic times, as *Plato* observes, applied themselves only to dress wounds, with proper remedies, without prescribing any order of diet; supposing that other incidental distempers would be cured by the good constitution and temperance of the patient.

*Supersti-
tious cures.*

The *Blacks* entirely rely on the dictates of their said priests in spiritual affairs, and no less in sickness; when having unsuccessfully tried the proper natural remedies, they commonly have recourse to superstitious practices, supposing them more effectual, or being persuaded to it by the priest, and easily induced to believe they can never recover without making some offering to their gods. Accordingly they desire the priest to enquire of their deity, what he would have. When the pretended enquiry is made, the crafty priest, who makes his advantage of their simplicity, tells them they must offer some tame beast, a sheep, a hog, a cock, a dog, or a cat, or whatsoever he fancies; which sometimes is gold, cloth, drink, or the like, which is commonly proportioned to the ability of the person that is sick; and whatsoever he requires, they freely part with, which is the profit of the cheat. According to this superstition, the priest makes several pellets of clay, which are

set about the patient's room, in rank and file, all sprinkled with blood, and the said priest eats the flesh of the creature offered to his good health.

If the sick person happens to recover soon after the offering made, either by strength of nature, or by virtue of the remedies administered, the priest is sure to be well rewarded, and highly commended for his skill and ability.

Thus a *Boyez* or priest of *Cuba*, above-mentioned, when he undertook to cure a sick *Cacique* of that island, used to snuff up the juice of a certain herb, which put him besides himself; and when recovered of his mad fit, he told them, he had spoken to the *Cemis*, which were their gods, and that the *Cacique* would soon be well again; but if he said, that those spirits were angry, it was to denote that the *Cacique* would die. They represented those *Cemis*, much after the manner our painters do the devils, and said they were the messengers of the eternal God.

If the patient grows worse, fresh offerings are made, more expensive than the former; and so repeated again, and again, till the sick person recovers or dies. It also often happens that one doctor is discharged with a good reward, and another called in his place, who begins the same course over again, knowing well how to manage the superstitious simplicity of his patient. His first act is to condemn all the former physician has done, whereupon new offerings are made, cost what they will, to get what may be had, for fear of being also turned away very shortly, as his predecessor was, and another again brought in, in his stead. For this change of doctors, or physicians, will happen twenty times or more successively; and at a continual charge, perhaps greater than with us: those people being so strangely prepossessed with the opinion of those offerings, that sometimes they will force the priests to make them.

This bigotry is so grafted in the *Blacks* ^{Children} of all ages and sexes, that the young ones, ^{superstitious} even boys, who are either servants or slaves ^{ous} to the *Europeans* there, if they think they have a good master, will as soon as he is the least indisposed, secretly go to the priests to make offerings for him, of a sheep, or hens, according to their ability, which they eat to his good health, as has been said, that he may recover; and some lay on beds, or in the chambers of their said masters, the small pellets consecrated or charmed by the priest, to defend him from death. And those boys knowing their masters would be much displeas'd at it, are very cautious how they do it, and conceal it so well, that it is impossible to discover it before the person be well recovered or dead. And that

that but very rarely and by chance, if they had not time to take them away as privately. Some of the *Mulatto* women, who I formerly said would fain pass for *Christians*, of which religion they know very little, are addicted to such superstitious practices, even to extravagancy. If any one of them is married to, or kept by an *European*, who loves and pays her well, if he fall sick, she never fails to make rich offerings to the priest, with much warmer zeal and stronger reliance on the success of them, than the *Blacks* themselves.

Europeans infected.

But what is more detestable, as well as deplorable, is, that even some *Europeans* there, not only believe this idolatrous worship effectual, but encourage their servants in it; and are very fond of wearing about their bodies, some of these consecrated toys or spells of the heathen priests.

FUNERALS.

WHEN any person dies, they are very careful to hinder his eyes and mouth from shutting or closing, and the arms and legs from stretching out stiff, that the deceased may see what people come to visit him, after his decease, and entertain and salute them.

Dismal lamentations.

Then they set up such dismal crying, lamentation, and squeaking, that not only the house of the deceased, but the whole village or town resounds with it. Many of those mourners run round the house singing mournful verses, to the sound of the basons on which they beat, with little sticks, now and then going into the house to see the deceased, whilst others wash his corps; and the youth of his acquaintance, commonly, as if it were to pay their last duty and respect, fire several muskets. If the deceased be a man, his wives immediately shave their heads very close, and smear their bodies with white earth; and put on an old ragged garment: in this equipage they run about the town like distracted or mad women, with their hair hanging loose, and making a dismal, lamentable noise, continually repeating the name of the dead, and reciting the best actions of his past life. This tumultuary ridiculous noise of the women lasts several days successively, even till the body is interred.

Dead visited.

When the corps is washed, they lay it in an osier or wooden coffin; in some places they place it on a board, as sitting, and his relations come to inquire after his death, or why he would die: tho' they know he died a natural death, either by sickness or old age, wounds or other mortal distemper; yet they all suppose it must certainly proceed from some other cause.

The priest, who must of necessity be present on this occasion, enquires of the relations whether the deceased was ever perjured

in his life-time; if it is proved he was, then BARBOT. they conclude, his death was the punishment of that great crime. If he is not found guilty of that, they enquire whether he ^{Enquiry into the cause of death.} had any considerable enemies, who might have laid spells in his way, which might occasion his death; which, if proved, some of those enemies are examined very strictly, and if they have been used to such practices, tho' never so long since, they will scarce come off without hurt or damage.

If there be no suspicion of poison, the enquiry is, whether wives, children, and other persons of his family, or his slaves, attended him with due care, or were liberal enough in their offering, while he was sick; and if no defect is found therein, the last refuge is to conclude the deceased had not been exact in his religious worship.

Thereupon the priest approaches the dead person, and asks him why he died; and being sensible that himself, and others like him have prepossessed those senseless people with an opinion of their sanctity and disinterestedness, answers the questions himself, as is most for his own advantage; and that passes among those silly people for real truth.

The queries then commonly put to a ^{Questions asked the dead.} dead person, are of several sorts: as for instance, some men take up the dead body in the presence of the priest on their shoulders, and then ask, *Did not you die for such a cause?* If he did, the men who hold him, by a hidden impulse, are obliged to incline the body towards the questioner; which is taken for an affirmative answer: otherwise they stand still.

At some other places, where they expose the deceased person sitting on a board, they put many questions to him, sometimes several people speaking together; for example, *What was the reason why you left us? what things did you want most? who is it that has killed you?* with many more, as foolish and impertinent, as tedious to relate.

At *Acra*, the examiner commonly lies flat down on the stomach of the deceased person, and taking him by the nose, puts all the abovementioned questions to him; and their simplicity is so unaccountable in this particular, that they will affirm the dead person has fully answered their questions, by a motion of his tongue, teeth, eyes or lips.

At *Acra*, again, the principal wife of a *Black*, who happens to die, lies down by his corps, howling, crying, and rubbing his face from time to time, with a wisp of straw, or of the thread of the consecrated tree; saying, *Auzy, Auzy*. If it is a woman that is dead, her husband does the same to her.

It is customary in several places for the chief wife of a deceased *Black*, from the time

BARBOT. time of his decease, to that of his burial, to go about the town from house to house with a calabash, or brass basin in her hand, to gather gold *Krakra*, to buy a cow or sheep, to be sacrificed, and beg of their deities to conduct the deceased to a place of rest, without any accident by the way.

Sacrifice for the dead.

This offering is performed by the priest in the following manner: he orders the beasts to be slaughtered; and, with the blood thereof, he rubs all the dead person's idols, which he has set together in a ring in the corner of a house; the largest being placed exactly in the middle of all the others, and all adorned with gold ornaments, and valuable corals, or other things; as also many threads of the bark of the consecrated tree, which he has mixed with a quantity of peas, beans, rice, *Indian* wheat, palm-oil, shells, and bird's feathers; then he plates wreaths of green boughs, which he puts about his neck: during this, the wives of the deceased, having cut in pieces the cow, or the sheep, bring it in troughs or dishes to the priest, who lays it by the idols. After some moments of profound silence, he mutters certain words, and taking into his mouth some water or palm-wine, spurs it out again on all the idols: this done he puts all that mass together, and presses it, taking out the fat or grease, which he mixes with other ingredients not used before, moulding and working it together again with the green leaves that hang about his neck, the juice whereof he has before squeezed out, and continues that kneading till he has used all the leaves. To conclude, he works all those things together, and of that filthy composition makes several pellets, as big, or as small as he pleases, passing each parcel between his legs, and over his face, saying, *Auzy*, that is, good be to you: and thus the new idols are made; some of them to be put into the deceased person's coffin or grave, as tutelar gods, to protect him in his long journey to the other life; the others to be distributed among all the company, as their guardians and protectors in war. The poorer people, who cannot buy a cow, or a sheep, for an offering, provide cocks and hens, which the priest kills, using the same ceremonies as above.

Manner of going to the grave.

In some places, before they bury the dead, they lay the corps on a board, and expose it for a day and a half to the sight of all the people, with the face covered, and the arms stretched out. When the time appointed for the funeral is come, the corps, thus made fast on a board, is laid on two men's shoulders, one at each end; in some places this is done only by women, exclusive to the men, who carry it to the grave, attended by all the women of the town,

each of them wearing an idol of straw on her head, and carrying a stick in one hand, singing dolefully to the music of several instruments, beaten in a mournful manner. If the person to be buried is a man, and the grave at a great distance from the place where he died, his principal wife commonly walks all the way, close by his coffin, as the husband does when his wife is to be interred; but if the deceased died in the town, or place where he was born, it is not customary either for the husband or wife to go to the grave. It is the constant custom of the *Blacks*, of either sex, when they happen to die from the place where they were born, to be carried thither, to lie among their kindred; which must certainly be done whatsoever it costs, if the effects of the party deceased will pay the charge. Thus some bodies are carried twenty five or thirty leagues, conducted by a good number of armed men, who are subsisted all that time at the charge of the dead person's relations. This we see frequently practised in *Europe*.

They commonly lay their dead in graves *Interring.* about four foot deep, and having placed the body therein, with the board it is fastened to, they cover it with as many green boughs, or other things, as will serve to bear off the earth, and bury with it the arms, clothes and utensils, the deceased person used while living; together with the new idols, made by the priest, as was said above, all which they cover with earth, till the grave is filled up, and then erect over it a small thatch'd cottage, or hut, supported by four posts, into which the women, attending the funeral, creep upon all four, with dismal cries and lamentations. This done, they leave under that roof, palm-wine, corn, and other provisions, to serve the dead person in the other life; one half whereof is commonly taken away by the man that dug the grave, for his own use, besides the money paid for that service. When the provisions left on the grave for the subsistence of the dead person, are rotten, or devoured by the fowls of the air, for no man will venture to touch them; the relations look upon it as an inviolable point of religion and honour, to remove what remains, and lay fresh in the room, from time to time.

Others sow rice in the grave, and there leave several worthless things of the deceased, but no household goods.

The *Blacks* about the *Brandenburg* fort *Peculiar* of great *Frederickstadt*, near cape *Tres Pontas*, *custom.* have a peculiar custom among them, which is, to bury their dead in a sea chest, bowing the corps; and those chests being commonly but four foot, or four foot and a half in length, and the dead body consequently too

too long for them, they chop off the head, and lay it on one side. As soon as the corps is let down into the grave, the persons who attended the funeral drink palm-wine, or rum plentifully, out of oxes horns; and what they cannot drink off at a draught, they spill on the grave of their deceased friend, that he may have his share of the liquor.

If a woman dies in childbed, and her child too, it is buried in her arms.

Burial of slaves.

As to the burial of slaves, I have said before, that in some parts it is not allowed them, but their bodies are cast out into by-places, there to rot away, or be devoured by wild beasts; but at those parts of the coast where they are kinder to their slaves in this particular, they throw eighteen or twenty inches depth of earth over them.

When the corps of a deceased free person is laid down in the grave, with all the formalities above-mention'd; the women attending the funeral walk to the nearest water, either sea or river, and entering into it navel deep, with their hands throw the said water in one another's faces; thus washing themselves all over, whilst others standing by on the shore, play by turns on mournful instruments, with extravagant shrieking and howling. Then one of the company advances towards the widow of the deceased, leads her into the water, lays her down in it, on her back, washes her all over; and calling the other women present, they raise her up, and every one makes the compliment of condolance. After this, they all go to the deceased person's house, where they feast all the remaining part of the day, on the flesh of the cows or sheep, which were before offered to their deities, as has been said. Commonly all the guests come away very drunk at night.

Funerals long after death.

When a man of note is killed in battle, and thro' the distractions of war they have not the opportunity to secure, hide, or bury his body, because the funerals must be performed in their own native countries, the said person's wives are all that time in mourning, and their heads shav'd; and when the day of burial is appointed, which is sometimes ten or twelve years after he was killed, the funeral ceremonies are performed with the same pomp and show, as if he had died but a few days before, and his wives renew their mourning, cleansing and dressing themselves as before.

General lamentation.

Whilst the women are lamenting abroad, the nearest relations sit by the corps at home, making a dismal noise, washing and cleansing themselves, and performing the other usual ceremonies: the remoter relations also assemble from distant places, to be present at the mourning, or funeral rites. He that is remiss or negligent in this point, is liable

to a great fine, unless he can show very good reason for his absence. The town's-people and acquaintance come also to lament him, each bringing his present of gold, brandy, fine cloth, sheets, or some other thing; which they pretend is given to be carried to the grave with the corps, and the greater present of this nature any person makes, the more it redounds to his honour.

All this time, brandy in the morning, and palm-wine in the afternoon, are briskly filled about to all sorts of people. They dress the corps richly, when laid into the coffin, and put in with him several fine clothes, gold, idols, rich corals, beads, and many other things of value, for his use in the other world; not doubting in the least, but that he may have occasion for them. All this is done in proportion to what the deceased person left, or the ability of his heirs: thus it is certain, that the funerals of rich Blacks are extraordinary chargeable.

Whilst the deceased is laying down in the grave, a parcel of young soldiers go or run forwards and backwards, loading and discharging their muskets; followed by a multitude of people of both sexes, without any order; some of them very silent, others crying and shrieking as loud as they can, whilst others are laughing as loud. After which follows the feasting at the house of the deceased, as above mention'd.

It was the custom among the ancient idolaters, in the days of the prophet *Jeremy*, on these occasions, for every person of the town to go into the house of the deceased, to mourn, and comfort the friends for their loss, and drink the cup of consolation, *Jer.* xvi. 5, and 7. as also to eat bread, and to feast with flesh, sent in by the relations and neighbours for that purpose, which custom was imitated by the *Israelitis*; and for so doing, the prophet severely reproved them, by God's special command.

In *2 Sam.* iii. 33. we see the grievous and learned complaint *David* made upon the untimely death of *Abner*; and in *Deut.* xxxiv. how all *Israel* mourn'd thirty days, for the death of *Moses*.

When a king dies, all the people express their sorrow in the same manner, as been said to be done to great men; and the same ceremonies, or more, are used towards him, even to dressing of meat for him, all the time the corps lies in state, to be seen by the people.

In some countries, on the day appointed for the funeral of a king, the prime men of the country cause the corps to be carried by slaves into some remote part of a thick wood, unknown to all the people, according to the constitutions of the place; but every man is allowed to bring his present to a certain

BARBOT. certain place appointed, in the same wood, where some men are placed to receive, and carry them thence to the grave to be there buried with the corps.

Ancient burying of treasure. This custom is somewhat like the practice of the eastern nations, in ancient times, to put goods, and even treasures into graves; as appears by what *Josephus* writes of king *Solomon*, and the obsequies of his father *David*, *Lib. vii. cap. 12.* King *Solomon* buried him in *Jerusalem*, with such magnificence, that besides the other ceremonies practised at the funerals of kings, he caused immense wealth to be laid up in his tomb: for one thousand three hundred years after, when *Antiochus*, furnam'd the religious, son to *Demetrius*, laid siege to *Jerusalem*, *Hircanus*, the high-priest, wanting a sum of money, to prevail on him to raise the siege, caused *David's* tomb to be opened, and took out from thence three thousand talents, part of which he gave to the said *Antiochus*. Again, long after this, king *Herod* took out a very great sum of money, from another part of *David's* sepulchre, where that vast treasure had been laid up. But the coffin, in which the king's ashes lay, was never touched, as having been so safely hid under ground, that it could not be found.

Slaves sacrificed. Besides the presents above-mentioned, made at funerals, of eatables, gold, coral, &c. many slaves are given, or sold, being such as are past their labour, through age, or otherwise disabled, and to be sacrificed upon those occasions; being all barbarously slaughtered, and buried with the royal corps, sometimes to the number of seventy or eighty of both sexes, and all ages; besides several of his own slaves, to serve him in the other world: as are also the *Bossoms*, or wives, he, during his life-time, dedicated to his false deity, as also one of his principal servants.

Tartars, their wives to die with them. The *Tartars* of *China* observe this custom when any of them dies, that one of his wives must hang herself, to bear him company in that journey. The *Chinese* have the same custom, but it is not so common, nor approved and received by their philosopher. A viceroy of *Canton*, being near his death, called the concubine he lov'd best, and putting her in mind of the affection he had borne her, desired she would bear him company; she promised, and, as soon as he was dead, hanged herself.

Cruel deaths. To return to the *Blacks*, 'tis a most wretched spectacle to see those poor wretches killed; for what with piercing, hacking, and tormenting, they endure a thousand deaths instead of one. Some of them, after having endured many exquisite torments, are delivered to a child of six years of age, who is to cut off their heads, and may be an hour in doing it, not being able

to manage the cutlance. Others have been shut up alive in hollow trees, and continued there several days before they expired.

At other places, as in *Fetu*, the wretch *Another.* destined to be sacrificed is made to drink abundance of palm-wine, and to dance; every one that will, at the same time, striking or pushing him. At last, he is thrown down, with his face on the sand, and whether that stifles him or not, I am ignorant, but they fall on him, first cutting off his legs below the knees, and afterwards his arms below the elbows; then his thighs, and his arms at the shoulders, and lastly his head.

In other places again, those who will *Another less cruel.* present their dead king, or other eminent person, with slaves, to wait on them in the grave, practise a more tolerable inhumanity in their execution; for they either watch an opportunity to kill the slave, when he thinks nothing of it, with their javelins, as he turns his back; or else the master sends him on some pretence to a place where men lie hid to murder him, and carry his corps to the house of the person deceased, or to the grave, to be buried with him.

However, these human sacrifices are not *Human sacrifices obstructed by Europeans.* now altogether so much in use among the *Blacks*, who are subject to the *European* government, as with those who live more remote from the coast. The *Dutch* particularly, where they have any authority, will not permit them; but the superstitious *Blacks* will remove privately to other places, in order to perpetrate this barbarity.

In some countries they keep the body of *Bodies preserved.* a dead king, or other great man, a whole year before they bury it, and to prevent corruption, they lay the corps on a wooden frame, like a gridiron, which they set over a gentle clear fire, which dries it up by degrees. Others bury their dead privately in their own houses, giving out that they preserve the corps in the same manner as aforesaid, till a fit time to have the funeral solemnly performed.

In other places, when the day draws near *Concourse to funerals.* for the solemn interring of a king, publick notice thereof is given, not only to the people of his own nation, but to others round about, which occasions such a vast concourse, as is very surprizing, all persons being curious to see the solemnity, all of them as richly dressed as they can afford; so that then more gallantry may be seen in one day, than at other times in several years; and it is indeed very well worth the seeing.

I will conclude this long account of funeral ceremonies, with two or three observations; the first, as I was told, by the *English* agent general at cape *Corfo*; that being himself present at the obsequies of a notable deceased negroe woman of the place, the

Speech of a priest at a funeral.

the forcerer, or priest, made a pathetick speech to the company there present, exhorting them all to live well; to hurt or cause damage to no person: to be very religious observers of their promises and contracts, and a deal more of such morality; after which, he made the panegyrick of the deceased woman, and ended the ceremony, by throwing on the ground a long string of sheeps jaws, threaded together, holding one end thereof by one hand, and cry'd aloud, *Do ye all as the deceased; do ye imitate her; she was very careful, during the whole course of her life, to consecrate great numbers of sheep, on occasions of this nature; as these jaws do sufficiently testify.* Thus many of the people there present, were moved to give each a sheep; the agent himself not excepted: most of which did turn to the profit of the crafty priest.

Graves adorned.

The second is, that at *Axim, Mina,* and some other places: they set up several earthen figures or images, on the graves, as I observed it at *Mina,* being small mausoleums, garnish'd with many puppets of antick fantastical forms, or figures of men and women, painted in various colours, and all over garnish'd with coral and idols, which are washed a year after the burial, when they renew the funeral ceremonies, in as expensive a manner as at the interment; and, as the *Blacks* say, more slaves of both sexes are afresh sacrificed, in the same barbarous way, as has been mention'd already.

The graves which I saw at *Mina,* upon the road to *St. Iago's-hill,* were those of some *Brasso's* and other officers of the town, amongst whom was also that of a near relation of the king of *Fetu,* which was adorned with thirty or more figures of human kind, each set up on a post in a semicircle, in the center whereof, were several idols encompassed with pots of palm-wine, and dishes of meat, covered with branches and leaves of the consecrated tree.

In other parts, the *Blacks* build little huts or roofs over the graves, to cover them from the weather, and set up a long post or

javelin, at one end of them, to which they hang some of the deceased's clothes, his bow and quiver, his sword, &c. a custom practis'd in former ages by the *Scythians,* and *Great Tartars,* at the funerals of their kings, as we find in history. The *Tartars* besides used many great barbarities at their funerals, and among the rest, to strangle the most beloved wife of the deceased monarch near the grave, with his groom of the chamber, a cook, a butler, a postillion, a serjeant, and a mule-driver, all these being allowed but one horse to carry their baggage to the grave: the horse was there likewise killed, with those poor wretches, and all together put into the grave by the corps of the deceased prince, with his plate and most costly household goods and jewels, to serve and wait on him in the other life.

BARBOT.

Ancient barbarities.

The *Scythians,* besides, at the end of the year, made the like service to the deceased king, strangling fifty of his officers, all of noble race and free men, with a like number of horses; and taking out the entrails of the strangled men and beasts, fastned them all round the grave, covered with cloaks, and on the horse's back, which from a distance appeared in that equigage, as a troop of horse set up for the guard of the deceased king. *Vid. States, Empires, and Principalities of the world.* By *D. T. V. Y.* in *French,* p. 813, 814.

The third observation is, that the *Blacks,* as I have said before, are very fond of being buried in their own country; so that if any one dies out of it, they frequently bring his corps home to be interred there: and if he have any friends or acquaintance there, they cut off his head, one arm, and one leg, which they cleanse, boil, and carry to his native country, where they are buried with the usual solemnity, according to their ability.

Blacks buried in their country.

At the town of *Aquaffou,* in the country of *Fetu,* west of cape *Corso,* is a peculiar market, for buying and selling of slaves, to be sacrificed in honour of great persons deceased.

Market for slaves to be slaughtered.

C H A P. XXIII.

Kingdoms and common-wealths at the Gold Coast. Election of kings. Enthroning them. Digression concerning labour. Polygamy. Great officers. Visiting. Feasts. Covetousness. Wars and treaties.

KINGDOMS and COMMON-WEALTHS.

AS soon as the funeral of a deceased king is over, the people proceed to substitute another, according to the laws of the land. Before I enter upon this subject, it is to be observed, that the several sorts of government among the *Blacks,* at the *Gold Coast,* are either monarchial or republican.

Commendo, Fetu, Saboe, Acra, and others, are governed either by hereditary or elective kings. *Axim, Anta, Fantin, Acron,* and others, are common-wealths. I shall next treat of the elective kings, how they are installed, their authority, prerogative, &c. but must first take notice, that the two common-wealths of *Axim* and *Anta* seem to

Irregular government.

BARBOT. be the most regular, either at the coast, or the inland; tho' in general it may be said, that the publick administration of affairs among the *Blacks* is so confused and irregular, that there is scarce any comprehending, much less giving a good description of it.

ELECTION OF KINGS.

TO come to the monarchial government, I have before observed, that the *Blacks*, before the coming of the *Europeans*, gave the title of captains or commanders to their chief rulers, and not that of kings. But this matters not, for it is well known, that the title now used, of emperor, for a sovereign, was the *Imperator* of the *Romans*, which signify'd no more than a general, or commander. Those great officers have often been the founders of monarchies, and it signifies not by what name a prince is called in every country, when we know he is the sovereign. The *Ham*, or *Cham* of *Tartary* imports a lord, and he is their monarch. The ancient *Mahometan Calif*, which word imports no more than vicar, or successor, was the sovereign of those people; and the present *Turkish* monarch is called their *Sultan*, the natural signification of it being lord, or master. Much more might be said on this subject, but this may suffice to show that the names given by several nations do not alter the property of the thing, and it is sufficient that we know they mean by them their monarchs and sovereigns.

Several sorts of elections.

In the elective kingdoms, the brother, or for want of such, the nearest male relation, is generally promoted to the royal dignity, except at *Saboe*, where none of the deceased king's relations are admitted, but some stranger called to the crown, of the royal family of any neighbouring country. In *Fetu* they will also sometimes break through the constitution, or common custom, and elect a subject no way related to the last king; provided the person so chosen has power, as they say, to do what he pleases, and they can do nothing against him: the *Blacks* having a conceit, that some men among them are blessed with such extraordinary gifts and prerogatives by their deities, that they are capable of doing things beyond the common course of nature.

At *Acra* and *Fetu*, the *Fataira*, or captain of the guards to the precedent king, is often pitched upon to succeed him.

ENTHRONING OF KINGS.

THES E elections are not followed by pompous ceremonies, coronations, or coronation-oaths. On the day appointed for declaring the new sovereign, the person so promoted is taken out of the house, where he had been confined since the death

Rejoicing of the people.

of his predecessor, and shown to the people, attended by all the prime men of the country, and abundance of the inferior sort, and sometimes they carry him throughout all his dominions; during which time all the spectators express their joy in the most signal manner they are able, by dancing, shouting, and the like. When come to the house or palace of his predecessor, and seated on his chair or throne, they proclaim him by his name, and then the priests fall to making of new idols, and mighty offerings to them; after which, they put him in possession of all the goods and treasure which belonged to the deceased king.

Then the new king's wives and children, if he has any, are conducted to the palace, and put into their proper apartments; whence the women are not to go abroad a-foot any more, but be carried in hammocks by slaves, appointed for that service.

State of women.

On the inauguration-day, the king is obliged to make considerable gifts to the people, and to entertain them for eight days successively, during which time the neighbouring kings, and the chiefs of the *European* forts, send messengers or ambassadors to congratulate him upon his accession to the crown, and to deliver their presents; after which, they go themselves in person to visit and compliment him.

If there happen to be two competitors set up at once, each of them, to bind his followers to him, obliges them to take an oath of allegiance. Unless this fall out, all things are done with much ease, some offerings being made, as is usual upon all solemn occasions.

Competitors.

When the few ceremonies and the feasting of the proclamation are over, the new king applies himself to the government, either confirming or discharging the officers that served under his predecessor; and for the most part, there, as is usual in all other parts of the world, upon the devolution of crowns, he puts many into offices, to promote his own friends and adherents, only taking care to continue some of those, who had the greatest interest with his predecessor, and are most in esteem among the people, for fear of alienating the minds of his subjects, but rather to gain their affection and applause; always endeavouring to be very popular, and exercising much liberality, particularly towards the wives and children of the predecessor, to whom some will restore part of his goods and treasure, and marry the females to men of note, and bestow considerable places on the males.

Popularity affected.

The king is absolute master of his dominions, and of the persons of his subjects, and whosoever dares disobey his commands, is *ipso facto*, for ever, rendered incapable of any employment, either military or civil

Absolute power.

They

They have the full power of peace and war, without any controul on any account. If they are generous and courteous towards their subjects, they pay them all honour and submission; but however, if they prove otherwise, they incur much ill will, and meet with opposers; those people alledging, it does not become a person, on whom all the nation depends, to be covetous, and only study to heap up wealth. In this case they have been sometimes known to proceed so far as to depose them; whereas if they prove otherwise, those people never cease extolling the magnanimity and generosity of their princes, especially if they frequently treat them with palm-wine and other strong liquors and provisions; which puts them to great expences, those people never considering that such prodigalities continually put their sovereigns upon seeking means to increase their revenues, by new duties and impositions; these kings having little or nothing of their own, besides what was left by the former, which sometimes is not very considerable. It is perhaps the consideration of this great charge, which moves some of those who might be chosen in course, according to the custom of the country, to relinquish their right; chusing rather to live private, than be obliged to be so expensive in treating of their subjects.

REVENUES.

Their several sorts. **T**HE revenues of kings generally arise there from taxes laid on the people, as in other parts; fines and confiscations for offences; duties upon goods passing through their countries, and the hire they receive for assisting their neighbours in war, and even the *European* commanders on the coast, most of that money falling to the sovereign; who, when it is received, will not be over-sollicitous whether the promised aid be ready at the time appointed or not: for when his turn is served, he is never without some plausible excuse for his breach of promise, being so subtle in this particular, that they will often deceive those who are most upon their guard. We have seen enough of such practices among ourselves, not to find fault with the *Blacks* for the same.

Evils of collectors.

Another method they have of getting gold, which they are very fond of, is by being chosen mediators betwixt contending nations; because then, like lawyers, they receive fees on both sides, and endeavouring to keep the breach open as long as possible, still draw more from each party. Were it not for some of these extraordinary ways of raising money, to defray the great expences they are liable to, it would be hard for them to subsist; because the collectors of the constant revenues, being always some

of the prime men, never fail to collect so well for themselves, that little remains for the king. When all this falls short, some of them will levy exorbitant fines, without any justice, on such of their subjects as are able to pay them; but others also rather than thus to suck the sweat and blood of the people, will strive to live by their own, and the labour of their slaves: for which reason, those kings who have but few slaves are not rich or potent.

The condition of some of those kings is so uncertain and precarious, that they have sometimes been reduced so low, as to want both money and credit to get a quart of palm-wine to treat their visitants; and their children, as soon as grown up are often forced to plow, and draw palm-wine, carrying it themselves to market to sell. At *Commendo*, they are put into some considerable posts, and offices, and even into that of *Fataira*, or captain of the guards, and by that means some arrive to succeed in their father's dignity. I was there told, that the same was practised at *Acra*, *Fetu*, *Fantin*, and other countries, where they either had commands in the army, or were made governours of towns, or collectors of the revenues. Others are also delivered up as hostages in the *European* forts, for the security of those places, which pay yearly acknowledgments for the liberty given them, of being continued in those dominions. Others are hostages to neighbouring princes or common-wealths, for performance of conventions and treaties; and those places are profitable to them, through the presents then made them. Such also of the children of those kings as are bred to trade, are exempted from all duties; and thus from husbandmen, shepherds, merchants, potters, and many such like employments, they are frequently raised to the throne; nay, some of them from serving the *European* factors or agents in the forts, in no better capacity than foot-boys: for which reason, the meanest of those *European* factors on the *Gold Coast*, values himself above any of those kings.

The daughters of kings are not exempted from putting their hands to the plow upon occasion, and some of them set up for public harlots, to maintain themselves in some fort. Others are married whilst young, without the least regard to their royal descent; every person there being allowed a liberty of choice, and a match between a king's daughter and a slave, being thought no disproportion; but something better than for a king's son to marry a woman-slave, as frequently happens.

It will seem strange, as the world is now governed, to hear of kings labouring with their own hands, at plowing, reaping

BARBOT
Kings la-
bour.

ing and other servile employments, for the maintenance of himself and family, and his children, under the same hardships, and marrying so much below their rank; but if we should imagine to ourselves a country, where the difference of conditions were not so much regarded as among us, and where nobility did not consist in doing nothing, those things would appear more natural. It will be needless to have recourse to *Plato's* imaginary commonwealth, for such a country, for so the greatest part of the world lived for many ages; so lived the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. *Homer* tells us of kings and princes, who lived by the labour of their hands; it is true, he was a poet: but the scripture shows that the greatest men placed their chiefest wealth in their flocks. We read of *Roman* generals taken from the plow to command their armies: but this must be allowed to have been in their times of rudeness; when they grew polite, they avoided all mean offices, as much as is done now. The patriarchs were shepherds, but they had many servants and slaves, who laboured for them; and I believe there are few instances that they ever plowed or sowed themselves. In fine, tho' many would make labourers of the great men of the world, they care not to toil themselves, and it is requisite there should be several degrees, for the better government of the world. The people of *Guinea* are ignorant and unpolished, and the dominions of their princes so inconsiderable, that they scarce deserve the title of kings; for which reasons there is no drawing of what is there practised into a consequence, or making comparisons between them, and polite and potent monarchs of other parts of the world.

DIGRESSION concerning LABOUR.

Husbandry ho-
noured.

HOWEVER, to look back a little into antiquity, the *Greeks*, *Romans* and *Jews* honoured husbandry; the *Carthaginians*, who were originally *Phenicians*, made it a particular study, as appears by the twenty eight books *Mago* writ concerning it. The *Egyptians* carried it so far, as to worship the beast employed about it. The *Persians*, in the greatest splendor of their monarchy, kept superintendants in the several provinces, to take care of the tilling of the lands, and the young *Cyrus* delighted in planting and trimming a garden with his own hand. The *Chaldeans* were great husbandmen, and the plains about *Babylon* so fruitful, that they yielded two and three hundred for one. To conclude, the history of *China* informs us, that husbandry was there much regarded in the ancientest and best of times. But after all, the northern

nations have always looked upon it as a mean and despicable employment.

God promised the *Israelites* no other goods, but the most natural product of the earth; he does not mention gold or silver, or jewels, nor any other riches, made such by conceit and art; but assures them, he will send rain in the proper season; that the earth shall bring forth abundance of grain; that the trees shall be loaded with fruit; that harvest, vintage, and sowing-time shall follow each other without interruption; he promises them plenty of food, sound sleep, safety, peace and victory over their enemies; he adds, that he will cause them to increase and multiply; that his blessing shall make their wives fruitful, that he will bless their herd, sheepfolds, barns, cellars, and the works of their hands. Those were the temporal goods, which God would have them expect from him, and therefore no people gave themselves up so intirely to tillage, as the *Israelites*, addicting themselves but little to other arts and professions, being satisfied to live upon the product of the earth. They were a long time wholly ignorant of those we call conveniences of life, much more of the many superfluities, which vanity has introduced; all things that were necessary they could do themselves, all that was for their sustenance they did at home; the women baked bread and dressed meat, spun the wool, wove the stuffs, and made the clothes; the men followed other necessary employments abroad.

These were the primitive customs of the *Israelites*; God promised them such things as were suitable to their gross capacities: they had been bred slaves in *Egypt*, feeding their flocks, tilling their ground, and making of bricks; they were brought out of the depth of misery, and what could those wretches be capable of above the expectation of plenty of food? It is plain enough they had no notion of eternity, since all the promises made them terminated in eating and drinking, and therefore *Moses* was not directed by heaven to speak to them of bliss after this life; because in all likelihood, that gross ignorant multitude would never have given ear to it. We see, so many ages after, when our Saviour was among them, the *Sadducees* were very numerous, and they still denied the resurrection; which shows how little susceptible that nation was of any thing beyond a present possession of earthly goods: and even in that particular it does not appear that they ever rose above the sensual pleasures of eating and drinking, and getting of children. There are scarce any foot-steps to be found of their having any sense of honour,

nour, they ever quaked at the name of their enemies, and would never have stood before them, had not God most visibly fought their battles; they wept like children at every misfortune, and in short, were a most abject generation. Yet how luxurious they grew, when in a flourishing condition, is too long to describe, and may be seen in the descriptions thereof, made by the several prophets. To conclude, they were mighty husbandmen till they had learnt an easier course of life, and then valued that profession as little as other nations have since done.

Homer describes the good man *Eumæus* making his own shoes, and says he had built magnificent stables for his herds.

Ulysses his
housewife.

Ulysses himself had built his own house and contrived with much art the bed, by which he was known to his wife. He alone built and equipped the vessel in which he went from *Calypso*. That poet tells us, it was then an honour for a man to know how to do all things that are useful for life; it is so now, but he who has others to toil for him, need not carry burdens, or hods of mortar to build his house. A thatched hut was then a good house; but no argument that all mankind should return to live in such hovels.

I have before observed, that the *Blacks* have many customs, which seem to be derived from the *Israelites*, and other eastern nations; but in reality they are the very dictates of unpolished nature. The kings I have mentioned in *Guinea*, labour some of them with their own hands, and the ancient patriarchs are said to have done many things, which now seem below men of their rank. I can not but admire the innocent lives of the patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, who tho' absolute over their families like kings, and wanting only the empty titles, since they made alliance with heathen kings, and had the power of peace and war, as we see in *Abraham*; yet he who had three hundred and eighteen persons in his family, at his feast made for the three angels, treated them only with a calf, new bread baked in the embers, butter and milk; and at almost an hundred years of age, brought water himself to wash the feet of his guests, went in person to pick out the calf, ordered his wife *Sarah* to make the bread, and came to attend them standing. Their servants helped, but did not take them off those duties. *Jacob* travelled a foot, with only his staff in his hand, at seventy seven years of age, above two hundred leagues from *Bethsabée* to *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*; he lay down, where the night overtook him, made use of a stone for his pillow, and served *La-*

ban twenty one years in a very toilsome BARBOT.
manner. We may guess what men did at that time, by what the young maids were put to. *Rebecca* came a considerable way to draw water, and carried it on her shoulder, tho' a rich man's daughter, and afterwards wife to the patriarch *Isaac*. *Rachel* looked after her father *Laban's* cattle; neither their birth, nor beauty rendering them the more delicate or tender. *Gideon* was threshing wheat by the wine-press, when an angel called him; *Thou mighty man of valour, go in thy might, and thou shalt save Israel from the hands of the Midianites*. *Ruth* gained the favour of *Boaz*, as she glean'd in the field. When *Saul* received the news of the danger the city of *Jabesh-Gilead* was in, he was driving a yoke of oxen, tho' he was then king. *David* was looking to his father's sheep, when *Samuel* sent for him to anoint him king. *Elisba* was called to be a prophet, as he was at work with one of his father's twelve plows. The husband of the famous *Judith*, who delivered *Betulia*, tho' very wealthy, fell sick and died of over-working himself. The scripture is full of such examples, not to mention others among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. *Cicero* speaks of country-men and farmers in *Sicily*, so rich and magnificent, that their houses were adorned with statues, and they were served in wrought vessels of gold and silver.

The patriarchs, it is certain, lived according to the custom of those days. *Abraham* sat at the door of his tent, when the angels came to him, he had no house to live in; we are not therefore to destroy our houses, and go live in tents. He brought water to wash the feet of his guests; it may well be questioned, whether he brought it himself, or commanded his servants to do it; or if he did, it was the effect of his extraordinary charity, not his fondness of labour. It is the common expression to say, such a one built a house, when we mean the owner, or he that paid for it, tho' he touched not the materials. A vain conceit of antiquity carries us away from our reason, to approve of all that was then, and condemn all that is present; a medium between both would doubtless be more justifiable. The ancient *Britons*, as well as many other nations, went stark naked; it would not be therefore commendable in us to throw away our garments, and return to that shameful posture. Neither is our excess in apparel commendable; but mankind is prone to run from one extreme into another. The first men were rude and unpolished, latter ages are doubtless grown effeminate and luxurious; this excess puts us upon all contrivances to satisfy

BARBOT. our appetites and desires, and we range all the world to satisfy our extravagant inclinations.

This it is that prevails on so many thousands to expose themselves to all the dangers of the merciless ocean, which swallows such numbers continually, and as it enriches some, so it impoverishes others, either by shipwrecks or pirates, or other accidents; besides, the unspeakable toils and hardships, those who escape best are continually exposed to. This is really an extravagant effect of avarice, which hurries us away beyond our reason, as if a little in peace and safety were not better than the greatest treasure in perpetual toil and hazard; yet so vain is our nature, that we condemn the poor *Blacks* because they labour at home, and at the same time deride them as slothful, because they are strangers to many of our superfluous toils; nay, so great is our pride, that the most brutal sailor values himself above the best of those *Guinea* kings.

This digression is already grown too tedious, tho' very short in respect of what might be said upon this subject, and may perhaps not be unacceptable to some who have so much good nature as not to run down all nations, and to believe that all ages have been guilty of their follies, as well as this we live in. Let us now return to our description.

POLYGAMY.

Wives kept in state. EVERY king there has more or fewer wives, besides concubines, according to his ability and inclination. *Inchero*, king of *Commendo*, or *Guaffo*, in my time had eight wives, all of them lodged and subsisted within his palace; but each in a distinct hut, and that prince being rich, allowed every one of them a plentiful maintenance, after their way, assigning for their use that part of his revenue which is received in kind; and none of them ever went abroad a-foot, but they were all carried in hammocks on the shoulders of slaves; which made them proud, and of a haughty behaviour towards their inferiors: all their business at home being to entertain the king and wash him, or to pamper and adorn themselves, the better to please him, leaving their slaves to attend the household affairs and to dress meat. They had the privilege of eating with him, on his holiday, or weekly sabbath, when he entertain'd all the great men of the country.

Women strive for preference. Jealousy often occasions disputes among those women; she that is preferred before the rest being accounted happiest and most respected, and each of them hoping for that good fortune, they study all the ways

they can imagine to gain that advantage, loading themselves to that purpose with all sorts of ornaments, corals, gold rings, and other toys, that they are a perfect burden to them.

GREAT OFFICERS.

THE prime offices next the king in *Fetu* are a viceroy, there called *Dy*; a high treasurer, the *Braffo* or standard-bearer; the *Fataira*, or captain of the guards; the sword-bearers, which are commonly four; the attendants on the king's wives; the *Tie-Ties*, or publick criers; the king's drummer, and the trumpeters and horn-blowers.

The *Dy* is the next person to the king, *Dy*, or always representing him in his absence, and *prime minister* acting in the government, both civil and military as his deputy.

The Treasurer, as in other parts, has the *Treasurer* care of all the revenues, receives all from the collectors, and lays it out in defraying the charges of the king's household, paying the soldiers, and other expences of the state. By his office, he is almost inseparable from the king's person, and accompanies him wheresoever the necessity of affairs requires his presence; for which reason he has also lodgings in the palace, and is much respected by all those who have any employments, or business at court. His post is very profitable, and enables him to appear abroad in a very costly garb, and wearing abundance of gold toys or idols, to distinguish him from the other great officers.

The *Fataira*, or captain of the guards, *Captain of guards* is always a man of great note among those people, as being particularly entrusted with the king's person, and always attending him in his expeditions, by which he is raised so high, as to be sometimes advanced to the throne, upon a vacancy, as has been said before.

The sword-bearers, which are generally *Sword-bearers* four, have also a very good post, being sometimes sent ambassadors to foreign countries; their business at home being to carry the king's sword and armour, at publick feasts, or warlike expeditions.

There are many *Tie-Ties*, or publick *Criers* criers, every town having two or three, to cry what is lost, stolen, or strayed, and to proclaim the orders of the king or governors under him. Those next the king are always present, when he sits in council, and cry *Tie-Tie*, if the counsellors happen to talk too high, or fall into confusion, whence the name of the office is derived. They wear a cap made of black apes-skins, the hair of it about a finger long, and hold in their hand a lock of hair of an elephant's-tail and small rushes among it, which serves for a fly-flap,

flap, to keep those insects from the king. They are also sent by the king, or council, on national errands, to friends or enemies; their caps being their pass every where, supposing them to be sent by their master, otherwise they are no protection. They are also sometimes sent embassadors to foreign courts, according to the opinion conceived of their capacity, for so great an employment.

Attendants on the king's wives.

The main business of those attending on the king's wives, is to take care, that no man debauches them, and that each of them is allow'd her due maintenance. Whether they are eunuchs or not, I cannot affirm, but doubtless are well known by their master to be qualified for that employment; and in the countries where there is no high-treasurer, these are commonly entrusted with the king's wealth, the keys whereof they always keep, exclusive of all others, and consequently after the king's death, they are liable and obliged to give an account of it to the successor.

Drummer.

The drummer is also a good place, both as to honour and profit; the person who has it being generally near the king.

Trumpeters.

The trumpeters, or horn-blowers, are the meanest officers about the court; but, as in *Europe*, those that belong to the king are something more honourable than others, and they are a part of his musick, upon all publick and private occasions, to divert him at home, at his entertainments, and abroad, in time of war.

These are all the offices worth taking notice of in the courts of those *Black* monarchs, tho' there may be many others less considerable.

I have elsewhere observed, that every great *Black* has the same sorts of officers to attend him; and if very rich, will vye with the king in that point.

Kings without state.

By the account I have here given of the officers belonging to those kings, it might be supposed, there is something of politeness and grandeur among those *Africans*; but there is no such thing: for those princes in their houses, tho' in respect to them we call them palaces, whereas they are but a cluster of cottages or huts, are not distinguishable by keeping any state, except it be on extraordinary occasions, when they receive or pay visits to great men; otherwise there is no guard at the palace-gate, nor any attendants to wait on them; and when they go abroad about the town, they seldom have above two boys to bear them company, one of which carries the sword, and the other the stool; and if met in the streets, they are scarce taken notice of, the meanest slave hardly stirring out of the way for them.

They are so covetous, as to be always ready to catch at any present from the meanest of their subjects. Their kitchens are not much better furnish'd than those of the common *Blacks*. Bread, such as it is, palm-oil, and stinking meat, or fish, make up the fare of their numerous family. Water is their common drink, but if they have it, they drink brandy in the morning, and palm-wine in the afternoon. In short, they differ very little from the meaner sort, in their way of living.

BARBOT.
Diet.

VISITING.

WHEN they are to pay a visit to any person, in another town, or to receive one from any considerable man, they always take care to show their grandeur, and on those occasions are always attended by arm'd men; several shields are carried along with them, and an umbrella over their heads, to defend them from the scorching rays of the sun. Their wives are then also finely dress'd, with gold toys, rings, and other rich ornaments, especially those of *Commendo* and *Fetu*, and have long strings of gold, coral, or beads hanging about them; tho' at other times they and their wives are so poorly habited as to be scarce distinguishable from other people.

Attendants.

When I visited king *Fourri* at little *Acra*, as has been hinted before, I found him sitting at the gate of his palace or house, with several of his principal officers, some of them also sitting, and others standing by him, with a parcel of arm'd men, or guards about them. He desired me to sit down right against him, and immediately sent for his wives, to show his grandeur. They soon came, and the king seeing his mother among them, desired her to sit down on his right hand, and his favourite wife on the left; and then all the other women sat down on each side and behind him, on the ground, after the *Turkish* manner, and the attendants stood about in a semi-circle.

The author's wife to a king.

Next, a large pot of palm-wine was set on the ground, between the king and me, and some of the said wine presented to me, with a compliment, that if I had given him more timely notice of my design to visit him, he would have provided better for my entertainment. That prince had no other clothes on, but a single frock made of the country small cloths I have before described, after the *Moorish* fashion, as is used at *Cabo Verde*, and the rest of him naked; but several of his prime officers, and all his wives appeared pretty handsomely dressed, in their way. The *Dutch* commander of the fort *Crevecaeur*, who bore me company at that visit, told me, the court of that king was nothing near so great, as those of *Fetu* and

Entertainment.

BARBOT and *Commendo*, either for magnificent dresses and gold, or for the number of officers and guards; *Inchero*, king of *Commendo*, having generally two hundred men attending him as his guards.

Palace of Acra. The king of *Acra*'s house seem'd to me very little preferable to any others in the town.

Of Commendo and Fetu. That of the king of *Commendo* is large and spacious; but that of the king of *Fetu* much more, and is reckoned the finest and largest of all the *Gold Coast*, there being above two hundred rooms in it, as I was told; and it stands in the large open place, which is in the midst of the town of *Fetu*, or *Feton*.

Their grandeur. The kings of *Commendo* and *Fetu* are usually attended abroad by a great croud of officers, slaves and guards; before whom goes the musick of trumpets, drums and basons. They are generally carried in a hammock, on the backs of slaves, and scarce stir a foot, unless upon some extraordinary occasion.

FEASTS.

IT is customary among those kings of the coast, to treat all the people, in a splendid manner, every quarter of the year, when their collectors pay into their treasury the money they have received for toll, customs, &c. in their several districts; and this, besides the particular entertainments to their courtiers, and officers, every *Tuesday*, which they call *Dia do Feitisso*; that is, the charm-day, from the *Portuguese*, in which language all their religious practices were look'd upon as and stiled *Feitissos*, that is charms or witchcraft: the *Blacks* have taken the word, and mean by it their deities; so that by it they would signify, the day of their gods, or the sabbath. Besides those, they have also some peculiar days to entertain the people, as the anniversaries, or commemorations of some particular events, which were advantageous to their country.

Anniversary of coming to the crown. Among the rest is a yearly festival of the king's accession to the crown, when there is a much greater concourse of people than at other times; for then the entertainment is more sumptuous, and the diversions much more splendid than upon other occasions. They commonly begin it by solemn sacrifices, early in the morning, about the king's sacred tree, which is generally the highest about the town; or on some high consecrated hill, about which they lay abundance of provisions of all sorts, for the deity, and repeat it for three days successively; during which time they feast, dance, and make merry: the king, on the one hand, studying to express his love to his subjects; and they, on the other, showing all manner of joy and satisfaction, for being under his gentle government.

It is also customary with those kings, in *Other merry-making.* time of peace, to sit every afternoon, or evening, at the gate of their palace, handsomely dressed, and to lie, for some hours, in their wives laps, to have their heads comb'd and dressed; and at night to have balls and dancing in their houses, during which the guards that are upon duty, fire their muskets continually. Those soldiers are either hired men, or their slaves, some of whom are in the day-time employ'd either within or without the palace, at some sort of work.

Sometimes, when the palm-wine comes in *Drinking.* from the country, they go in the afternoon, slaves and masters all alike, to the publick market-place, where they sit down and drink very sociably; and every one that pleases, brings his stool, and joins the company. There they tope plentifully, taking still more and more at every draught, till they come to drink bumpers, which are calabashes or gourds, holding a pottle; but let very much of it run down their beards to the ground, which forms a rivulet of wine, and that they look upon as an extraordinary grandeur. During the entertainment they talk loud, with much confusion and impertinence; for the most part nothing but lewdness, and that in the presence of the women, who are often among them, and so far from being out of countenance at it, that they will endeavour to outdo the men in that filthy discourse. If they happen to fall into any other more becoming chat, they scold and rail at one another very freely, laying open one another's failings and imperfections in a jesting manner, without sparing the king, to his face, he being one of the company; but sometimes he will be provoked to give them broken heads; from which those are only excepted, who have gained reputation among the people. Some of the slaves have more authority than their masters, for having been long in power over their dependants, they have traded for themselves, and are become masters of slaves of their own, and by degrees grown so powerful, that their masters are obliged to connive at their faults; nay, sometimes they become so obstinate, that their said masters cannot appease them by any other means than a present.

COVETOUSNESS.

IT is a true axiom, that covetousness is the *Breach of faith.* root of all evil, and it is a vice that has infected all the nations upon the earth; and among the rest, those *Africans* are so over-grown with it, that they can seldom on that account enjoy a lasting peace, but are apt to break it almost as soon as made, and that upon very slender and unjust pretences, as appears by the accounts we have

of them for these two last centuries; and as they are not at all nice or scrupulous in breaking the most solemn treaties and conventions among themselves, much less are they so with *Europeans*, tho' they swear to and ratify them ever so solemnly. Among the several *European* nations, which have felt the dismal effects of the perfidiousness of those people on the *Gold Coast* and elsewhere, the *Portuguese* have reason to repent it in a more particular manner, especially at *Commendo*, in the year fifteen hundred and seventy, where a considerable number of those people were no less treacherously, than barbarously murdered by the natives.

W A R S.

Motives.

THE principal motives of the wars which happen among those *Guineans*, are either ambition or plunder, or giving assistance to others before at variance, for which they are commonly well paid. Sometimes also they fall together by the ears for recovering of debts, or upon disputes among the prime men.

It is certainly a most unjust war which is thus commenced for the recovery of debts, not practised in any other part of the world, an instance whereof is as follows, as generally practised at *Axim*.

War made for debt.

If a person of one country owes money to a considerable man of another, and is backward in paying, the creditor causes as many goods, freemen or slaves to be seized by violence and rapine, in the country where the creditor lives, as will fully pay him. The men so seized he puts into irons, and if not presently redeemed, sells them to raise money to answer his debt. If the debtor is honest and able, he immediately endeavours to pay the debt, so to rescue his country-men; or if the relations of the persons so unjustly seized, are able and powerful enough, they oblige the debtor to satisfy his creditor, in case he is not free to do it of himself.

If the debt happens to be disputable, and the debtor unwilling to pay it, he represents to his country-men his creditor as an unjust person, and that he is not obliged to pay him any thing. These reasons prevailing among them, he next endeavours to make reprisals on the people of the pretended creditor's country. Then both sides have recourse to arms, and watch all opportunities of surprizing one another. In the first place, they labour to bring over the *Caboceiros*, or magistrates to their party, as being men in authority, who can influence the rest; next, they endeavour to gain the soldiers: and thus a war commences between two nations for a trifle, and continues till one of them is subdued; or if

their force proves equal, till the principal ^{BARBOT.} men on both sides are obliged to make peace, at the desire of the soldiery: as frequently happens there upon such ruptures, if it is near the sowing-time; every soldier then desiring to return home, to till the ground, for they are soon tired of serving in war, without pay, and at their own expence, unless they happen to take some considerable booty from the enemy.

When a king finds himself wronged by any of his neighbours, either personally or in his subjects, and cannot obtain satisfaction by fair means, he lays the matter before his chief officers, who commonly compose his council, declaring his design to right himself by force of arms, and promising them the plunder, the hopes whereof easily intice them and the soldiery to approve of the king's resolution, and accordingly every man prepares for the expedition. In the mean time, the king sends one of his *Tie-Ties*, or messengers, to the other king, as his herald, to declare war against him and his subjects, appointing the time and place, when and where he will meet him, with his army; which the latter accepts, and provides his forces to meet the other at the place appointed. The people are then exercised after their manner in both countries, all of them expressing their satisfaction, by singing and dancing, being full of expectation of the plunder they shall get in their enemies country, as also very eager for the honour of shedding their blood.

The *Amalekites* and other idolaters, ^{Eagerness for plunder.} *David's* contemporaries, were wholly intent upon booty and plunder in their warlike expeditions, as appears by the victory *David* obtained over them, when they had taken and spoiled *Ziklagh*, and rescued from them two of his own wives *Abinoam* and *Abigail*, and the wives and children of his men, with all their best goods, as we read *1 Sam. xxx.* and in *Josephus, lib. 6. chap. 15.* Much the same was done by *Abraham*, long before *David's* days, when he rescued the king of *Sodom* and the other kings of that plain, and among them his nephew *Lot*, from the four kings *Amraphel, Arioch, Chedorlaomer* and *Tidal, Gen. xiv.* and *Josephus, lib. 1. chap. 10.*

The war thus declared, all men fit to bear arms, above the age of twenty, pair to the rendezvous, from all parts of the country, in their martial equipage, leaving at home the decrepit old men, and the *Manceroes* or youths. ^{All men reserve in war.}

The same was practised by the *Hebrews* at the beginning of *Saul's* reign, when being summoned to appear in arms, by his messengers sent into all parts of *Israel*, and to follow him to the relief of *Jabez* of *Galaad,*

BARBOT. *Galaad*, besieged by *Naas*, king of the *Ammonites*, they immediately formed an army of three hundred thousand fighting-men of *Israel*, and thirty thousand of *Judab*; for no *Israelite* was exempted from serving upon such occasions, not even the priests and *Levites*, from twenty years of age or upwards.

Villages forsaken in war. The women will commonly bear their husbands company, with their children; and in case the expedition they go upon is like to last long, and is very far from their homes, they remove all their best effects out of the town, and then set fire to it, by that means to induce the soldiers to behave themselves with more bravery and resolution. But if the war be not reckoned of any continuance, they only secure their villages and families, in the best manner they can.

The inhabitants of *Axim*, upon such occasions carry over all their effects, wives and children in canoes, to a large rock, which is a mile out at sea, north-west of the *Dutch* fort of *St. Antony*, where they think them safe; the people they are to engage with, having no canoes to pass over to them, and being besides very fearful of venturing out to sea.

European forts protect the Blacks. At other places of the coast, those who live under the command of *European* forts, put all their families and effects into them, and if worsted in war take shelter there themselves, as in the year sixteen hundred eighty seven, none of the natives of *Acra* had escaped the fury of the victoribus *Aquamboes*, had not the governour of the *Dutch* fort of *Crevecœur* opened the gates to receive all the *Acra* men, who were totally routed, and secured them by firing all the guns upon the *Aquamboes*, which kept them at a distance.

Commonwealths perfidious. Those nations of the coast, which are commonwealths, seldom send a messenger to declare war against the people they have resolved to attack; but when the *Caboceros* or magistrates have had it under consideration, together with the *Manceroes*, or young men, as for instance, at *Axim*, and got together their forces, they make an irruption, after a perfidious manner, into the country they have pitched upon, tho' they were in full peace, without the least notification; and thus kill and plunder all before them. The injured nation will no doubt endeavour to revenge that breach of faith, and if too weak to do it alone, then hires another to assist it, for a certain sum of money, seldom exceeding sixty marks of gold; for which small sum an army is to be had there, well armed and ready to engage, but not very formidable, the plunder being their chief aim and encouragement; tho' it often

happens that they come off with a good beating.

The money they receive for assisting an- *Hiring of* other nation with their forces, is at *Axim* *forces.* divided among the *Caboceros* and *Manceroes*, but with great disproportion; for the former being crafty and superiors, so order the matter, that the latter hardly get a third, or a fourth part among them all, which sometimes does amount to a crown a man.

The plunder, if any is got, according to *Plunder.* the custom ought to be applied to defray the expence of the war, and what remains above to be divided; but every man lays hold of what he can, without regarding the publick. If no booty can be had in *No dissi-* the expedition, the young men, or *Man-* *pline.* *ceroes*, often desert and return home, being under no obligation to stay abroad any longer than they think fit, tho' under any particular officer or commander, whose authority extends not beyond those who are his proper slaves; for the freemen own no authority, not even that of their governors, unless compelled by a superior power. Thus it often falls out, that the leader advancing foremost towards the enemy, is followed but by a few, which renders their warlike expeditions very precarious and uncertain.

The *English* and *Dutch* at the coast have *Hired by* often had occasion to hire auxiliary forces *Euro-* of the *Blacks* their allies against their ene- *peans.* mies, but the *Dutch* more frequently than the *English*; and a body of men composed of four or five several nations, kept three or four years in their pay, either against *Commendo* or any others, did not cost them above two hundred marks of gold, which is about six thousand pound sterling, besides the damage received in their commerce.

A national offensive war is often car- *Small* ried on there with an army of four or *armies.* five thousand men in the field, but a defensive requires more; tho' sometimes their armies do not amount to above two thousand men, which shows how inconsiderable some of those nations on the *Gold Coast* are. The *Aquamboes* and *Fantyn* are to be excepted, the latter being able in a short time to raise twenty five thousand men, and the former a much greater number.

In the year sixteen hundred eighty two, when I was at *Acra*, the *Aquamboes* and *Akim* nations, were actually facing each *More po-* other, twelve leagues from *Acra* up the *tent na-* inland, each army consisting of about twelve thousand men. *tions.*

The inland nations, either monarchies or commonwealths, as *Akim* and *Affiente*, can raise numerous armies; but on the coast, tho'

tho' five or six nations join themselves as auxiliaries to any one, they can rarely make an army of twenty five thousand men.

Cowardise.

For this reason, besides their natural cowardise, few men are killed in battle; and if ever a thousand men happen to be slain upon the spot, they look upon it as a very extraordinary action. They are for the most part so timorous, that as soon as ever they see a man fall by them, they betake themselves to their heels, and make the best of their way home; and it often happens, that scarce an hundred men are killed, tho' one party has drove the enemy out of the field, and obtained a complete victory.

Generals, &c.

The armies are generally headed by their kings in person, attended by their guards, or, for want of kings, by the generals, who have their subordinate officers. The general commonly carries a white staff in his hand, to denote his post. The officers under him wear caps made of the skins of elephants, or buffaloes, in the nature of helmets, garnished with the jawbones of men, killed by them in battle. Others adorn them with red and white shells, goats-horns, and idols. Others again have caps made in the shape of morions, of lions, tygers, or crocodile's skins, covered all over with ears of *Indian* wheat, cocks-legs, feathers, monkeys skulls, and other charms. They all carry on their left arms, shields made of ozier, covered with the skins of elephants, oxen or tygers, and the inside lined with goats skins. In the right hand they carry a javelin; and at their side a very broad sword, with two knives sticking in their girdle, which being made of the country-cloth, or stuff, they wind about their waist, and between their legs, so that a long tail of it hangs out behind. Others of the officers adorn their necks with ivory rings, or strings of sea-horses teeth, and each of them is attended by his slave, arm'd with a cutlace by his side, and a bow and quiver full of arrows in his hands.

Soldiers.

The soldiers are variously equip'd for war; some of them with muskets, or fire-locks and cutlaces by their sides, and those are generally in the front of the army; others are armed with javelins, bows and arrows, broad swords and knives, or bayonets. Their bodies are all over smear'd with yellow, white, red and grey colours, laid on like flames, or crosses, very hideous to behold; having about their neck a ring of some consecrated bough, as a charm or spell, which they look upon as a wonderful protection against the enemy's weapons.

Painted Britons.

The ancient *Britons*, we find in history, used to paint themselves with woad, that they might appear more terrible in fight.

The same is still done by several *Indian* nations in *North America*. BARBOT.

Every one of the soldiers has besides, a shield six foot long, and three foot broad, covered with cows, sheeps, or goats skins. Those who live under the *European* forts, commonly carry the colours of the nation under whose protection they are; and each *Brasso* or *Caboceiro* leads his band, more or less numerous, as it happens, to the general rendezvous of the army, marching without any order or discipline, but after a confused manner, singing and howling all the way.

Every man, upon those expeditions, takes along with him provisions for eight or ten days, being corn, dogs and sheep's flesh. Provisions.

The national great drum, I have spoken of before, consecrated by their priests, is carried by one of the greatest men after the king, and with the same honour and veneration as was the *Oriflamme*, or banner of *St. Dennis*, in *France*: and *du Tillet*, in his collection of the kings of *France*, &c. p. 332. observes, that this *Oriflamme* was highly respected among the *French*, the king causing it to be carried in the army upon the greatest warlike expeditions; and that the office of the *Oriflamme*-bearer was so honourable, that in the reign of *Charles V. Messire Arnoul d'Endevaban* laid down his office of marshal of *France*, to carry the *Oriflamme*; and all that bore it were to receive the sacrament, and to fast at the time of their admission to that office.

The *Blacks* are totally ignorant of the manner of incamping; nor have they any baggage or tents, but all lie in the open air: neither have they any better rule or method in fight, but every chief officer has his band close together in a throng, himself being in the center of it. No incamp-
ing or bag-
gage.

When the armies are come in sight, they encourage one another to behave themselves manfully, and give the charge with horrid cries and howling; attacking the enemy man to man, or one parcel against another, first with their javelins, which they dart very dexterously, and then with their bows and arrows, when every man lifts up his shield, to cover himself; whilst the women, who are very often spectators, add their cries and howling to the noise of the drums and trumpets, and the shouts of the men. It often happens, that a commander seeing some other of his fellow-officers furiously attack'd, and perhaps hard put to it, chuses rather to run away, than stand his ground, even before he has struck a stroke, or ventured one brush; which example he who is engag'd will soon imitate, if hard pressed, unless so entangled with the enemy that he cannot do it, and so is obliged to gain the reputation of being a good soldier.

The

BARBOT. The musketeers do not stand upright against one another, but run on stooping, that their enemy's bullets may fly over their heads. Others creep up close to the enemy, and let fly among them, and then run back to their own men, as fast as their legs can carry them, to load again, and repeat the same action: so that between their stooping, creeping, stamping, skipping and howling, their engagements look more like antick representations, than real battles.

Cruelty of victors.

Thus they fight and skirmish, till one side or the other is quite routed, when the victors use all those they can come at very inhumanly, killing even the women and children, who, as has been said, often follow the men into the field. If the vanquished party be any of their irreconcilable enemies, the conquerors seldom or never give them quarter, or show the least mercy, but commonly cut off the heads of the slain; and if any fall into their hands alive, they cut, or rather tear off their under jaws, and so leave them to perish and starve. A *Commendo* man assured me, he had done so by twenty three men after a battle; first laying the man down, then cutting his face from the ears to the mouth, and setting his knees on the stomach of the unfortunate wretch, with both hands tore off the under jaws, leaving him in that miserable condition, wallowing in his blood, till he expired; taking the jaws of them all home with him, as testimonies of his bravery; which gained him extraordinary reputation among his countrymen, and high applause at their publick feasts and rejoicings, where some new name was added to his former, as has been hinted before to have been done by those *Africans* upon such occasions.

Others are so monstrous cruel and savage, as to rip open the bellies of women, with their hooked knives, from the womb to the navel, if big with child, to take out the infant, and dash it against the mother's head.

Hatred of nations.

The national hatred those *Blacks* bear to one another, is more or less, according to times and accidents. For instance, the people of *Commendo*, who are often at variance with several of the countries round about them, on accidental quarrels, are satisfied with leading them away into slavery, without using them so unmercifully when they have the upper hand, as they will the nations of *Quiso* and *Accanez*, their irreconcilable enemies, for many years past: for in their wars with those people, their battles are horrid slaughters, and they are so far from giving any quarter on either side, that their rage rather induces them to feast on the flesh of their dead adversaries, and carefully to preserve the jaws and skulls of all they can come at; with which they adorn their

drums, or the gates or doors of their mansions; or if the number be too considerable, and they tired with the slaughter, they drive those that remain alive home to their habitations, beating and reviling them, and there sell them for slaves to the *Europeans*, which many among them think worse than the most inhuman death.

There are other instances of the barbarities the *Blacks* are wont to exercise over their conquer'd enemies. When a general has happen'd to take some of the chief of the enemy, he has wounded them in many places and suck'd their blood at those wounds, and not satisfied with that monstrous inhumanity, caused some to be bound at his feet, and their bodies to be pierced with hot irons, gathering the blood that issued from them in a vessel, one half of which he drunk, and offered up the rest to his deities.

These are certainly instances of a very depraved, cruel temper in men; and yet much inferior to what *Garcilasso de la Vega Inca* relates, after *F. Blase Valera*, in the eleventh chapter of his history of the *Incas* of *Peru*, of the natives of the country of the *Antis*, east of *los Charcas*, in *Chili*; who would cut off the fleshy parts of the bodies of their enemies taken in war alive, and made fast to posts, with sharp stones, like flints; men, women, and children, being excessive greedy of human flesh: and thus they would eat it raw, in the sight of those miserable creatures, and swallow it down without so much as chewing: the women rubbing their nipples with the blood, that their children might suck it in with their milk; continuing that bloody execution, which they call'd a sacrifice, till the prisoners expired. If they observed the prisoner, whilst they tormented him, to show the least sense of his pain in his face, or by any motion of his body, or to groan or complain, they bruised or pounded all his bones, and strewed them on dunghills, or in rivers; but if, on the other hand, he appeared unmoved and fierce in his sufferings, then, after eating all his flesh and entrails, they dried the sinews and bones in the sun, plac'd them on the tops of mountains, and there worshipped them as gods. That race of inhuman men, the same author adds, came from *Mexico*, and peopled the countries about *Darien* and *Panama*; whence it spread farther, along those vast mountains, which run from *Santa Marta*, to the new kingdom of *Granada*. The said author, in another part of his history, calls those monstrous *Cannibals*, *Chiriguanas*. Several nations of north *America* are no less barbarous to their enemies, taken in war, than the said *Chiriguanas*, or the *Jagos*, to the eastward of *Congo*, of whom more in the supplement. The same *Garcilasso de la Vega* gives

gives an account of no less barbarities committed by the last *Inca*, *Atabualpa*, after his revolt against *Huafcor Inca*, his brother by the father's side, and dethroned him, as may be seen in his ninth book, chap. 36, and 37.

Rejoicings
after vic-
tory.

To return to *Guinea*, when the *Blacks* have obtained a compleat victory over a nation that is rich and wealthy, they enter the country with fire and sword; and having plundered all that is worth carrying away, burns the town and villages, making utter desolation wherefoever they come, and then return home, carrying before them all the tokens of victory, and particularly the heads of the enemies slain, on the points of their swords or javelins. When arrived at their towns, they solemnize their triumph with feasting, and other publick demonstrations of joy, for fifteen, or twenty days successively, according to the greatness of the success; exposing to publick view all the prisoners they have brought home, whom they keep fast bound, or in irons, till there is an opportunity to dispose of them: and for their greater mortification, they must be always present at their rejoicings. Every year after, the anniversary of the victory is also observed on the same day it happened.

More in-
humanity.

Another instance of the savage temper of these *Blacks* of *Adom*, besides what I have mentioned above, towards their enemies, I shall now give of what is done among themselves, in the same person last mentioned, for his inhumanity towards his enemies of *Anta*. That monster, being told, that one of his wives, without any ill design, had permitted a *Black* to look upon her new-fashion'd coral, without taking it from her neck, tho' the people of *Adom* allow their wives all honest liberty of conversation, even with their slaves; was so enraged with that innocent freedom, that he caused both the wife and slave to be put to death, and drank their blood, as he used to do that of his enemies. Another time, the same brute, for some such trivial matter, caused the hands of one of his wives to be cut off, and afterwards, in derision, would bid her look lice in his head, as is usual for them to do, the men laying their heads in the women's laps; and he took much pleasure at his horrid jest. This may serve to evince the bloody temper of those people.

Booby.

The booty the generality of the common *Blacks* is so fond of, consists of prisoners, gold ornaments of several sorts, coral, and strings of beads; the inland people being usually dressed in the richest manner, when they go to war: some of them being so loaded with ornaments, that they can scarce stir under them.

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The *Blacks* of the *Gold Coast* commonly ^{BARBOT.} keep most of their prisoners of war as slaves, unless they are ransomed by themselves or friends, at a good rate; and the greater the person taken, the more considerable ransom is expected for him, and he is carefully guarded till that be paid.

If the person that occasioned the war ^{King: made} be taken, they will not easily admit him ^{slaves.} to ransom, tho' he offer his weight in gold, but will keep him closely confined, that he may for the future attempt no more to trouble their country with another war; or else they sell him away into bondage. So that here the greatest king is not free from slavery, in his turn, in case he be made prisoner of war in the rout of his army; for sometimes the ransom demanded for him, is so high, that neither himself, nor all his friends together, are capable of raising it, and so he is left in perpetual servitude, and reduced to work with the meanest of slaves. And with some others in those occurrences, their fate has been, to be cruelly massacred by the victorious enemy, who saw no prospect nor hopes, that his prisoner was able to pay an exorbitant ransom.

The wars which happen betwixt two absolute kings, commonly last many years, or till one of them is quite subdued or ruined. Their armies lie all the while in the field, without attempting any thing besides a few skirmishes; and each returns home against the rainy weather, without molestation on either side, according as their ^{Crafty} priests rule them: for without their direc- ^{priests.} tions the *Blacks* are not easily prevailed upon to hazard a battle; those crafty knaves having such an influence over the people in general, that it lies in their breast to advise them to fight, or not to fight, under the specious pretence, that their gods have, or have not declared in favour of them; and if some less scrupulous nation will attempt it, they threaten it with ill success. They seldom advise them to fight, till they are fully convinced, that their army is much superior and stronger than the enemy's, and their soldiery well disposed for action, but always with a reserve; so that if it succeeds contrary to their expectation, they never want an excuse to clear themselves, laying the blame on the commanders or soldiers, as having committed some oversight, or done something that was not to be done; for which reason, they say, the whole army is punished. So that let the event prove how it will, the priest is infallibly innocent, and his character always maintains its own reputation and power.

I have already, in another place, mentioned how dexterous the *Blacks* are at handling

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BARBOT. handling their fire-arms, as also how they manage their javelins, swords and bows, as also how ridiculous their warlike dress is; and I shall not therefore need to repeat it.

Cannon little used. As for cannon, they are but of little use to them, tho' some kings of the coast have a few, as particularly the king of *Saboe*, which they bought from some *European* traders at the coast; but they use them in a slovenly manner. This king of *Saboe* had his cannon in the field, but never made use of them against the enemy for want of skill, so that they serve only to fire, by way of salutes; of which those nations are extremely fond.

TREATIES.

WHEN two contending nations are to treat of peace, the kings on either side agree upon a proper place to treat, either in person or by their officers; and when the treaty is concluded, they both swear by their deities to maintain it inviolably, and to live in real friendship and good harmony together; and for a pledge of their sincerity, deliver hostages to each other reciprocally: which being done, the rest of that day is spent in feasting and dancing together, and often giving one another fresh repeated assurances of their resolution to keep the said peace. When that is over, each king returns to his own home, with his hostages, who being commonly persons of consideration in their native country, are maintained and subsisted, answerable to their character.

Upon adjusting of differences betwixt private persons of note about *Mina* and cape *Corso*, they use frequently to give each other hostages, of their own children or near relations, for an assurance of sincerity and cordiality to maintain, or perform the conditions of their conventions and contracts. And even the kings give themselves up as such pledges, on some extraordinary occasions; as it happened at *Corso*, in the year sixteen hundred eighty one, when the king of *Fetu*, tho' near sixty years of age, and one of the greatest monarchs of the *Gold Coast*, delivered himself as hostage to the *English* agent, in a place commanded by the cannon of their castle, for eighteen slaves, who had fled

from the castle, into the town of *Corso*; where they were protected by the inhabitants, who would not return them to the *English* upon any terms; which had obliged the *English* agent, to point his guns at the town to frighten them: but those *Corso-Blacks*, far from complying, came out about seven or eight hundred in a body, and armed to attack the castle, which forced the *English* to fire their cannon in earnest, on the seditious, killing fifty or sixty of them; and they on their part, killed some few *English*, with small arms. Which tumult being reported to the king of *Fetu*, he came down with all speed to *Corso*, with twelve of his guards only, and stopped under the consecrated tree, which is about half gun-shot from the castle, and continued there eight days, offering up his devotions to the idols, whom he earnestly intreated to reveal to him, the place where the deserted *English* slaves were hid; and at the same time, assured the *English* agent he had no hand in the revolt, protesting to the *Corso* people, as he was sworn on his idols, to deliver up at all times and occasions, to the *English*, all such of their servants or slaves as should desert from them, in what part or place soever of his dominions they should shelter themselves, and did declare solemnly he would not stir from that place till the *English* were satisfied in their just pretensions. At last the differences were adjusted and made up with the agent, and then he renewed his alliance with the *English*, who had subsisted him during the time of his being under the consecrated tree, being dressed in a black velvet coat.

Those kings are obliged to support their authority by force, as has been formerly observed; and therefore the richer they are in gold and slaves, the more they are honoured and regarded both by their neighbours, and by their own subjects; without which, they could not easily have the least authority over them. They are naturally tyrannical, and will on trivial pretences of crimes or misdemeanours, extort large sums from their subjects, under a seeming colour of justice; which brings me to treat now of the maxims and ways of administering justice, in civil and criminal affairs among the *Blacks*; and this shall be the subject of the following chapter.

C H A P. XXIV.

Kingdoms and common-wealths. Tryals at law. Punishments. Succession and inheritance in monarchies. Course of justice, and punishments for crimes in common-wealths.

KINGDOMS and COMMON-WEALTHS.

THE government of the *Blacks* being very precarious and irregular, by reason of the small authority the *Caboceiros* and other magistrates have among the people, there are frequently very great disorders among them, and frequent wars with their neighbours, occasioned by their irregular management and absurd customs. There is also much difference in the administration between monarchies and common-wealths. In the former, the kings are the heads of justice, the power and jurisdiction being vested in a single person: that of common-wealths, commonly consists of two parts; as for instance, at *Axim*, in the body of the *Caboceiros* or chief men, and that of the body of *Manceroes* or young men, as has been already observed.

Common-wealths, by whom governed.

All publick affairs in general are under their administration; but what concerns the whole common-wealth, as making war or peace, raising taxes and impositions, or tributes to be paid to foreign nations, which seldom happens, tho' they appertain to both bodies of *Caboceiros* and *Manceroes*; yet on these occasions, the latter often have the greatest sway in the management thereof, especially if the former are not rich and wealthy enough, both in gold and slaves, to over-power and bring the other to their opinions.

Judges.

In monarchical governments the king appoints several chief officers to assist him in the administration of justice. I cannot give any account of the ceremonies used in the constituting of judges; but they have a power to appoint inferior officers under them in every district, as they think convenient.

The chief justices are commonly taken from among the richest and most notable persons of the country; such as the *Braffos* or *Caboceiros*, and governors of towns and villages, assisted by the priests of those places, as substitutes. These take cognizance of civil and criminal cases, as they happen in their respective provinces; but are not supreme judges, in cases of great importance, for then the parties have the liberty of appealing to the king's own court: tho' this seldom happens, because these kings, to save the trouble of deciding such cases and differences, have chief justices there called *Ene*, whom they usually send to make the circuits; much as it is practised in *England*, at the assizes; and

they, with the other judges, decide the highest cases in the several districts of the country. These persons knowing the king's mind, and no appeal lying from them, are sure to aggravate the crime as much as possible, and very cautious that their judgment may be consonant to his will; that is, that the criminal, if a wealthy man, be severely punished in his purse, even for trivial crimes, the greatest share thereof going into their sovereign's treasury.

T R Y A L S at L A W.

IT would be tedious, if not impossible, No law-ways and maxims of their law-suits, both in civil and criminal cases; as also to observe the nature of the sentences and determinations, on every individual case: I shall confine myself to some particular instances. Every man pleads his own cause, without the assistance of counsel or attorney, such sorts of men being unknown there. The plaintiff first opens his case, and then the defendant speaks for himself; and it is an unalterable rule amongst them, that he who pleads is not to be interrupted upon any account whilst he speaks, and in some parts such a transgression is punished with death. Nor do the judges pronounce sentence till they have thoroughly heard the contesting parties, one after another, fully according to the merits of the suit; with much show of decency and reason; tho' the crafty justices do this only to blind the people, being before resolved to model their judgments according to the king's intention; which, as I have observed, is, to extort what money they can out of the meanest cause, if the parties be rich; without any regard to equity, and impartial justice. For which reason the subjects, who are well acquainted with those tyrannical maxims of the government they live under, will as much as is possible have their differences made up by amicable compositions, betwixt themselves, or by the mediation of their friends. So that it is but seldom they are tried by the chief justices.

I have elsewhere observed, that the king of *Fetu* has ordered a yearly general assembly of all his subjects, who have any differences among themselves, who are to meet at *Abramboe*, a large market-town, distant about nine leagues from *Cabo Corfo*, under the denomination of the dancing-season,

BARBOT season, and lasts eight days. There all the differences and contests betwixt man and man, are definitively decided by that prince, assisted by his *Dey*, the *Brassos*, and the two *English* deputies sent thither every year by the *English* agent, as has been said before.

The king
hears
causes.

This king of *Fetu*, being it seems somewhat less tryannical than the others of the coast, that his subjects may live amicably together, after he has composed or determined their differences by a final judgment, causes them to feast and dance together, all the time those general assizes do last, every day till very late in the night; each studying to make there the greatest shew and figure he can, in rich dresses, &c.

They try causes upon testimonial evidence, and where that is wanting or defective, by oaths of the parties, which consist in drinking a liquor there called *Enchion-Benou*, composed of the same simples and ingredients of which the idols are made; and tho' that composition has no manner of malignity in itself, yet they are generally possessed with a positive opinion, that whosoever drinks of it to aver a falsehood or imposture, exposes himself to extraordinary calamities, tho' perhaps they never had any visible instance it did so.

Those who being accused, offer to clear their innocence by the *Enchion-Benou*, or by the eating of idols, are denied it, if there appear several positive witnesses against them; but if admitted to drink, and are not hurt by it, they are accounted not guilty, and their accusers are condemned to a fine.

Murder and rebellion, tho' crimes in themselves of a heinous nature, are through the covetous temper of both king and justices expiated by large heavy mulcts and fines, rather than by the death of the criminals, if they are rich in gold and slaves; but the murderer of a brother is very seldom excused, by any fine whatever in some nations, as being an unnatural horrid sin, not to be forgiven.

PUNISHMENTS.

A Person thus sentenced to die for such a crime, either by the king in council, or by his chief justices, is delivered up to the pulick executioner, his hands bound to his back, and thus by him led out into the fields without any assistants, the law forbidding it; and being come to the place of execution, the executioner covers his eyes with a piece of cloth, and bids him kneel down; then going back to some small distance from the criminal, strikes him through the back with a javelin: after which, he cuts off his head with a hook-knife, which he hangs up on the next tree,

Executions
for murder,
treason,
&c.

and quarters the body, throwing each part at a distance from the other on the ground. And if I may credit the *Blacks*, it is the custom of some nations after such executions, that the nearest relations of persons so executed, when the executioner has thus performed his office, do take down the head from the tree, boil it at home, and drink the broth, in abhorrence of so heinous a crime, and in detestation of the criminal's memory; placing his skull near to their idols. The *Blacks* also told me, that amongst some other nations, the wives of the person to be so put to death, usually accompany him to the place of execution, crying and howling, and when he has been cut into quarters by the executioner, they carry his quarters away at a distance, each woman still bitterly lamenting, and cast them on dunghils.

Adultery with the chief wife of any considerable *Black*, is also very rigorously punished, as has been already observed. At *Commendo* they commonly cut off one ear of the adulterer, and fine him to pay as much gold as the woman had for her dowry, and four goats, or sheep besides. If the adulterer is a slave, they cut off his privy parts; and if being a freeman, he has not wherewithal to pay the fine laid on him, he is sold for a slave for ever: or if the criminal has found means to make his escape before he has thus answered the fine, then his nearest relation is obliged to pay it for him; and in case he is not able to do it, he is banished the country with a white staff in his hand, and all his goods seized and confiscated for the king's use, without the least hopes of ever returning home, unless he becomes able to pay that fine.

Punishments
for
adultery.

In some nations, he who has debauched another man's wife with promises of giving her a certain quantity of money, and has not performed it accordingly, is condemned to forfeit all his goods to the king's use, and his house to be set on fire by the relations of the woman he has so debauched; thereby to remove from their sight, the neighbourhood of a person, who has disgraced their family.

The adulteress is either fined two ounces of gold to her husband, or else divorced, in case the king has so determined it.

In other countries the punishment for adultery is not corporal, but pecuniary, being six ounces of gold; one third to the king, one third to his chief officers, and the other third to the husband.

It has happened sometimes, that women have accused men that had debauched them, two or three years before; in this case, the person so informed against, pleading not guilty, the woman takes the drink *Enchion-Benou*, to convict him thereof.

Theft

Theft and robbery are all punished by a fine to the king, according to the value of the crime, if committed against their country-men; for as to what is stolen from *Euro-peans*, it is seldom punished.

Adulterated gold, offered in payment of debts or traffick amongst them, is also liable to a fine, but unpunishable when offered to *White* men.

Affairs purely civil, are generally tried by the common ordinary justices of the place or district; and if the contending parties have fully submitted the decision thereof to them, they cannot appeal to the sovereign's justiciaries.

At several places on the coast, small debts are recovered after a very unjust manner; there a villainous creditor instead of asking his money of his debtor, and summoning him before the judges, in case of denial, seizes the first thing he can meet with, though six times the value of his debt, without any regard who is the proprietor; who when he comes to ask for it, is told that he must go to such a person who is his debtor, and must pay him for it: and this no body can hinder; so he goes immediately to ask the other for money for his goods. This course is generally taken for recovery of small debts, as I have said: but however, the debtor is sometimes obliged at this rate to pay six or ten times the value of his debt; if the second man is as unreasonable as the first, and yet it is not to be opposed, if the creditor be more potent than he, and is upheld in it perhaps by the king, or some other great ones of the country. And this happens every day, whereby many men do much enrich themselves with the name of justice.

Again, another way to extort from the people, is, that some insolvent debtor will go to a person, and tell him he has received such damage by his son, nephew, slave, or some body else depending on him, for which he comes to ask satisfaction, threatening that else he will murder or sorely wound him or shoot some other at his cost; and if the villain is bold enough to put it in execution, the other must suffer as if he had done it.

In criminal cases, the accuser gives his information to the justice of the town or village against the criminal, and he immediately causes the drum to beat all about the town; the drummer, who is a slave, being accompanied by two little boys, each having in his hand an iron bell, on which they beat with sticks. Then the justice comes to the publick marketplace, where the best part of the inhabitants of either sex are already assembled upon the beat of the drum; the chief people or nobles also repairing thither well

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armed. There the publick crier, or *Tie-BARBOT*. *Tie* of the town, proclaims the criminal, who is often, without suspecting it, of the number of the spectators, and presently seized and sent in custody to the *Caboceroe's* house: if the crime he is charged with be very great, they bind him hands and feet, till his tryal be over; but if it be only for a slight offence, he is commonly given in custody to the executioner of the town, who is bound to produce him whensoever it shall be required. Sometimes, for trivial faults, they will try a man upon the spot; and if he cannot clear himself, he is fined.

In crimes of a high nature, if the prisoner be sentenced to death, and is wealthy enough to pay a large sum of money, he is discharged by the king, with a special command to any person whatever, even the widows and children, not to upbraid him nor his family and relations with the crime; and the only satisfaction the family of the dead person has, is some part of the money the criminal has paid to redeem his life. But if he is not able to pay it, they either order him to be executed according to the sentence, or to be sold for a slave, according to the king's pleasure.

Such as are thus sold by order of justice to be slaves for ever in foreign countries, forfeit the privilege of ever returning to their native soil.

Besides what has been said relating to the power of judges, there is a peculiar custom, that if the *Ene* or chief justice please to consent, tho' it be in civil disputes or contests, they may be decided by duel, and then each party chuses a second or two, who all meet at the place appointed; where each antagonist, with his assistants, attacks his man with his javelin, and thus they fight till one of the principals is killed, when the seconds cease. But those of the party that has been slain, require the others to deliver them the murderer of their friend, that he may be tried for the murder according to their laws, which the others cannot refuse to do; or if he has made his escape, running away as soon as he had slain his adversary, his seconds must run too, that they may apprehend and deliver him up to justice, and no person whatsoever may conceal him in his house, tho' it be in another district or jurisdiction, or even a foreign country, unless they would embroil themselves in a bloody expensive war.

The man thus apprehended, is delivered up to the chief wife of the person he has killed in the duel, it being her right either to sell or to keep him as her own slave. But this happening very seldom, and this sort of murder not being look'd upon as malicious, the man has the liberty of redeeming him-

H h h h

self

BARBOT. self for money, if he be very rich; for it will commonly cost him twenty *Bendos* of gold, which is about a hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and amongst the *Accaneez*, if the parties concerned be men of great note, the murderer will scarce come off under a hundred and seventy marks of gold, which is upward of five thousand pounds sterling: for which reason, very few will ever proceed so far in their quarrels, as to determine them by duel; for tho' they are authorized by the *Ene*, or chief justice, yet if one party is killed, the other is sure to suffer for it severely, tho' it seems to imply a contradiction in itself: but what can be expected from men of so loose and depraved minds and principles, besides contradictions and absurdities?

Price of murder.

SUCCESSION and INHERITANCE.

I Have before taken notice that the nearest relation inherits, to the exclusion of a man's own wives and children. The best reason the *Blacks* give for such a constitution, is, that the dividing of estates or goods among so many persons as generally compose their families, so many wives and children, would occasion endless disputes and quarrels amongst them; or this, that children relying too much on their father's wealth, would live lazily, without any inclination to employ themselves in some business, to avoid lewdness, wantonness, and debauchery. Whereas being now sensible from their tender youth, that they have nothing to expect from their father, but a bare maintenance during his life, they are much the readier to betake themselves early to learn some profession, by which they may maintain themselves handsomely, when their father is no more; and even to maintain their father's family after his death, as many do; which is very commendable in so brutish a people, as they generally are.

Children do not inherit.

Thus far concerning the administration of justice in monarchical governments. What now is to follow, is a sketch of the republican on the same head; and seeing that of *Axim* seems to be one of the least confused and perplexed, tho' difficult to understand; I shall next mention some particular passages or instances of it, which will in some measure show what is practised in other common-wealths of the coast, as differing only in some particulars, and not in the main.

JUSTICE in COMMON-WEALTHS.

Recovery of debts.

THERE, when one person claims a debt of another, and is forced to have recourse to justice for satisfaction; the best means to procure it, is to make a present to the *Caboceiroes*, either in gold or brandy, this last being a very acceptable liquor, and

to state his case to them, desiring they will dispatch the business as soon as possible. If the *Caboceiroes* are resolved to favour him, a full council is summoned immediately, or at farthest in two or three days after, as it is judged convenient. Then after mature deliberation among themselves, they give judgment in his favour, tho' sometimes unjust, but only in regard of the rich present given them.

But if in the cause aforesaid, the defendant has bribed the judges with a richer present than the plaintiff had given them; let his case be never so just, they will cast him; or if his right be so apparent, that there is scandal in a too partial sentence, they will delay and keep off the trial, obliging the plaintiff, after long and vain solicitations, to wait in hopes of finding more impartial judges thereafter; which perhaps will not happen in his life-time, and so the suit falls to his heirs, who whenever an opportunity offers, tho' thirty years after, will make use of it, to procure satisfaction for the debt: and yet one would be apt to think it were impossible they should remember so long, considering they can neither write nor read.

It happens sometimes that the plaintiff, or perhaps the defendant, finding the cause given against him, contrary to equity, is too impatient to wait for an opportunity of having justice done him; and lays hold of the first that offers to seize such a quantity of gold or goods, as is sufficient to repair his damage, not only from his debtor, but of the first that falls in his way, if he lives in the same town or village: and what he has thus possessed himself of, he will not redeliver till he receive full satisfaction, and is at peace with his adversary, or obliged to it by force. If he be strong enough to defend himself and his seizure, he is sure to keep it, and thereby engage a third person in the suit, who has recourse to the person on whose account he has suffered that damage: so that hence proceed frequent murders, and sometimes wars.

Forcible recovery of debts.

If the cause is brought before the *Dutch* ^{Trial before the Dutch} *factor* at *St. Anthony's* fort, the suit is amicably ended by adjudging it against him, ^{factor.} whom the evidences prove to be in the wrong, and who is found not to have a sufficient plea to offer in his defence to clear himself of it. But if, on the contrary, he can clear himself by witnesses, he is discharged; and if neither of the parties have any evidence, the defendant clearing himself upon oath, is discharged: which if he cannot do, he is liable to have judgment pass against him, to pay what is charged on him, provided the plaintiff have given in his charge upon oath, which he is always obliged to do.

Oaths of
the parties.

The oath of purgation is always preferred there before that of accusation; for if the plaintiff prove his demands by one or two witnesses, the defendant is not allowed to take the oath, which frequently occasions some very ill accidents, perjury being so common amongst these *Guineans*; and the person thus injured will seek all opportunities of revenge. All that has been above said of unjust tryals, is to be understood of the inland countries, and seldom or never happens about the coast, where all suits arising among people that live under or near the *Dutch* forts are decided for ever, by the sentence of the factor, and of the *Caboceiros* jointly; their judgment admitting no appeal but to the director general, in case the inferior judges have been misinformed, which scarce happens; and so the parties pay the fines they are condemn'd in, with all willingness. And thus a suit is begun and ended without the assistance of council or lawyer in a short time, and perhaps with as much justice; for the causes here are seldom difficult or puzzling, and plaintiffs, defendants, and judges, are equally simple people upon a level.

PUNISHMENTS for CRIMES.

THE usual penalties for murder, I have observed before to be death or a pecuniary mulct; which is also of two sorts with respect to the free, and those that are slaves. It is very rare that any person is executed for murder, if he is wealthy himself, or has any rich friends to pay the fine for him.

Fines for
murder.

The fine for the murder of a free-born man at *Axim*, if the crime is to be atoned that way, is one hundred and twenty five pounds sterling, but seldom ever paid to the full, the murderer commonly getting some abatement, according as the relations of the murdered person stand affected; it being at their discretion to moderate it as they please. But if the person that was murdered be of consideration and dignity, the fine is proportionably ten times that sum; for were it not so, there are too many *Blacks* that would willingly give five hundred crowns to remove a chief man out of the way; and therefore the judges appoint the fine proportionable to the quality of the person.

For mur-
dering a
slave.

For the murder of a slave the fine is but thirty crowns; and if the murderer stands hard, he obtains an abatement of the master, who is the injured person, and who gets above twenty two crowns, being commonly a chain or string of gold of that value. If the murderer cannot pay the fine, he is to expiate his crime with his own blood, and is executed in a miserable and cruel manner. For they do in some measure kill him a thousand times, by cutting,

hacking, pricking, or running him through BARBOT the body, and shooting him, or whatever else they can invent to torture him; unless the *Dutch* factor sends for him out of their hands, and orders him to be beheaded.

Thievery or robbery is commonly punished by the restitution of the goods stolen, and paying a fine, proportionable to the value of what was stolen, according to the place where, and the person by whom the fact was committed: for example, one is fined twenty crowns besides what he has stolen, and another for an equal robbery committed, shall be fined one hundred or more, without the least injustice, according to their ancient municipal customs: for the *Blacks* do not think it any wrong to have such regard to persons; but particularly to handle the richest sort more severely than the poor on two accounts: first, the rich are not urged to it by necessity; and secondly, they can better spare the money. For no man there is fined above his ability, unless by accumulating of crimes he draws on himself an accumulation of fines, which he is not able to pay, and is therefore sold for a slave, as was practised by the ancient *Jews*, in the former ages of the world. And in *Great Tartary*, the thief redeems his life, by paying nine times the value of what he has stolen. For this reason, a judicious man there, tho' very rich, will always pretend poverty, lest he or some of his relations, sooner or later, falling into the hands of the judges, should be too hardly used on that account.

Kidnapping, or stealing of human creatures, is punished with great severity, even with death, on some occasions. As they also severely punish the stealers of cattle, sheep, hogs, dogs, &c. Where the *Blacks* are not subject to be tried by the *Europeans*, they will sometimes rather put a man to death for stealing a sheep, than killing a man. Whereas in those parts where *Europeans* have the authority in their hands, as at *Axim*, *Mina*, and *Mouree*, theft is punished by a proper mulct. I have before, in the particular description of the *Dutch* fort at *Axim*, given a sketch of the *Dutch* factor's prerogatives and jurisdiction over that country, and that of *Ancober*, which has been long subject to *Axim*; and how he manages it, in concert with the *Caboceiros*: and likewise spoken of the nature and extent of fines on several causes, and how the same are divided amongst himself and the judges; to which I refer.

Besides the above-described distribution of justice, they have an odd sort, which is Court of young men. under the direction of the *Manceroes*, or native young men; who have erected a judicial body, or society, of themselves, in each village of any consideration. There they

BARBOT. they pretend to judge all trivial crimes, that are brought before them, and of such the generality of the *Blacks* is very often guilty; as cursing, beating, or reviling one another, &c. To these tribunals the person who thinks himself injured applies, and makes known his case, viz. such a man has injured me in this or that manner, I sell or surrender him to you, punish him accordingly. Upon which the *Manceroes* forthwith take that person into custody, and after a very slight enquiry into his crime, lay a fine of some money upon him; which if he appear not willing to pay, they, without any more to

do, go to the market, and take up as many goods, on his account, as the fine comes to; which the poor wretch must pay, and that money, as soon as received, those young judges spend in palm-wine and brandy.

The pretended crimes which those young men usually fine, are so various and ridiculous, that it is not worth while to particularise them: and if these have nothing to do the whole day, that can procure them money to drink, they spend their time in contriving to bring in some body, on one pretence or other, that will supply them with it.

C H A P. XXV.

Of the religion of the Blacks. They have a notion of one God. Dread of the devil. Portuguese mission. Conceit of thunder. Opinions of the creation. Future state. Manner of worship. Deities or idols. Parallel idolatry of other nations. Idols made by the priests. Nature and use of idols. Most solemn obligatory oath. Consulting of idols. Begging success of idols. Worship in groves, with drums, &c. Priests of the Blacks. Banishing of the devil. Computation of time. Of idolatry in general.

Variety of
worship.

I Shall, in the next place, treat of the religion of the people of *Guinea*. It would require a particular volume to mention the numerous and different sorts of opinions and superstitions there are among them, there being scarce a town or village, nor even a private family, but what varies from the rest in that point; however, for the satisfaction of the curious, I will give an account of such notions and practices as are most generally received among them, tho' perhaps I may to some seem tedious, there being so great a diversity among them in this affair; their divinity being so erroneous, absurd and monstrous: for, like the *Indians* in *Virginia*, they worship and adore all sorts of things and objects, which they think may do them harm, as fire, water, thunder, great and small guns, horses, and many other things, but more peculiarly the devil. The same honour they pay to all that may be any way beneficial to them, and when ask'd, whence they had so many ridiculous opinions in point of religion, they answer, like the people of *Japan*, that they received them by tradition, and follow what was taught them by their forefathers, and are not to believe or practise any thing but what they received from them.

NOTION OF ONE GOD.

MOST of the *Blacks* have a confused indigested notion of one supreme being, which created the universe, and rules it according to his will; but this opinion having, in all likelihood, been inculcated by the *Europeans* living on the coast, and so perhaps convey'd to others at a distance,

in process of time, it has hitherto had no great effect upon them; all or most of them entertaining extravagant notions of the deity, and very many fancying there are two Gods.

The chief of those two they say is white, by them called *Bossun*, or *Jangoeman*, that is, good man; who is more peculiarly the God of the *Europeans*, and supplies them with all good things. The other, they conceit is black, whom, from the *Portuguese* language, they call *Demonio*, or *Diabro*, being a wicked, mischievous spirit, who particularly infests and plagues them; being of his nature cruel and implacable, giving them none of those good things the other allows us so bountifully, but only a little gold, corn, palm-wine and chickens, which they have almost in spite of him, as being purchased by their labour and industry; and that for the cattle, and other eatable beasts they now have, they are beholden to the *Portuguese*, who first carried them into their country: That it is the earth which furnishes them with corn and gold, the sea with all sorts of fish; and that they may thank the God of the *Whites* for the rain, which fertilizes the land, and makes corn, gold and iron.

Plato, speaking of the number of gods, owns one only true, good, bountiful and supreme deity; but acknowledges a number of inferior gods, among which some are visible, and called the celestial bodies. Then coming to the dæmons, he expresses himself thus: Next are the dæmons, yet lower than the former; being of an airy nature, in the third middle region of the air, placed there to be the interpreters of the gods, which dæmons we ought to honour, because they officiate as intercessors in our affairs.

DREAD

DREAD of the DEVIL.

Devil.

THE *Blacks* very much dread the devil, and quake at his very name, attributing to him all their misfortunes and disappointments, and believing that their other particular deities are sometimes over-ruled by him.

The devil beats and appears to the Blacks.

Many look upon it as an invention of travellers, when told, that the *Blacks* affirm they are often beaten by the devil: I shall not argue about the fact, but it is certain, that in several places they have been often heard to cry and howl in the night, and some seen running out of their huts in a sweat, shivering and weeping; and some *Blacks* at *Acra* assured me, not only that the devil often beat, but that he also sometimes appeared to them in the shape of a black dog; and that at other times he spoke to them, and yet they could not see him.

Patagon devil.

The *Patagons* of south *America*, say there is a great horned devil, who, when any of them dies, is seen attended by ten or twelve smaller devils, dancing merrily about the corps.

Devil worshipped at Calicut.

The people of *Calicut*, on the *Malabar* coast, in the *East-Indies*, tho' they believe in one God, yet at the same time they worship the devil; erect statues, and offer incense and sacrifice to him, as if he were a deity, believing him to be the supreme judge of human affairs, and placed by God on earth for that end. They call him *Deumo*, and the king has his effigies in his chapel, seated on a chair of metal, with a triple crown on his head, having also four horns, and four teeth, his mouth very large, and gaping wide, as are his nose and ears; the hands like a monkey, and the feet like a cock, all which together makes a hideous frightful figure. The chapel is also adorned all about with many pictures, representing smaller dæmons, of the like form, and it is served by some *Brachmans*, who are to wash that figure of the devil with sweet waters, and often to incense it with a censer, after which they ring a little bell, then prostrate themselves before him, and offer sacrifice. The king never dines till four of his priests have offered the devil the meat that is dressed for him. There is also a magnificent temple built in honour of the devil, in the midst of a lake, after the antique form, with double ranges of columns, like that of *St. John* at *Rome*; and in it a very large high altar of stone. Thither all the nobility, gentry and priests, from all the country, within twenty five days journey round about, repair, with an infinite multitude of meaner people, on the twenty fifth of *December*, our *Christmas*-day, to be cleansed from their sins; and there the *Brachmans* or priests

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anoint the heads of them all with a certain BARBOT. oil: and thus anointed, every one goes and prostrates himself before that frightful figure of *Satan*; and after adoring it with much fervour, every one returns home. This devotion holds for three days successively; all murderers, other malefactors, and banished persons, are there pardoned: so that at some times above a hundred thousand souls have been there together, for the country is of a very great extent and populous. *History of Prodiges*, Lib. I. p. 5.

Whether this opinion of the *Blacks* being beaten and haunted by evil spirits, as they report, is real or not, will sufficiently appear, when I come hereafter to speak of their annual custom of banishing him out of all their towns, with abundance of ceremonies, as at *Axim*, *Anta*, and several other parts of the coast: which is far from praying and making offerings to him, as some authors relate; saying, they never eat or drink without throwing some part on the ground for the devil, which is a gross mistake; that meat or drink so thrown on the ground being for their peculiar deities, or for some friends deceased, as I have observed elsewhere.

From this dread and terror of the devil proceeds their positive belief, of the appearing of ghosts and spirits, which they fancy so frequently disturb and scare people among them. They are so full of this opinion, that when any one dies, especially some considerable person, they perplex one another with frightful stories of his appearing several nights near his late dwelling.

If a king of theirs happens to be killed in the wars with any *European* nation at the coast, and an *European* general, or chief factor dies a natural death soon after, they believe and say, that king has call'd him, since he had no opportunity to be reveng'd whilst living.

MISSIONS.

THE *Portuguese* formerly, and as long as they were masters of the *Gold Coast*, were careful to keep a constant mission in this and several other parts of *Guinea*, in order to convert the *Blacks* to the *Roman Catholick* religion, but with very little success; nor did the *French Capucine* missionaries, sent thither in the year 1635, speed better. Those *French* missionaries were set ashore at *Isseny*, and at first made some progress among the people; who treated them very courteously, and seemed to have some relish of christianity; but soon after, they scoffed at them, and their doctrine. Three of those *Capucines* dying there thro' the unwholesomeness of the climate, the other two, who still held out against that intemperate air, withdrew

I i i i

drew

FARBOT drew to the *Portuguese* near *Axim*, being no longer able to bear with the insulting behaviour of the *Blacks*, and their deriding the christian religion. In short, whatsoever we can urge to the *Blacks* in general, concerning the christian divinity, *viz.* That what may be known of God is manifest in them, God having showed it unto them, from the creation of the world, by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead; to use the words of *St. Paul*, *Rom. i. 20.* they at first seem to give ear to and believe; but as soon as our backs are turn'd, they forget all that was told them: or if some, who have better memories, do happen to retain it, they seldom fail, upon the slightest occasion, to ridicule it in their frolics, even those who are servants to the *Europeans* on the coast, some of whom I have seen so far instructed in the christian religion, as to answer very pertly to our catechism, and to speak pertinently of the creation; the fall of *Adam*; *Noah's* flood; of *Moses*, and of **JESUS CHRIST**; and yet would no more forsake their idolatrous worship, than the grossest and most ignorant of their countrymen; or if any do, the number is very inconsiderable.

Fruitless instructions.

NOTION of THUNDER.

That God has wives.

WHEN it thunders, they say, it is the noise of the trumpets, or blowing-horns of *Jan-Goeman*, so they call God; who, with reverence be it spoken, is diverting himself with his wives: and therefore when it thunders much, or tho' there be only flashes of lightning, they presently run under covert, if possible; believing, that, if they did not so, God would strike them with his thunderbolts, because they are none of his people, they being black, and he white. When any happen to be killed by lightning, as it does sometimes, where dreadful thunder is so frequent at some times of the year, as has been observed; they attribute it to that cause, and are much amazed to see the *Europeans* so unconcerned at thunder. What I have said is confirmed by what we read in the history of *Spain*, that about the year 1480, the *Spaniards* trading at the coast, found those *Blacks* extremely covetous, and fond of a sort of sea-shells, giving any thing they had for them, as believing they had a peculiar virtue against thunder; whereupon so many of those shells were carried out of *Spain*, that at last they were scarce to be had there for money. *p. 1202. lib. 22.*

Tho' it is reported of the *Brazilians*, that they adore no gods or idols, nor have any sense of religion, yet some of them believe there is a God, and say it is he that makes the great noise of thunder.

OPINIONS of the CREATION.

THEY make no offerings to God, nor call upon him in a time of need; but upon all occasions apply themselves to their idols, or peculiar deities, and pray to them in all their difficulties and undertakings.

They have different opinions as to the creation, many of them believing, that man was made by *Anansie*, that is, a great spider of a monstrous size, as has been before describ'd; which is no more absurd, than what is reported of the *Canada Indians* in *New France*, who say, that the world having been lost in the waters, was retrieved by one *Messou*.

Others again attribute the creation of man to God, but assert, that in the beginning God created *Black*, as well as *White* men; so to make out their race as ancient as ours, and for their own farther honour they add, that when God had created those two sorts of men, he offered them two several gifts, *viz.* gold, and the knowledge of arts and letters, giving the *Blacks* the first choice, who took the gold, and left learning to the *Whites*. God granted their request, but being offended at their avarice, resolved that the *Whites* should for ever be their masters, and they obliged to wait on them as their slaves.

Some few affirm, that man at his first creation, was not shaped as he is at present; but that those parts which make the distinction of sexes, in men and women, were placed more in view, for the conveniency of copulation: and when the world was well peopled, the deity, for modesty sake, reduced them to what they now are.

To conclude, others think that the first men came out of dens and caves, like that which is at present in a great rock, next the sea, near the *Dutch* fort at *Akra*: but to mention all their various notions concerning the creation of the moon and stars, would be tedious; some fancying, as has been by others among us, that the moon is inhabited, and they pretend to have seen a man in her, beating a drum, with many more absurdities.

Misson reflecting on the religious worship of the *Blacks* of *Madagascar*, and other parts about the cape of *Good Hope*, after taking notice that they adore one only God, creator of all things; adds, they have also a particular veneration for the sun and moon, his chief ministers, whose business it is to give life to the earth and all creatures on it. Those people, says he, have neither idols nor ceremonies, nor any visible outward sort of worship, and admit of no law but that of nature. If they feast and dance at the appearance of every new moon, it is not to pay any veneration to her, but to

re-

Deists worse than atheists. rejoice for the return and benefit of her light. In a word, they are true deists: Whereupon, says he, I cannot, by the by, forbear declaring, contrary to the common received opinion, that no real distinction can be made betwixt such people and those that are generally call'd atheists, the useles god of the deists, being no god: and in this they are less orthodox than the devils themselves, who have a more just idea of the divinity. Besides, to say, that one adores God, without loving or fearing him, without asking or expecting any thing from him, nor having any regard for him, is most properly, to be without a God; and to be without a God, is to be an atheist. This I think is much the case of the *Guinea Blacks*.

FUTURE STATE.

Various notions.

THE notions the *Blacks* have of a future state, are also various. The most believe, that immediately after death, they go to another world, where they live in the same station and nature as they did here, and are subsisted by the offerings of provisions, money and clothes, their relations left behind make for them after their decease. It does not appear they believe, or have any idea of future rewards or punishments, for the good or ill actions of their life past; only some few excepted, who fancy the dead are conveyed to a famous river, by them called *Bosmangue*, up the inland country; that there their god enquires into their past life, whether they have religiously observ'd their festival or sabbath, and whether they have inviolably abstained from all forbidden meats, and kept their oaths? If so, they are gently wafted over that river into a country where there is nothing but happiness: but, if they have, on the contrary, transgressed those observances, the deity plunges them into the river, where they are drowned and buried in perpetual oblivion.

Virginia Indians.

The native *Indians* of *Virginia*, of whom I have had occasion to take notice before, believe the immortality of the soul, and that after death the souls of good men go to heaven, and those of the wicked to a large pit or hole, by them call'd *Popogusso*, which they fancy is far to the westward from them, where they burn for ever.

Souls mortal.

Others believe that human souls are corruptible and mortal, as well as their bodies; which was the opinion of the *Sadduces*, one of the four sects among the *Jews*.

Transmigration.

Others own they know not what becomes of the soul after death; and others that the departed soul transmigrates into the body of some other animal, without losing its nature or faculties.

Pythagoras.

This was the opinion *Pythagoras* taught the *Crotoniats*, among whom he lived, when he

fled from *Samos*, his native country, because BARBOT. of the tyrannical government of its prince. He receiv'd this notion of transmigration of souls, from the *Egyptians*: for, if we may believe *Herodotus*, they were the first who said, that the soul departing out of one body pass'd into another; and that after having pass'd into those of beasts, fishes and birds, it again returned into that of man, and was three thousand years in performing that revolution; the soul being like wax, which can be made into a thousand figures, and is still the same wax; and so the soul animated several bodies successively, still remaining the same it was at first. The better to inculcate that opinion to the *Crotoniats*, he told them, he well remembered, that at the siege of *Troy*, he was *Euphorbus*, the son of *Panthus*; and that not long since, he had seen the buckler he carried at that time, in the temple of *Juno*, at *Argos*.

The *Pharisees*, the most renowned of the four sects among the *Jews*, in the days of *Josephus*, as we see in him, lib. 18. cap. 11. believ'd the immortality of the soul, that it would be judged in another world, and rewarded or punished, according to what it had deserv'd in this world; and that the wicked were eternally detained prisoners in the next life, and the virtuous returned to this again.

Many things I have already said, and shall have occasion to add hereafter, seem to prove some conformity between those *Blacks* and the antient *Jews*, which may perhaps have been communicated to them by the *Arabs*, who have spread themselves into the neighbouring countries; and being doubtless descended from *Ismael*, the son of *Abraham* by *Hagar*, and *Esau* the son of *Isaac*, have preserv'd some of the customs and opinions of their fore-fathers. But to return to the *Blacks*:

I have heard some say, that the soul goes under the earth to an antient person, whom they call *Bossiesoe*, who examines it narrowly, as to the good or bad actions of its former life; and if it has lived well, puts it into some animal, and conveys it over a large river, into a pleasant country, or else drowns it there, as was said above.

Others are of opinion, that after death they are transported to the lands of the *Whites*, and chang'd into *White men*; which they look upon as a great advantage, and shews how much more honourable they think *White men* than themselves.

There are many more conceits among them, concerning a future state; but from what has been said, may be deduced, that those people are fully perswaded of the immortality of the soul, as is confirmed by their offerings of men, eatables and clothes, which I have before said they lay about the graves.

The

BARBOT. The notions of the inland *Blacks*, as to this particular, are still more absurd and stupid; for, as some tell our *Blacks* at the coast, there lives a famous priest or conjurer, in a very fine open house, far up the country, who they say, has the wind and weather at his beck, which he alters at pleasure; and to prove this, they pretend, that tho' his house is not covered, yet it never rains into it. They give out, that he knows all things past, can foretel future events, and cures all distempers. They further affirm, that all those who live near his dwelling, must appear before and be examined by him, whom, if they have led a good life, he sends to a happy place; if otherwise, he kills them over again, with a club, made for that purpose and standing before his house, which causes him to be much honoured by the people, who daily tell fresh miracles of him. This instance of the simplicity of those deluded people, shews the subtilty and craftiness of their priests, who can so far blind them, that they may not discover their palpable frauds, and keep them in an absolute submission to themselves, upon all occasions; so to gratify their insatiable avarice, or vanity, and lord it over them, as well in civil as in religious affairs.

MANNER of WORSHIP.

FROM the aforesaid erroneous and absurd notions the *Blacks* have of the deity, proceed the monstrous and idolatrous ways of worship, whereof we are to speak in the next place.

Names of idols. The word *Feitisso*, is *Portuguese*, as has been observ'd before, and signifies, a spell, or charm, the *Portuguese* looking upon their practices as no other, and from them the *Blacks* borrow'd it; but it is the word *Bossun*, which in the proper language of the *Blacks*, signifies a god, or an idol; others call it *Buffesoe*, as has been said before: this word is chiefly taken in a religious sense, and they are so far fallen into the *Portuguese* trap, that they call whatsoever is consecrated to the honour of their god, *Feitisso*, or a charm; and so the name is given to those artificial bits of gold they wear as ornaments, so often mention'd in other chapters. We don't find any nation in the universe besides the *Blacks* of *Guinea*, and the northern people about *Nova Zembla*, that use this word *Feitisso* in a religious sense; and the latter give that name to their idols, which are half figures of men, cut in the trunks or stumps of trees, standing in the earth, with their roots, before which statues they pay their religious worship.

Days to honour them.

Every *Black* has his peculiar *Bossun*, or idol, which they worship on their birth-day, calling that day in the *Portuguese* language also *Dia santo*, or a holy day; on which

they drink no palm-wine till the sun sets, and they are clothed all in white, and themselves smear'd with white earth in token of purity. Most of them, especially such as are any thing considerable, have a day every week to honour their idols. On that day they kill a cock, or if they are able, a sheep, which they offer to their god; but as soon as kill'd, they tear it in pieces with their hands, and the owner has the smallest share of it, his friends and acquaintance, who are generally present at such offerings, falling on, and every one seizing a piece; which they broil, clean or foul, and eat it very greedily. They cut the guts into small bits, and squeezing out the dung with their fingers, boil them with the other entrails, a little salt and *Malaguetta*, or *Guinea-pepper*, without washing off the blood; and call it *Eynt-jeba*, reckoning it most delicious food.

They commonly solemnize their holy day, in some wide open place; in the midst of ^{Holy day how kept.} which, they erect a sort of table, or altar, about four foot square, supported by four pillars of clay, adorn'd with green boughs and leaves of reeds. This altar is set up at the foot of some tall tree, which is consecrated to their deities, and on it they lay *Indian* wheat, millet and rice-ears, palm-wine, water, flesh, fish, bananas, and other fruit, for the entertainment of their idols; being persuaded they eat those things, tho' they daily see them devoured by birds of prey. As soon as they are all gone, they besmear the altar with palm-wine, and lay fresh provisions on it, that the deities may not want. In the mean time, the priest being seated in a wooden chair before the altar, encompass'd by a multitude of the people, of both sexes, at certain intervals makes them a discourse of some minutes, with some vehemence, in the nature of preaching; which is only understood by the assembly, who are all very attentive whilst he speaks, but will never tell us *Europeans* any thing of it, when we enquire, as if they were ashamed of it.

Just by the priest stands a pot full of ^{Dancing, singing, and musick.} mixed liquor, with a sprinkler, and he sprinkles the faces of the congregation, who then all begin to sing and dance about the tree and altar; others playing on their musical instruments, till the priest stands up, to sprinkle the altar with the consecrated liquor, and then all the assistants clap their hands, and cry *I-ou, I-ou*, which imports *Amen*. Then every one goes home, fully persuaded of what the priest has said to them, of the power and virtues of their idols. At these solemnities they are also clad in white, and besmear'd with white earth; as also adorned with abundance of strings made of the hempish bark of the consecrated tree.

DEITIES, or IDOLS.

IT is not possible to exprefs what idea they entertain of their gods and idols, which they know not themselves. This however is remarkable, that they have a great number of them, every house-keeper having one in particular, which they fancy strictly observes their course of life, rewarding good, and punishing wicked men: the reward consists in multiplicity of wives and slaves, and their punishment in the want of them; but the most dreadful punishment they can imagine is death, which they are incredibly afraid of.

That excessive fear of death is what inflames their zeal in religious affairs, and makes them exact in abstaining from forbidden meats and drinks, lest they should die, if they transgress. They make no great account of murder, adultery and robbery as sins, because they can be expiated with gold, whereas the other offences cannot, but will remain a charge against them.

Besides the peculiar *Boffum*, or idol every *Black* has, as mentioned above, they have also a great number of an inferior degree, consecrated to divers uses and purposes, and made of several filthy things, which I shall hereafter describe.

They also worship the sea, rivers, lakes, ponds, fishes, mountains, trees, plants, herbs, rocks, woods, birds and beasts, as the ancient Gentiles had natural and animal gods. All those they call great idols, or deities, worshipping them as gods; and have so great a veneration for them, that they will be ready to tear any person in pieces, who shall offer them the least indignity, so great is their bigotry in that respect. For example, they stedfastly believe, that the cutting off any part of some consecrated trees, would infallibly occasion the destruction of all the fruits and plants in the country. Yet in some parts they will patiently bear with it, being done by *Europeans*, looking upon them as not inferior to those gods; but should any *Black* presume to do it, he would be immediately sacrificed, and it is but of latter times that they will permit *Europeans* to do such things. In the year 1598, the *Blacks* of *Mouree*, massacred several *Dutch* men, who had cut down some consecrated trees inadvertently.

The first religious assemblies of men, before they had built temples, were on the mountains and in the woods: on mountains, because their elevation was thought more proper for men to converse with god. The sacrifices were offered on the high places, by the *Hebrews*, call'd *Bamot*, whence came the *Greek* word *Bomos*. The woods and groves, because of their gloomy light, were thought most likely to imprint respect, and dispose the mind to a certain dread, which

disposes men to devotion. Hence flowed *BARBOT*: the superstition of the Pagans, who consecrated the oak to *Jove*, because the ancients used to serve the deity under oaks.

We see, in almost every page in the prophets, and in 1 *Kings* xiv. 23, 24, &c. the *Israelites* are still reproached with defiling themselves; that is, committing idolatry, under every green tree; and more peculiarly under the oaks, which was done in imitation of the Gentiles.

Jurieu, pag. 120, and 186. *Clemens Alex-Heathens* and *Arnobius* inform us, that the gods. *Arabs* adored a stone; the *Icarians* a rough stump of wood; those of *Pessinunte*, a flint, for the mother of the gods; as the stump of the *Icarians* was to represent the goddess *Diana*. The ancient *Romans* adored *Mars* under the figure of a half-pike; the *Scythians* a poniards, and the *Thespians* a bough of a tree for their goddess *Juno Cynthia*. All these were emblems, not looked upon as true representatives of the gods of the Gentiles; as the god *Heliogabalus*, in the time of the emperor of that name, being the god of the *Syrians*, was adored under the figure of a pyramidal stone.

The palm-trees are the most peculiar sort they make choice of to consecrate into deities; especially that sort of them which they call *Affianam*. I suppose, not only because the most beautiful, but by reason they are more numerous than any other; and accordingly there are very many consecrated, in all parts, and scarce any *Black* will pass by them without taking off some strings of the bark, which they twist between their fingers, and then tie them to their waists, necklaces, arms or legs, with a knot at one end, and reckon those baubles a protection against several misfortunes.

They have the more veneration for consecrated mountains, because the thunder is naturally more fierce on them, and therefore lay great quantities of provisions and liquors at the bottoms of them, in pots and troughs, for the use of those deities. In the same manner they serve the consecrated rocks or cliffs, as we see it practised at *Boetroe* and *Dikisko*, in the country of *Anta*; with this difference, that those rock deities are adorned all over with hooked staves, as being the gods against storms and tornados, as is likewise a vast rock at *Tachorary*: to which places, as I observ'd at the beginning of this description, the *Blacks* of *Corbyla-boe*, and of the adjacent parts to *Rio de Sueiro da Costa*, are sent yearly in canoes, at a set time, by every town and village, to make their offerings, according to their vows, to pray those great deities to appease the ocean, and keep it free from storms and tornados, that they may carry on their trade in safety along the gold coast.

multiplicity of gods.

fear of death.

Vegetatives and animals worshipp'd.

God worshipped on mountains and in woods.

BARBOT. Lakes, rivers and ponds being also often consecrated for greater deities, in several parts, I observed once at *Acra*, a very singular ceremony performed in my presence, on the pond, which is there, not far from the *Danish* fort, to intreat it to send rain, to bring up their corn then in the ground, the weather having been dry a long time. A great number of *Blacks*, of that and the neighbouring places, came to the pond, bringing with them a sheep, whose throat the priests cut on the bank of the salt lake, after some ceremonies, so that the blood ran into it, and mixed with the water. Then they made a fire, whilst others cut the beast in pieces; then broiled it on the coals, and eat it as fast as it was ready. This being over, some of them threw a gally-pot into the pond, muttering some words. I ask'd the *Dane*, who was with me, and spoke their language fluently, what it was they expected from that ridiculous ceremony; and he having put the question to some of the *Blacks*, they desired him to tell me, that the lake being one of their great deities, and the common messenger of all the rivers in their country, they threw in the gally-pot, with the ceremonies I had seen, to implore his assistance; and in most humble manner intreat him to take that pot, and go immediately with it to beg water of the other rivers and lakes of their country: and that they hoped he would so far oblige them, and at his return undoubtedly pour the pot full of water on their corn in the ground, to moisten and bring it up, that they might have a plentiful crop.

Parallel of the Jews. This extravagant ceremony, as absurd as it appears, seems to be derived from and allude to what was practised with extraordinary solemnity, and much rejoicing by the ancient *Hebrews*, in *Jerusalem*, at their solemn yearly feasts of the tabernacles or tents, which constantly fell out in their month of *Tizri*, being our *September*, when they began their civil year, as the ecclesiastical began in the month of *Nissan*, that is *March*. To that feast of the tabernacles, there repaired from all parts of the country, a vast multitude of people to partake of the blessing of the effusion, or pouring out of the water, fetched with much ceremony, in a basin, from the fountain of *Siloe* and offered up to God, after their humble thanks returned to him for their harvest then got in. The solemnity ended the night of that they called the great day of the feast, by the aforesaid effusion of the water, followed by a mighty symphony of trumpets, hautboys, and other instruments and voices of the temple, and much dancing, to beg of God to afford them seasonable rain, represented by that water, to render the earth fit to produce more fruit. Hence it is very probable, that our Saviour, being

at that solemnity in the temple, took occasion to cry aloud to the multitude there present, alluding to that effusion of water, *John vii. 38.* *He that believeth in me, as the scripture has said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.* Meaning the gifts of the Holy Ghost, to make them produce good works to salvation.

Don Augustin Manoel Vasconcelos, speaking of the religious worship of the *Blacks* of *Mina*, at the time when the *Portuguese* began to build that castle, says, they make deities of any thing that is new to them, or extraordinary in itself, a large tall tree, the bones of a whale, high rocks, &c. so that it may be said of them, their gods are any thing that is prodigious; and no nation in all the world is more addicted to the folly of soothsaying and casting lots than they are. Their way of casting lots is as ridiculous, and the effect they expect from it, making their judgment by the manner of some sticks they drop from their own mouths. They all converse with the devil, and have a great respect for sorcerers, who make their advantage of the ignorant credulity of the vulgar sort; which affords them much profit, and gains them an absolute authority, thro' the false suggestions and delusions of the devil.

To return to what we were saying of the *Blacks* at *Acra*, the *Portuguese*, when they became masters of the *Danish* fort there, drained the afore-mentioned pool, in order to convert it into a salt-pit, after their manner; which so enraged the neighbouring *Blacks*, that partly on that account, and partly, because of the depredations committed by the *Blacks* at *Acra*, a very great number of the natives forsook the place, and their subjection to the *Portuguese*, and went to settle at little *Popo*, near *Fida*.

The *Sword-fish*, whose figure I have given before, and the *Bonito*, are the two sorts of fish they generally worship among their greater deities; and so great is their veneration for them, that they never take any of them designedly; and if any happen to be taken by chance, they preserve the *Sword* as a relic.

Among birds, the bittern is also a deity; and they reckon it a good presage to hear it cry, when they set out upon a journey, believing, it tells them, they shall return home safe; and therefore, they take care to lay corn and water in such parts of the woods as those creatures resort most to, and and on the roads, for them to feed on.

IDOLATRY of other NATIONS.

THE common sort of the *Chinese* are Chinese very superstitious and vain observers of the heaven, the earth, the notes of birds, the barking of dogs, of dreams, and many other particulars; as days lucky and unlucky, and whe-

whether they shall succeed to-day, and miscarry to-morrow, which they decide by lots, and proceed so far in it, as to seek after fortunate hours.

Americans
worship a
water-fall.

The savages of *North-America*, about the fall of a river, call'd *St. Antony's fall*, have a very great veneration for that cascade of water; which is in itself very strange and dreadful, believing it to be a spirit, or deity, as they do all other things which are somewhat extraordinary in nature, worshipping and offering sacrifices to it with great devotion; praying to it, with tears in their eyes, in these or the like words: *You, who are a spirit, be pleas'd to grant that those of our nation may pass by without any misfortune; that we may kill many bullocks, overthrow our enemies, and bring home slaves, some of whom we will kill before you.*

Idols in
Peru.

The people of *Peru*, before they were gathered into communities, and civilized under the government of their kings the *Incas*, as we are inform'd by *Garcilasso de la Vega*, already quoted, in the ninth chapter of his first book of the history of the *Incas* of *Peru*, gives a long account of the idols worshipp'd by those *Indians*. Every province, every nation, every town, every street, or lane, and every house, or family, had its gods distinct from all others; fondly conceiving, that only that peculiar idol, by them ador'd, was able to assist them in time of need; without considering the nature of those things, or whether they were worthy of honour; their notions therein being less lofty than those of the *Romans*, who fram'd to themselves deities of peace, hope, victory, and the like. The *Peruvians* adored only such things as they could see, as herbs, plants, flowers, trees of all sorts, mountains, caves, precipices, great stones, small pebbles of several colours, like jasper, which they found on the banks of rivers; and in the province of *Puerto Viejo*, they adored an emerald: they also worshipp'd many sorts of animals; some for their fierceness, as the tyger, the lion, and the bear; and if they happened to meet any of them, would fall prostrate on the ground, and suffered themselves to be devoured or torn in pieces, without offering to make the least defence, or save themselves by flight. They adored foxes and monkeys for their subtilty; dogs for their fidelity, and others for their swiftness: as also birds of several sorts, and particularly that they call the *Condor*, some nations boasting that they were descended from it. Some sacrific'd to eagles, others to falcons for their swift flying; others to the owl for the sake of its eyes and head, and for its seeing in the dark, which they accounted wonderful. Snakes, serpents above thirty foot long, lizards and toads, had also their religious honour, espe-

cially among the inhabitants of the mountains *Andes*. In a word, there was no animal, or insect, for some made a god of a beetle, or any other, tho' ever so filthy vermin, but what they looked upon as a deity. Yet is there not so much reason for us to wonder at those barbarous stupid nations, on this account, as at the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, who tho' they boasted so much of their knowledge and politeness, as to look upon all others as Barbarians, yet were so void of reason, as to worship above thirty thousand gods, in the most flourishing times of their empire.

The *Egyptians* adored sheep, cats, dogs, ^{Egyptian} the *Ibis*, which is a sort of stork, apes, ^{deities.} birds of prey, wolves, kine, &c. The town of *Mira* adored the crocodile; that of *Leontopolis*, the lion; that of *Mendes*, the male-goat, under the name of *Apis*, tho' that name was commonly given to an ox or calf, the principal object of the *Egyptian* idolatry, being the emblem of the father of the fathers of the world; the word *Apis* signifying *my Father*.

All those animals were kept and maintained in particular temples; about which, were their beds and tables covered with dainties. When any of the said beasts died, there was great mourning and lamentation; and they made costly funerals for, and laid them in magnificent monuments, as *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* relate. Each city, town, or precinct in *Egypt* had its particular devotion for one sort of animal or other; and that superstition was practis'd by the *Egyptians* in the days of *Moses*, and of the patriarchs: as may be gathered from the answer *Moses* made to *Pharaoh's* proposal, that he would permit the *Israelites* to sacrifice to God in the land about them. *Exod. viii. 26.* to which *Moses* replied, *It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God. Lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?*

The *Egyptians*, accounted the most rational and wisest of pagan nations, seem'd to have forfeited all common sense, in worshipping so many brutes as they did; wherein they proceeded so far, that when *Cambyzes*, king of *Persia*, made war upon them, and laid siege to the city of *Pelusium*, the besieged doing much harm in his army with their arrows, that king was advis'd to bring together great numbers of dogs, sheep, of the sort of bird call'd *Ibis*, &c. which he placed before his troops, and proved so successful, that the *Egyptians* after that durst not shoot any more arrows, for fear of hurting their deities.

If superstition so far prevailed on so wise and civilized a nation as the *Egyptians*, it is not

BARBOT. not to be admired, that those ignorant stupid *Guinea* Gentiles I treat of, should be guilty of such extravagant and detestable follies in point of religious worship. It is true, the *Egyptians* pretended to couch the mysteries of their divinity and morality under the worship of those brutes we have mentioned; but even the priests of the poor ignorant *Blacks* can pretend no reason for their absurd superstitions, and monstrous worship; rather believing that those creatures, whether living or inanimate, have a hidden power and virtue to grant their requests. There is no question to be made but that the generality of the *Egyptians* believed the same, and that the crafty priests only pretended to those mysteries, to excuse their imposing on the brutal multitude.

I cannot forbear adding an extraordinary instance of the stupidity of the Gentiles, in another remote part of the universe, still relating to religious observations, as related in *Navarrette's* travels. In the kingdom of *Malabar*, in the *East-Indies*, the natives, notwithstanding the law of *Mabomet* has got some footing among them, adore not only the sun, moon and stars, but also cows; and the greatest oath the king swears, is by a cow, which he never breaks. When those people are near their end, they endeavour to have a cow as close to the dying person as may be; that is, the cow's fundament at the mouth of the said person departing, that the soul breath'd out may enter the back way into the cow. What can there be in nature more ridiculous? I have before mentioned the *Malabar* people's worshipping the devil; which the *Virginians* also do, for fear, having him represented in hideous figures in their temples, and their priests are habited in the same manner as they represent him.

Little bird adored.

It is time we should return to the follies of the *Blacks*, in this particular, who also make a deity of a small bird, as big as a robin-red-breast, having black, grey, and white feathers, whereof there are great numbers at *Fida*. They are as much pleas'd when any of them happen to come into their little orchards, as concerned, if any person offers to kill them, and a heavy fine is laid on him that offers at it.

Idols made by the Priests.

BESIDES these idol gods, and those mentioned to be called upon at the sowing time, they have multitudes of other inferior deities, made by the priests, a few whereof I shall mention, and the purposes they are designed for, with the power and virtues assigned to them. Nothing can equal their astonishment, when they see *Europeans* trample and crush them in pieces under

their feet, without receiving the least harm, or punishment from those their deities. If it is in their power, they will never permit us to offer the least indignity to that consecrated trash; or be persuaded to let us handle or touch them, unless compelled by force. I remember I once got the idol of a *Black*, who belonged to the *Danes*, at *Acra*; at which that fellow was so highly concerned, that the next day he complained grievously to the *Danish* general on his knees, and with tears in his eyes, crying aloud what great danger I had brought him into, his *Bossum*, or god, being highly incensed against him, for having suffered his idol to be insulted by a *White* man, insomuch, that he had beaten him cruelly for it in the night; and that having that morning offered sacrifice to *Bossum*, together with the prayers of the priest, that god had commanded him to require, in satisfaction for his idol, a bottle of brandy, and two *Ackiers* of gold, to appease his wrath; and therefore he hoped I would not be so barbarous as to deny his request: which was granted by me, to be rid of his clamours, and rid him of his fears; with which he went away well satisfied, and in appearance full of joy, carrying the gold and brandy to his priest, who 'tis likely reaped the benefit of it.

That *Black's* idol was in the shape of a *Odd idol*. large *Bolonia* sausage, made of a composition of bugles, glass beads, herbs, clay, burnt feathers, tallow, and threads of the consecrated tree, all pounded and moulded together, having at one end an antick, rough, and misshapen human countenance, and was set up in a painted deep calabash or gourd, among abundance of small stones and bits of wood, with kernels of small nuts, and bones and legs of chickens, or other birds, as it is represented in the cut. All which PLATE 7. trash, I was told, served the *Black* to know the will of the idol, when he made any request to it, or asked a question, by observing the disposition of those several things, after overturning the gourd or calabash.

This instance of the absurd conceit the *Blacks* have of their idols, leads me, in the next place, to speak of the nature and use of them.

NATURE and USE of IDOLS.

WHEN they have a mind to make any offerings to their idols, or desire to know any thing of them, they cry, let us make *Feitisso*; that is, as has been before observed, according to the *Portuguese*, whence they have the word, let us conjure, or make our charms: but according to their meaning is, let us perform our religious worship, and see or hear, what our god will say to us.

In like manner, if they happen to be wronged by any man, they perform their witch-

witchcraft, or devotion, to destroy him, which is after this manner.

Charm for revenge.

First, they intreat the priest to charm some meat or drink, which they scatter about such places as they know their enemy most frequents, or passes by; having this conceit, that if he happens to touch it, he will certainly die soon after. Hence it is, that the Blacks dread passing by such places, or if they cannot avoid it, they cause themselves to be carried over; because then the charm has no virtue, as it does not touch them, and affects not the person it is not designed against. They are so fully possessed of this opinion, that tho' they see frequent instances of the insufficiency of those enchantments, they are never dissuaded from them.

Those who have been robbed, make use of the same sort of conjuration to discover the thief, and bring him to punishment.

Punishment for the same.

If any person is taken strewing that sort of supposed poison, he is severely punished, and even with death; tho' it be done on account of a robbery: theft being look'd upon as a cunning way of acquiring wealth, and not as vile or infamous; yet punishable, as has been observed before.

Oaths.

Making and confirming of obligatory oaths, is also call'd, charming, or making their devotions. When they drink the oath-draught, they commonly add this imprecation, *Let the Feitisso, that is, the idol kill me, if I do not perform the contents of the obligation.* Every person thus entering into a solemn obligation to another, is bound to drink the oath-draught.

The common practice betwixt man and man, when required to make some asseveration, to corroborate what they are upon, is to swear by their parents head or beard; as the *Israelites* swore, by the heaven, or the earth, or by the temple of *Jerusalem*, as in *Matt. v. 25, 26.* as also by their head.

Little regard to oaths.

A king, or the governors of commonwealths, hiring themselves and their people to assist another nation, are obliged to drink the oath-draught, with the prime men of their country; making this asseveration, *That their deities may punish them with death, if they do not assist that nation, with the utmost vigor and resolution against their enemies.* And yet nothing is more frequent, than to see those solemn oaths broken, which makes even the Blacks themselves repose but little confidence on such formalities: besides that, they have found out a way to be absolved from them, taking the money of those who hired them for auxiliaries, and acting directly contrary to those solemn engagements, made in the presence of their priests; not questioning, but that they have good authority to disengage themselves from the same. For this reason, some of them, before they contract,

oblige the priest to drink the oath-draught, ^{BARBOT.} with this imprecation, *That their deity may punish him with death, if he ever absolves any person from their oath, without the consent and concurrence of the other party concerned in this contract.* And it is observed, that such cautionary oaths, render those which are reciprocally obligatory, binding, durable and punctually observed. Thus it appears, that they make a conscience of their oaths; and that, even their priests are so far from imposing on the people, that they really think themselves obliged.

They are generally persuaded, that the perjurd person, on such occasions, will be ^{Purgator of crimes by a draught.} swoln up by the oath-draught, till he bursts, or will soon die a languishing death. They do not in the least question, but that the first of those effects will infallibly take place on women who are perjurd, if they take the said draught to clear themselves from the imputation of having committed adultery; as has been mentioned heretofore.

The same draught is administered to persons suspected of thefts and robberies, with the imprecation, *May the deity kill me, if I am guilty of the fact I am accused of.*

The draught is given upon many other occasions; but this may suffice, and I will conclude this matter with some account of the most solemn and obligatory way of binding, which is only used upon affairs of the highest nature.

Most solemn obligatory OATH.

THE Black who is to take such an oath, must do it in the presence of the priest's idol, being a large wooden pipe, or a horn, or any other; every one, as has been said, having the liberty to form his own peculiar god, as he pleases. He stands directly before the said idol, and asks the priest its name; by which he calls upon it, and then particularly recites the conditions he is to perform, upon oath, and after them the usual imprecation, *That the idol may kill him, if he proves perjured.* This done, he walks round the pipe or horn, representing the deity, and then stands still before it, and swears a second time, in the same manner he did before, and so with the same ceremony a third time. Then the priest takes some of the ingredients, which are in the pipe or horn, and with them touches the swearer's head, arms, belly and legs, and turns it three times round over his head. Next he cuts off a bit of the nail of one finger, of each hand, and of one toe of each foot, and some of the hair of his head, which he puts into the pipe or horn, that is the idol; and so ends the ceremony of that religious and sacred oath.

BARBOT.

CONSULTING of IDOLS.

Offerings.

THEY never engage in war, undertake a journey, drive a bargain, or do any other thing of moment, without first consulting their idols, by means of the priest, who seldom prophesies ill; but generally encourages them to expect success, and they intirely rely on his word, exactly performing his directions: and he never fails to oblige them to offer up sheep, dogs, cats, swine or fowl to his idol, and sometimes clothes, wine and gold, according as the person is in wealth; so that all turns to his advantage, the whole falling to him, except the garbage, or least valuable part of the offering, besides the money given for his ministry.

Juggling with the idol.

If the priest is willing more fully to satisfy the offerer, he puts the questions to the idol in his presence, one of these two ways: the first is, by a bundle of about twenty small pieces of leather, among which he binds some other such like trash, where-with he fills the above-mentioned wooden pipe or horn; some of those denoting good success, and others bad. Those the priest shuffles together several times, and if the first of them appear often together, he assures the suppliant of a good event. The sly priests being well acquainted with the ignorance of their countrymen, never fail, by their slight of hand, to make which they please of the leathers to come together: or, if they think fit to order to the contrary, that the presage may be unlucky, it is only to extort greater offerings and rewards, on pretence of appeasing the angry idol; but all tends only to double their own profit.

Another.

The second way is, by a sort of wild-nuts, which the priest pretends to take up at random, and let fall again; which he counts, and makes his prediction from the numbers, either even or odd; and thus he imposes the greatest absurdities on them, to pick their pockets: and tho' the event shows the falshood of his prediction, he is never without an excuse to bring him off. He alledges either the ceremony was not rightly performed; something was omitted, or negligently done; for which reason the idol is incensed, and therefore the undertaking has been thwarted or disappointed: and any such excuse goes down glibly with the silly people, who are so far blinded with the opinion of the sincerity and sanctity of those crafty priests, that they never suspect the fraud; and this even in matters which concern the whole nation: for tho' the whole country be ruined by the falshood of the priest's predictions, still his credit and reputation is safe; and if their prophecies happen to hit right, then they are sure to be well rewarded, and their persons respected as the wisest and most holy men in the universe.

BEGGING SUCCESS of IDOLS.

IF a fisher-man has met with ill success in his business, he concludes his idol is displeased, for having been denied something; and presently repairs to the priest to make his peace, and beg the idol will give a blessing to his labours, during the rest of the season, giving him some gold in hand for that service. Then the priest orders his wives to dress themselves very fine, and to walk round the town, clapping their hands and howling, in a hideous manner; after which, they proceed to the sea-side, where they take boughs from the consecrated tree, call'd *Affianam*, which is peculiarly dedicated to the fishery, each of them standing there with a bough twisted about her neck till the priest comes to them, beating a small drum; which he continues to do for a considerable time, to incline the sea-deity to commiserate his suppliant's condition. Lastly, he turns his wives about, muttering some words by fits, and then strews some millet in the sea, for the use of the deity, who they believe, after the performing of this ceremony, and receiving the offering, will bear the offerer company for the future, and procure him good fishing. It is remarkable, that this commonly happens in *August* and *September*, when the priest well knows, that there is great plenty of fish, and vast quantities are daily caught; and yet those superstitious people attribute their future success to their offerings, having worshipp'd the sea-deity.

Emanuel de Faria e Sousa, author of the *Character of Blacks* by *Sousa*. Life of *Don John II.* giving a short account of the *Portuguese* settlement at *Mina*, speaks thus of the *Blacks* on that coast. Their gods are whatsoever is prodigious, or they never saw before. No nation in the universe is more addicted to the vanity of soothsaying and lots; the way they use to know any thing thereby, is as ridiculous as the event is false. They judge of it by the manner of some straws falling from their mouth. They all converse with the devil, and bear very great respect to forcerers, who making their advantage of that reputation, grow haughty, and deceive the people with those follies, in which they are ensnared by the devil. It is nevertheless remarkable in those Pagans, that they are extraordinary religious in keeping their oaths, and may be an example to Catholics. They believe, that whosoever breaks his oath, will immediately die: which opinion proceeds from a miracle God wrought there in former ages, by one of his servants, who, as those people have received by tradition, preaching the gospel of CHRIST among the *Sacanees* (I suppose the author means the *Accanees*) the most polite people of that part of *Africa*, was unhappily killed, notwithstanding

withstanding the assurance they had given him, upon their most solemn and execrable oaths; and it pleased God that all who had a hand in that martyrdom, did survive their perfidiousness but a few hours. From that time they have had extraordinary regard to an oath, and it is become hereditary, and generally observed by them all.

They are furthermore true and well inclined, inasmuch, that good manners are far more prevailing among them, than good wholesome laws among many civilized nations. Hence it is, that their law-suits are not tedious, but generally decided by the elders, and men of note, upon the affirmation of the plaintiff, or the confession of the defendant. There is no crime or offence so great, but what is redeemable for money; and none is ever punished with death, unless he have often relapsed into the same fault.

What has been said above, of a holy man's having preached the gospel among the *Accanees*, in former ages, and his being treacherously put to death by some of that nation, is not at all improbable, considering the great number of christian churches there was in the north of *Africa*, and in *Abissinia*, whence some zealous missionaries might have ventured into *Guinea*, to propagate the christian faith; or some of the ministers of the gospel fled from those parts southward into *Africa*, during the horrid persecution of the *Arian Vandals*.

To return to the matter in hand; the service to the idol, for finding of gold, is performed every morning, when they go out for it, and consists only in throwing handfuls of water over their heads, and muttering some words; and lastly, spitting into the water.

For household gods they set up at their doors little staves hooked at one end, which the priest sells, when he has consecrated them on a large stone, that is sanctified and dedicated to that use; firmly believing their houses are thereby secured from all ill accidents.

The proper offering to their country household gods, consists in hens, which they sacrifice on the leaves of the consecrated tree, cut in several figures, and then tear them in pieces, turning about to each other, some saying, *Mecusa, Mecusa*, signifying, do me good; and others answering, *Auzy, Auzy*, good be to you.

When a king, or chief of a country, or town, perceives his revenue to sink, and that the merchants, who used to pay toll and customs, have taken another way, thro' some other dominions, he presently causes the consecrated tree to be well furnished with provisions and liquor, and sends to the priests to repair to the place, to consult

the idol, whether the merchants will come again thro' their lands or not. The priests put the question to the idol after this manner. First, they make a heap of wood-ashes, in a pyramidal form, and pluck or cut a branch of the sacred tree, over which they mutter some words, and then spit on the bark of it; and taking up some of the ashes, one of them wets and besmears the faces of the rest with it, making many odd gestures and grimaces, till one of them, by appointment, altering his voice, as if the idol spoke, delivers the oracle's answer.

Men and women have each of them their peculiar idols, one for a happy delivery when with child; another for the head-ach; another for the fever or ague; others for venereal diseases; for the worms, to preserve them from being drowned, and from robbers abroad and at home; for preventing storms in their voyages at sea, and so *ad infinitum*, for or against all the casualties that attend human nature. Thus they ascribe innumerable virtues to their idols, and consequently pay them so much honour and reverence, as to make vows to them, and observe fasts; so that one *Black* will vow never to eat any beef, another no mutton, another no white hens, and another no fish during his whole life. So one will abstain for ever from brandy, another from palm-wine, and nothing can prevail with them to break those vows, any more than the *Reccabites* would the ordinance of their father *Jonadab*; and they positively believe he would infallibly die that should be guilty of such an offence.

Upon any unseasonable weather, as over-much rain, occasioning floods, or drought, a whole town or country will commonly join in religious exercises. The chief men then assemble, and advise with the priests what is to be done to remove that publick calamity; and what they direct, is immediately put in execution, through the whole country, a cryer making proclamation; and whosoever presumes to transgress the ordinance, is severely fined.

WORSHIP in GROVES with DRUMS, &c.

ALmost every town or village has near to it a small consecrated grove, to which the governors and people frequently resort, to make their offerings, either for the publick, or for themselves. No Person dares defile them, or cut, break or pull any of the branches off those trees; the transgressor, besides the usual punishment, dreading to incur the curse of the whole nation.

Generally at all their devotions the priest, or some one of the company, beats a drum or timbrel, and sings to it; and upon more publick solemnities, they add other instruments. So the ancient *Israelites* used drums and

Oblations to find gold.

Household gods.

Offering to them.

Offerings of princes.

BARBOT.

Variety of idols.

Prayers for good weather.

Groves consecrated.

Drums and musick.

BARBOT, and timbrels in their feasts and solemnities, as we read in *Exod.* xv. 20. *Judg.* xi. 34. *Pfal.* lxxviii. 26. and cl. 4. which they accompanied with dancing. And their progenitors, in the first ages, before they had either ark or temple, for their religious assemblies, used to retire, at certain hours of the day, to some fields, groves, or mountains to pay their religious duty to the supreme deity; judging those by-places the most convenient, as being solitary, and out of the way of worldly business, and therefore fitter for raising up their minds to divine contemplation. Thus *Abel* and *Cain* offered their sacrifices in the fields, *Gen.* iv. 8. *Isaac* used to repair to the fields in the evening to meditate, *Ib.* xxiv. 63. *Elias* on mount *Carmel*; *John the Baptist* in the desert of *Judea*; and even *JESUS CHRIST* prayed in the garden of olives; and *St. Peter* on the house-top.

The ancient pagans also affected to retire to mountains, caves, grottos, woods and groves, to worship their false gods; and to this day at the *Gold Coast*, many of the *Blacks* resort to the open fields, three or four of them together, to pray to their idols, commonly attended by a priest, with a drum hanging at his neck.

S A B B A T H.

Religious
observa-
tion.

WHATSOEVER opinions the *Blacks* entertain concerning the deity, we find they every where keep one day in the week holy; which is every where *Tuesday*, except at *Anta*, where they observe *Friday*, as the *Mabometans* do. This festival or sabbath, they call *Dia Santo*, that is holy-day; but it is none of their own language, and they have borrowed it from the *Portuguese*, as they have many other words. That day the fishermen never go out a fishing, nor do the peasants carry any provisions to the markets, but only deliver to the king, or the *Caboceiro*, or magistrate of a town, the palm-wine, which they cause to be distributed among the inhabitants. Merchants and factors are allowed to go aboard ships in the road, because of the short stay they generally make at one place; else they would not be permitted to break their sabbath. In some parts they are not so rigid, but allow all sorts of work to be done as on other days, except fishing.

I have spoken sufficiently of the veneration the *Blacks* pay to their idols, and of the respect they generally show to their ministers or priests, as the interpreters of their oracles and ordinances; I shall conclude with an observation concerning those

MINISTERS or PRIESTS.

Priests no
conjurers.

SOME authors have endeavoured to persuade the world that the *Blacks* worship the devil, which I have shown to be a mistake;

as also that their priests are forcerers or magicians, who converse with evil spirits, by whose means they pretend to foretel future events, and perform other extraordinary matters, which is as false as the other. This notion came from the *Portuguese*, who gave those priests the name of *Feitifferos*, which they still retain, and signifies forcerers; and they did because those people being idolaters, and worshipping very deformed figures, they concluded them to be devils; and the extravagant ceremonies performed by the priests, they looked upon as witchcraft. But it is certain those priests have no other conjuration than to delude the people, and get what they can by them, thro' a persuasion that what they do proceeds from God; and their ignorance makes them swallow any fraud, as something above the common cause of nature.

Thus we read *Acts* viii. 9, &c. that the *Simon Samaritans*, from the highest to the lowest, ^{Simon Magus.} were possess'd with an opinion of *Simon Magus*, who had so gained them by his enchantments, that they admired him as a worker of prodigies.

Even so the *Egyptian* magicians, in the ^{Egyptian} days of *Moses*, had fully persuaded that ^{magicians.} nation, that there was a supernatural virtue in them for doing wonders, *Exod.* vii. & seq.

PRIESTS of the BLACKS.

AS to the *Guinea* priests in general, setting aside their frauds and impostures in regard of religion, and for deluding the people, they are men of a grave and sober behaviour, and live very regularly in all respects, being like *Reccabites*, under a vow never to drink palm-wine.

The function is hereditary in their families, ^{Priesthood hereditary.} some of them boasting of very great antiquity in their tribe, which contributes very much to render them more honourable among the people, and even the kings and great men of every nation, who carry themselves very discreetly towards them, to gain their favour, that they may be always ready to gain them the good-will of their idols, believing that the said priests can do much with them.

They are commonly clothed in the coarsest ^{Clothing.} *Leyden* sayes, or *Coefveld* linen, which is wrapped about their waists, and hangs down to their legs, with a loose scarf over it, and the rest of their body naked. They adorn their necks with strings of the bones of broiled fowl; and about their legs, like garters, have knotted threads of the consecrated tree, intermixt with bugles.

BANISHING of the DEVIL.

I Have already observed, that the *Blacks* ^{Ceremonies:} in general believe there is a devil, and that he often does them much mischief; for which

which reason they have a solemn appointed time yearly, in every country, to banish him all their towns and villages. The people of *Axim* and *Anta* use the most ceremony about it, which is as follows. First, they keep publick feasting for eight days successively, in every town, all which time is spent in singing, skipping, dancing, and all sorts of mirth and frolics; and during the said time, every person has his full liberty to defame all others, either by singing or telling their faults, without any exception, from the king to the slave: and this they are sure to do continually, without any offence taken, nor is there any other way to stop their mouths, than filling them with plenty of liquor; which has so good an effect, that they will turn their railing into commendations, extolling the person who has been so bountiful to them.

The next morning after the solemnity expires, they hunt out the devil, with horrid and dismal cries and howling, all the multitude running, and throwing stones, sticks, or any thing they meet with, even to excrements, as thick as hail, at the devil, as they fancy, and continue so doing till they think they have drove him quite out of the town, and so return home highly pleased with their expedition; and for the more security, that the evil spirit shall not return to their houses, the women wash and scour all their wooden and earthen vessels very clean, that they may be free from filth and that spirit.

In the most southern cold parts of *America*, there are *Indians*, who worship the devil, whom they call *Eponamon*, that is potent; but the heathens of *Axim* seem only to fear him. Those of the countries of *Angoy* and *Congo*, in the *Lower Ethiopia*, call upon the evil spirits, making great fires before their figures. The people of the island of *Madagascar* pay them adoration, that they may do them no harm, taking little notice of good spirits. The *Inibs*, or priestesses of the island *Formosa*, on the coast of *China*, in twenty two degrees of north latitude, pretend to drive away the devil with their *Japonese* cymeters, making a hideous noise and doleful cries, which they say frights him, and he drowns himself in the next river.

The inhabitants of the country of *Anta* tell us, they are often plagued by a giant, who, they say, is a mischievous god, and has one side sound, and the other rotten; which if any person happen to touch, he dies immediately. They are very studious to appease him, and to that purpose lay out thousands of pots or troughs, with eatables, all about the country, and take care continually to supply them.

This expelling of the devil is one of their most solemn festivals, as is another, which they call the *Fair*, commonly falling at the end of their harvest.

COMPUTATION of TIME.

THE *Blacks* generally make their computation of times and seasons by the moon, and by her know the proper seasons for sowing, for which reason they pay that planet a particular veneration; but many of them have been long since brought by the *Europeans*, among whom they have conversed, to divide time into years, months, weeks and days, giving every day of the week its proper name, in their own language; but the inland people divide their time into lucky and unlucky.

Of IDOLATRY in general.

I shall conclude this chapter of the religion and idols of the *Blacks*, with the following digression, concerning the source and original of the idolatry of the *Gentiles* of *Nigritia*, *Guinea*, and the *Lower Ethiopia*, as well as of all other Pagans.

Laban had his *Teraphims*, or tutelar deities, whom he called his gods, and were his household gods, being representations of *Noah* and *Shem*. *Micah* made *Teraphims*, or tutelar gods, to draw a blessing from heaven on his house. *Judges* xvii. 5. *And the man Micah had an house of gods, and made an Ephod and Teraphim, and consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest. ver. 13. and said, Now I know the Lord will do me good.*

The king of *Babylon* stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, and enquired of the *Teraphims*, or idols, for they are synonymous; it being the custom in those days to set up the *Teraphims* in niches, or cavities, where two roads met, as tutelar gods of the high-ways. *Teraphim* signifying preserving and healing gods; they are *Dii servatores & sospitatores*.

The *Teraphims*, or *Seraphims* in *Egypt*, were figures, having a human head, without a body, arms, or other limbs, it being usual among the *Egyptians* to make such representations.


I have seen such figures at *Sierra Leona*, *Idols on Rio Sestro* and *Mina*, as appears in the cuts relating to the description of those countries; and they were set up in the roads, under little huts. The idols of the northern people, near *Nova Zembla*, spoken of before, were carved on the trunks of large trees in the open fields. Those puppets mentioned in the description of *Mina*, and the idol of the *Acra Blacks*, there discoursed of, were no other than the resemblance of human heads, without any body or limbs.

Driving the devil.

Worshipping the devil.

Gigantick devil.

BARBOT. Festivals.

BARBOT.  The people of *Loango*, of whom more hereafter, have also their idols, set up under little roofs, or in niches, on the roads, leading to the city of that name, or others, to which they pay a religious worship as they pass by.

Household gods.

The ancient *Romans* had their *Lares*, or household gods, just at the entrance into their houses, as the *Blacks* have on the *Gold Coast*, at *Fida*, and in most other parts of *Guinea*, and the *Lower Ethiopia*. Nor had the *Romans* *Lares*, only to protect their houses, but others also set up on the high-ways, as protectors to travellers; and those were called *Dii Viales*, or *Dii Compitales*. So the people of *Guinea* have their gods on the roads and about the country, as tutelars of those places.

M. Jurieu, in his critical history of the good and bad doctrines and worships which were in the church, from *Adam* down to *JESUS CHRIST*, Part III. pag. 458, and 459, makes a digression upon the word *Teraphim*, and proves it to be the same the pagans gave to their idols, and that by *Teraphims* they did not mean the great God, but some singular persons of note departed, whom they had deified. He, for instance, supposes *Laban's* *Teraphims* to have been the images of *Noah* and *Shem*; as the *Lares* of the *Romans* represented their ancestors, and the most illustrious persons of their families, which were peculiarly consecrated and worshipped as gods. He then shows how those *Teraphims* were imitated from the oracle of the *Cherubims*, and in process of time became instruments of magick, among the eastern nations.

A commentator on *1 Cor. x. 20*, and *21. Idols devils*, says, that many of the heathen deities, whom they served in their idols were wicked spirits, as in *Levit. xvii. 7. And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, &c. Deut. xxxii. 17. They sacrificed unto devils, not to God.* And tho' they often pretended thereby to honour men deceased, or other creatures, or even sometimes the supreme creator, as in *Acts xvii. 23.* and *Rom. i. 21.* yet were they reputed to render that service to the devil, because he was the inventor and promoter thereof; and that by such acts God was not honoured, but rather provoked.

This may suffice to convince some persons ^{Guineans} who will argue, that the service the people ^{idolaters.} of *Guinea* do to their idols is not idolatry, in a strict sense, because they do not worship them as gods, nor even the devil himself, tho' they dread him so very much, as has been said before; for confirming whereof, I shall use the words of *St. Paul, 1 Cor. chap. x. 19, 20. What say I then? that the idol is any thing, or that which is offered in sacrifice to idols is any thing? But I say that the things, which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God.* Others also have been of opinion, speaking of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, that they might attain to life everlasting, without the knowledge of God, the supernatural Being, and without the knowledge of the immortality of the soul, and of reward and punishment after this life; but *Navarette* very justly says, that such doctrine cannot be defended or taught by sound apostolical missionaries.

The END of the THIRD BOOK.

BOOK

B O O K I V.

C H A P. I.

Of the Slave Coast in general. Soko kingdom. Rio da Volta. Coto kingdom. Little Popo. Great Popo. French factory there, &c.

I N the former book, which was all of the *Gold Coast*, I laid down its extent along the shore, from *Rio de Sweiro da Costa*, to *Lay*, in the *Lempi* country.

In this fourth book, I am to treat of the *Slave Coast*, so called by the *Europeans*, because the whole trade there consists in slaves and gold, purchased merely by chance, in an inconsiderable quantity.

The SLAVE COAST.

Extent of
the coast.

THE sea-faring *Europeans* extend this *Slave Coast*, to *Rio-Lagos*, in *Benin*, where it loses its name; the adjacent coast being that of *Great Benin*: and beyond it the coast of *Douwerre*, stretching to cape *Fermozo*, towards the south; and from this cape, to *Rio del Rey* east; and thence compassing south, as far as cape *Lope-Gonzales*, beyond the *Æquator*, forms the gulph of *Guinea*, or the *Bight*: thus stretching in the whole three hundred and fifty leagues in a bow, from *Volta*, the best part whereof, at least as far as *Camarones* river, at the bottom of the gulph, might be well accounted the *Slave Coast*, as affording vast numbers of slaves in trade, especially at new and old *Calabar*, and so on to *Rio del Rey*. And for the same reason, the tract of land along the sea betwixt *Lay* and *Rio da Volta*, might as well be reckon'd a part of the *Gold Coast*, the country affording now and then some little gold in traffick: and it was on that account, that in my original *French* manuscripts, and in the map, or chart annexed, I made the *Gold-Coast* extend from *Rio de Sweiro da Costa*, to *Rio da Volta*; looking upon that as its true extent, and assigning two famous large rivers for its limits.

But this being of very little or no consequence, and our *English* and *Dutch* sea-faring people reckoning it otherwise, I relinquish my former opinions, and submit to theirs, because it is chiefly for them I write; and now enter on the subject of the *Slave Coast*, commonly reputed to extend from *Lay*, to *Rio Lagos*.

This *Slave Coast* comprehends the coasts of *Soko*, *Coto*, *Popo*, *Fida* and *Ardra*, the subject of the following description.

SOKO KINGDOM.

THIS kingdom extends on the west to *Occa*, a village east of *Lay*, and on the east, to *Rio da Volta*, along the coast on the ocean. How deep it runs inland, I could not learn, being a country of little commerce with *Europeans*, unless by chance: some, especially *Portuguese*, touch at its maritime places, viz. *Angulan*, *Briberqu*, *Baya* and *Aquilla*, either to provide corn, (maiz) of which it affords great plenty; or to purchase *Accany* cloths, which the *Accaneez* people bring thither from their country, when the inland roads are clear from robbers, and make a very considerable profit by that trade; but that country is seldom free from such villains.

The *Negroes* of *Volta* and *Coto* likewise come to *Soko* by sea, when they are informed that some *European* ships make any stay there, and bring some quantities of slaves.

The natives of *Soko* are mostly husband-men, and scarce mind any other employment besides that and fishing; tho' fishery there, as well as at the former western coasts, as far as *Acra*, turns to little or no account. Very few of them ever have any gold, unless it be the *Acra*, *Lampi*, and *Aquamboez Blacks*, who are settled among them with their families, of which there are a pretty many; as well as at *Lay*, *Ningo*, *Cincko*, and so to *Pompena*, or *Ponni*, westward.

Besides the four mentioned villages situated on the *Soko* coast, there are several hamlets and cottages intermixt between them on the sea-shore, but of no manner of consideration.

Some authors account this country as part of the kingdom of *Lampi*; whose prince, as I have said in the second book, bears the title of king of *Ladingcour*.

The maritime part of *Soko* is flat and low, rising gradually as it runs up inland, and is very woody.

R I O D A V O L T A,

WAS so called by the *Portuguese* for its rapid course and reflux. Its spring, according to a very modern author, is in the kingdom of *Akam*, bordering southward on that

BARBOT. that of *Gago*, in nine degrees north latitude, running thence through the country of *Tafou*, in which are said to be mines of gold; and so downward south, through that of *Quabou*, *Aboura*, *Ingo*, and others. 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, standing at equal distances from each other; the country farther up is all woody, or covered with shrubs and bushy trees.

Hard to be seen from sea.

This river is not easily seen from sea, unless at about five or six *English* miles distance, from the top-mast heads, whence only it appears to be a fine and large river, discharging its waters very violently into the ocean; but you cannot perceive the least opening, till you come within a league of the shore, where it shows a small opening, or mouth, and the rushing and strong stream that gushes out, has but a small passage: for though this river is very wide within, a tract of land or point, which some pretend is an island athwart its mouth, as the *Dutch* maps have it, renders the entrance into the sea so narrow, that it is passable only with canoes, but twice in the year, and that commonly in *April* and *November*, at which times the weather is not so boisterous at the coast, as in the rainy seasons.

Dangerous entrance.

I lay one night at anchor north by west of this river, in a yacht, in eighteen fathom water, muddy ground, and the next morning found the yacht was driven northward, from eighteen to thirteen fathom, in five hours time; whereas naturally the tide should have driven it to the southward, since it generally runs that way from *Volta*, with an incredible rapidity, so as you find the fresh out to sea, in ten fathom depth, the water looking white; and carrying great numbers of trees along with it, at some seasons of the year, which sticking fast at the mouth of the river, occasions very high swellings, and terrible surges.

It is natural enough to believe, that by reason of the wideness within, and the violent reflux of this river, the ebb, which passes thro' that small mouth, must be much stronger than if it had as large an entrance into the ocean as the river is wide. This violent ebb, meeting with the waves of the sea, which by the steady winds from southwest, and south, are forced upon the shore, must needs cause horrid and dreadful swellings, or surges on the ocean, which renders the navigation of that river, after the rainy season, so perilous, that it is not

possible to persuade the *Blacks* to venture even with canoes.

The best mark I can give to discover the mouth of *Volta* from the sea, is a small wood, standing on the east point of it, tho' it seems at a distance to be all continent.

All the *Dutch* maps we have, as well as the *English*, represent the shore about *Volta*, especially for some leagues west of its mouth, to be faced with a high large bank of sand; for avoiding of which, most *European* ships, bound from *Lay* to *Fida* or *Ardra*, commonly steer wide of the coast, ten or twelve leagues: which, if they knew better, they would not do, since it lengthens their navigation: for there is no other shoal or bank but a very small one, both in length and breadth, just east of the river's mouth; which is omitted in the maps above mentioned, beginning exactly at the east side of the channel, or passage of the river. So that any ship whatever may very safely sail from *Lay*, along the coast of *Soko* and *Volta*, steering directly at a league and half distance from shore, at most.

There is another bank of sand athwart the mouth of the river, in the nature of a bar; which rendring the water more shallow, contributes, with the violent reflux, and the narrowness of the passage, to the horrid swelling and surges I have mentioned. And I remember to this purpose, that the then *Dutch* general of *Mina*, *Verbouter*, supposing, as he did, I was making observations, and new discoveries on the *Guinea Coast*, in the yacht I was embarked on, when I paid him a visit at *Mina*, as has been said before, and perceiving I was very inquisitive about every thing relating to *Guinea*, as we were discoursing together, advised me, as to this river of *Volta*, by no means to venture to carry the yacht into it, as being the most perilous thing I could do, even at that very time when he spoke to me, which was in the month of *April*, and consequently the fittest season of the year for passing up it with

Little trade at Rio da Volta.

a yacht. But in the course of our conversation, some time after, forgetting what he had said before, added, that he used now and then, at some seasons of the year, to send sloops to *Volta*, which brought back some quantities of slaves and cloths; which, as he told me, the natives buy of the *Abyssinians*, and *Nubians*, with whom they have a free commerce, by means of this river running up, always very wide and large, a vast way inland, towards the north north-east: but it is choaked in some of the upper part of its channel, by falls and cliffs, as the *Blacks* report. He show'd me some of those cloths, which are not unlike borders of needle tapestry; but I suppose the trade of this river is of no great advantage, since the *Hollanders*, who are well acquainted with the country, have

have no settlements there: or it may proceed from the dangers of navigating that river.

The *Portuguese* trade there sometimes, and carry away a few slaves, some elephants teeth, and *Indian* wheat, whereof there is great plenty; but little or no gold, the natives scarce knowing that metal.

The coast from *Lay* to *Volta*, stretches east by north, and sometimes east by south, seventeen or eighteen leagues. The *Dutch* maps lay it down north-east, and north-east by east, about twelve *Dutch* miles. But they are mistaken: for I had good opportunity to make nice observations in sailing along the coast, in a yacht, in six or seven fathom, not far from shore, where we saw several fires all along it from *Lay* to that place; it being then the sowing season for *Indian* wheat.

Dutch maps false.

The coast from the eastern point of *Rio da Volta*, to cape *Montego*, or *Monte da Rapoza*, run east south-east almost four leagues; the village *Hova* being seated on the sea-shore, about a league and a half west from the mount; and has for a mark, a thick, large and lofty wood, on the north-east of it. The sand of the sounding is there as fine as dust.

COTO KINGDOM.

THIS is the kingdom of *Coto*, which, as I have said before, is reckoned to begin west from *Rio Volta*, and extends on the sea-side from thence to the town of *Coto*, or *Verbou*, about sixteen leagues or better eastward: has been the residence of the king of *Coto*, and is reported to be a large populous town.

Extent of Coto.

From *Cabo Montego* eastward, the coast forms a great bulging of ten leagues, from point to point, to cape *St. Paolo*, near which stands the village *Quila*, which is to be known from the sea by a small thicket or wood, over which three palm-trees rise. The sounding there is extremely fine sand, and on the shore very great swelling waves, which hinders the natives from coming out on board ships. The shore of the bulging above-mentioned, appears broken through in many parts, and the land within marshy and watry, as it is all along from *Volta* hither; and seems to be a large continued lake, out of which, about the middle gushes out a little river, which does not flow out into the sea, but is discernable by the trees standing on the east side of it, and by several small islands in the lake.

Form of the coast.

The *Coto Coast*, from cape *St. Paolo*, to cape *Monte*, runs east north-east, the land low, flat, level and open, or at best having here and there some shrubs. Near this cape appears a separation in the shore, as of a river; one side of which is low and open, and

on the other side, it is somewhat a rising ground, with many round huts or houses, standing near the strand; but no canoes ever come out from thence, the natives having little or no commerce with *Europeans*. The village *Bequoe* is not far from that place.

BARBOT

The kingdom of *Coto* is not extraordinary populous, and like to be less, by reason of its wars with their next neighbours of *Popo*. The inhabitants are generally pretty civil to strangers, as well as their king; tho' some pretend they were formerly of a more savage and sottish temper than most of the *Blacks* are.

Civil Blacks.

The soil of this country is tolerably stored with cattle, palm, or wild-coco, of which last it produces a vast quantity: the soil is otherwise flat, very sandy, dry, barren, and void of all other trees.

Soil.

The rivers afford the inhabitants good store of fish, but no sea-fish is seen there, because of the horrid breaking of the sea, all along the sea-shore, which makes it impracticable for any canoes to go in or out.

The natives have a very inconsiderable trade in slaves, of which it is but seldom they can afford any good number together, and those they mostly steal from the upland country, and dispose of them on board some *European* ships; especially to the *Portuguese*, who resort thither more than any others: so that there are few wealthy men among the *Cotos*, and the generality being very poor, many of them turn strolling robbers about the country, and do much mischief.

Cotos poor.

This nation is in a sort of confederacy with that of *Aquamboe*, which will now and then on occasion assist them with some forces in time of war. Their œconomy, politicks and religion are much the same as on the *Gold Coast*; only they have here a vast quantity of idols: and as to their dialect, it differs little from that of *Accra*.

LITTLE POPO.

FROM cape *Monte*, in the country of the *Cotos*, to little *Popo*, the coast extends north east about five leagues, all flat land, very sandy and barren, with only some few shrubs here and there.

Extent.

Barren.

Little *Popo* is a small country, but bearing the title of a kingdom, situated betwixt those of *Coto*, and great *Popo*, on the sea-side; its extent up the inland I know not. The country is flat, without hills or trees, and so extraordinary sandy, that the *Blacks* can dress no victuals, but what is full of sand.

The soil is so barren, that the natives must be supplied with most necessaries for life from *Fida*. They are also incredibly plagued with rats, which are extraordinary numerous. The town of little *Popo* is seated on the shore, four leagues west of grand *Popo*, and near a small river or creek.

Plague of rats.

BARBOT. Most of the inhabitants are the remains of the little *Acra* people, who lived under the *Dutch* fort, *Crevecaur*, from whence they have been lately driven by the *Aquamboes* nation, as I have observed before. Tho' this country is not very populous, the natives are very bold and warlike, and often at variance with the *Coto* nation.

The inhabitants of little *Popo* live mostly upon plunder, and the slave trade; far exceeding the *Cotosians*, their neighbours, in committing abundance of outrages and robberies, by means of which, they encrease in riches and trade; which however, is not so very considerable, as to afford a large cargo of slaves in a little time, but requires some months.

Karavish
people.

To this purpose, it is their common practice to assure the supercargo, or commander of a trading ship, when they come first aboard, that they have a stock of slaves ashore; but it is only to draw him ashore, which if they can do, they will detain him some months, and fleece him well: for they are the most deceitful and thievish of any *Blacks*. Sometimes it happens according to the success of their inland excursions, that they are able to furnish two hundred slaves or more, in a very few days.

The *Portuguese*, of all *European* nations, have the most constant commerce with little *Popo*; notwithstanding they are heavily abused and cheated by the inhabitants, because the *Portuguese* commonly have very sorry goods to compose their cargo, which will not take so well at other trading ports of the *Slave Coast*, as there: and those *Blacks* being naturally fraudulent, have so often cheated and amused the *English*, *Danes* and *Hollanders*, that they seldom now will call at that place to traffick; which obliges the natives to shift as well as they can with *Portuguese* commodities.

Their politicks, œconomy and religion, are much the same, as what has been mentioned of the *Blacks* at *Acra*, as being but lately fled from thence thither, for sanctuary against the violent outrages of their implacable enemies the *Aquamboes*.

There is an incredible number of rats, very troublesome in many respects to the inhabitants, and much more to travellers, who are not used to them. It is reported, that in the village of *Rowdill*, in the island of *Harries*, one of the western islands of *Scotland*, the natives were much troubled with rats, which destroy'd all their corn, milk, butter and cheese, &c. that they could not extirpate those vermin for some time, by all their endeavours. A considerable number of cats was employ'd for that end, but were still worsted, and became perfectly faint, because over-power'd by the rats, who were twenty to one. At length one of the inhabitants, of more sagacity

than the rest, found an expedient to renew his cat's strength and courage; which was by giving it warm milk, after every encounter with the rats: and the like being given to all the other cats, after every battle, succeeded so well, that they left not one rat alive, notwithstanding the great number of them in the place.

If this is effectual to destroy rats, it may be very useful aboard ships, where we are commonly so much pestered with that mischievous vermin: for they pilfer and carry away any thing they can come at, even breeches, stockings, &c. and will often bite men in their cabbins, and foul on their faces; nay, they are even so large and so bold, that they have assaulted my grey and blue parrots in the night, kill'd some, and almost eaten them up, tho' the ship I was in was new from the stocks for the voyage.

G R E A T P O P O .

FROM this port to that of great *Popo*, or *Popob*, east of it, is about five leagues. This place is easily known coming from west to it, by two flags that are constantly display'd there, at the beach on either side of the river *Tary*. That on the east point is the *Dutch* flag, that nation having a lodge there; the other a white flag, the natives set up on the west point of the river, when they perceive ships coming from the westward. You see by the chart of great *Popo* in the print, how the river *Tary*, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Rio do Poupou*, is situated; and the town *Popo* standing in an island, formed by morasses and bogs: for which reason, the *Portuguese* call it *Terra Anegada*, i. e. drowned land, and others *Terra Gazella*. The town is divided into three parcels, at a distance from each other.

PLATE 7.

The entrance or mouth of the river *do Poupou* is choaked with a bar, of easy access and recess with bar-canoes.

The natives of this island have scarce any dwelling-places, besides the great village where the king of *Popo* commonly resides: and the country is but thinly peopled, because of the perpetual incursions of the *Fida Blacks*; who labour continually to reduce the *Popo* men to the obedience of the king of *Fida*, to whom it did formerly belong, but have not as yet been able to effect it. The town of *Popo*, being in an island, in the midst of the river, they are forced to make use of floats to come at them; and the *Popo* people keeping themselves in a good posture of defence, often repulse the *Fidasians*, and their auxiliaries, with great loss.

This continual war hinders the *Poposians* from cultivating their lands quietly; whereby they very frequently want provisions, and would starve if they were not supply'd from

from

from *Fida* for their money, tho' their capital enemies; interest encouraging the *Fida Blacks* to furnish them with necessaries, notwithstanding the severe fines and punishment they incur from their sovereign the king of *Fida*, on that account.

Whilst this petty kingdom of great *Popo*, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Os Poupos*, was subject to the king of *Ardra* (for it may properly be reckoned to be in the ancient country of *Ardra*, as well as *Fida*.) the *Ardrasian* language being still used at *Popo*, with very small alteration, and the government upon the same foot; it had but an indifferent trade with *Europeans*, the king of *Ardra* obliging them to carry all the slaves they got to *Ardra*, in order to receive his toll, which probably may have induced the *Poposians* to revolt from him, and preserve themselves free and independent: and by this their policy they have drawn a good trade to *Popo* ever since; inasmuch, that at some times they are able to make up a large cargo of slaves in a few days, taking in payment thereof, cauris, iron, bugles, linen, and other sorts of *European* goods.

All trading ships there commonly adjust the price of slaves on the one side, and of *European* goods on the other, with the king of great *Popo*; and if no ships come thither, they sell to those of little *Popo*. But their greatest profit accrues from the fishery of their river, and trading with the fish in the neighbouring nations.

The present king of *Popo* is a tall well-shaped man, having something in his mien above the common *Blacks*: he is generally dressed in a long gown of brocade, an osier cap on his head, and very much respected by his people. It is the custom there for the king always to eat by himself.

His house or palace is very large, consisting of abundance of small huts round his apartment; which is in the remotest part of all the buildings, disposed in such a manner, that to come at it, you must pass thro' three courts, each having a guard of soldiers; in the farthest of which, are the king's lodgings, adorned with a pavillion, which serves the king to converse with the principal men of the nation, and his own officers.

This prince has many handsome women, two of whom stand always by him, with fans in their hands, to cool him. He spends the best part of the day in smoking tobacco, and talking either with his own wives, or with his officers, or other notable persons of the country.

His wives are maintained in the palace, with variety of meat, fowls, rice and potatoes.

In 1682, he maintain'd war against the *Blacks* of *Monte* or *Coto*, and those of *Fida*,

who obliged him to make peace with the *BARBOT*. king of *Fida*, to avoid being subdued by their joint forces: and some time after, he joined in league with the king of *Fida*, to attack the country of *Coto*; but how they sped, I was never told.

The natives of great *Popo* are much like *Thieves*, their neighbours of little *Popo*, and of *Coto*, living mostly upon plunder, being naturally thieves by profession; especially when got drunk, they steal any thing they can come at from friends or foes: which temper in them, has hindred any *Europeans* but the *Dutch*, from settling a factory at *Popo*; and brought them also to have the king to adjust matters of commerce betwixt them and his subjects, being bound to make good any irregularities of this kind to each party; in imitation of the practice used at *Fida* and *Ardra*.

The *Poposians*, like all other *Blacks*, have great faith in their priests, which are there call'd *Domine*. They go commonly dressed in a long white frock, always carrying a staff crooked at one end; and each trading ship must pay the *Domine* a certain toll, by way of free gift, which encourages the *Blacks* to dispatch the *Europeans* as quick as possible; conceiving that the priests being so well paid, will use all their interest with the deities of the sea, to favour them with calms and good weather, that so they may with the greater facility and safety carry goods and slaves to and from the ships to the land, and thence on ship-board again, without being overset in their canoes. And when they ship off slaves in their canoes, they have a priest standing by at the beach, who strews sand over the slaves heads, that their deities may preserve them from being overset in passing the bar.

The houses at great *Popo* are built in the same form as at *Cabo Verde*. The inland country abounds in sundry fruits and roots, and in cattle, poultry, &c. Near the shore the land is all over marshy and swampy, as has been observed already, and consequently flat and low.

F I D A.

FROM *Popo-grande* to the port of *Fida*, the coast extends about five leagues east north-east, the little town of *Oÿy* or *Ouy* lying betwixt both places on the strand, about a quarter of a league east of a little river that falls into the sea; the coast all along almost inaccessible, by reason of the mighty surf.

The village *Coulain-ba*, with some other hamlets and cottages, are seated on the banks of the river *Tary*, which runs down from the *Ardra* country, thro' *Fida*, to the ocean at *Great Popo*, within the land, all along the shore, at about a quarter of a mile

Trade at great Popo.

The king.

Palace.

Employment.

Wives.

Houses.

BARBOT. mile distance, but so shallow, that it is fordable every where; and by its overflowing and flat banks, forms the morasses and swamps we see for several leagues together; extending within the shore from *Great Popo*, to *Tary*, through the land of *Fida*.

Above *Coulain-ba* is the town *Jackain*, on the banks of another river, which, as it extends into the country of *Ardrá*, grows more and more shallow, till at last it is quite dry, as if it were lost in the sands. All the above-named villages belong properly to the country of *Fida*, and are not easily perceived from sea, but from the top-masts of ships, when sailing near the shore.

Land-
marks at
Fida.

The best mark to avoid over-shooting the port of *Fida*, which is called by the *French*, *La Praye*, is in sailing from before *Popo-grande*, to steer along the shore, till you see in the east four or five large trees standing separately on the land, forming a sort of a grove together; and farther eastward, a little house on the beach, near to which is set up a pole or staff, for a flag, and about the house there are usually several canoes set dry: and having brought the pole to bear north, then cast anchor, as being the best ground; for somewhat farther east there are abundance of stones under water, which will spoil, and even cut the cables.

The *French* ships bound to this port commonly fire a gun, when they come about three leagues east of *Popo*, as a signal to the *French* factor, residing at *Fida*, which they call *Juyda*, to give him notice of their approach; and the said factor sends immediately some servant to the beach, to hoist up the white flag: and I believe the *English* factor, residing there, does the same, when ships of his nation appear at west; the staff being common to them as it happens.

Dangerous
landing.

This place is extremely dangerous, either to land at, or to get out of it, because of the dreadful, horrible surf of the sea, near the shore, which people cannot pass through without running the hazard of their lives, or at best great trouble at all times of the year; it being impossible to prevent being dashed all over with the foam of the waves: but in a more particular manner, in *April*, *May*, *June* and *July*, the rainy time, for the breaking is then so violent, and the surges of the sea so very high, by the shallowness of the water, that it is a saying here, *he ought to have two lives who ventures*, and especially in that season. There happen frequently very dismal accidents, by the oversetting of the bar-canoes, tho' ever so well mann'd; whereby many persons are drowned, great quantities of goods are lost, and the canoes often shattered to pieces in a moment. For when they happen to overturn, or the sea breaks into them, full of people, the

greatest part, even the rowers, are either drowned or devoured by the monstrous sharks which swarm amongst the swelling waves of the ocean; tho' generally the rowers, who, for the most part, are *Mina Blacks*, the most skillful of all the *Blacks*, by their dexterity in swimming, may perhaps save themselves. Such accidents happen there almost every day in that season, and there is no *European* factor, or supercargo, but what loses considerably thereby in goods or slaves, carried to and fro; besides that it frequently retards the dispatch of their ships.

In those same months the tide sets from the east so violently, that no boat or shallop can stem it by rowing, but they are forced to set them along by ticking their pole in the ground; which is another obstruction that detains ships there twice as long as is necessary to trade, especially for slaves. Were things otherwise, and the access to, and recess from the shore no more perilous and tedious than it is at many ports of the *Gold Coast*, it would be a perfect pleasure to drive much business there; for when once landed safe, the charming prospect the country affords from all parts at about two *English* miles from the strand, is a mighty satisfaction to the traveller, casting his eyes about to behold the pleasantness of so fine and well-inhabited a country, after the dreadful hazards he has run in coming to it: but of this more hereafter.

Strong tide.

The lodges of the *English* and *French* *African* companies, are seated near the village *Pelleau*, somewhat beyond the morass; and the country from thence to the water-side, for two miles, being all flat, low and marshy, we are generally carried thither from the port on men's shoulders, in a hammock, fastened to a pole; the bearers being relieved from time to time, all the way, by fresh porters, who in some places are almost up to their shoulders in the water of the swampy grounds: but the fellows are so strong, and so well skilled in that work, that at such places they lift up the pole, holding it much above their heads, on the palms of their hands, and thus secure the person carried in the hammock from being wet.

English
and French
houses.

The *French* factory at *Pilleau*, was established by one *Carolof*, in the service of the *French West-India* company, with the consent of the king of *Fida*, and the favour of prince *Bibe* in 1671. who besides granted him the permission of trading in this, and the *Ardra* country; that part of *Ardra*, which borders on the ocean, having then revolted against its sovereign, and put itself under the protection of the king of *Fida*, which very much obstructed the slaves' trade, who thereby could not be ship'd off at *Offra*, a town on the river of *Ardra*.

FRENCH

FRENCH FACTORY.

IT will not be improper in this place, to insert the history of that settlement.

When first
as Ardra.

The directors of the *French West-India* company being resolved to settle a factory at *Ardra*, sent thither in 1669, the ships *Justice* and *Concord*, commanded by *Du Bourg*; and *Carolof* for their agent: putting aboard a handsome present for the king of *Ardra*, consisting, among other things, of a fine gilt coach, with suitable harnesses; which that king received from *Carolof*, with great satisfaction, and immediately caused a permission of commerce with the *French* nation to be proclaimed throughout all his country; they paying his duties as the *Hollanders* had done for twenty years.

Quarrel
with the
Dutch.

The *Dutch* chief factor there growing jealous at the establishment of the *French*, thwarted it as much as he could; which so incensed the *French*, that one thing happening after another, on that account, the factors of the two nations fell out about the honour of the flag, of which the *French* factor, *Marriage*, made his complaints to the king of *Ardra*; who being unwilling to displease the *Dutch*, who had drove a great trade in his dominions, and paid him very considerable customs for a long time, he behaved himself so artfully in the quarrel, that the differences between the two rival factors remained unadjusted.

Embassa-
dor from
Ardra to
France.

About the same time that prince sent over to *France*, in the ship *Concord*, *Matteo Lopez*, a *Black*, one of his ministers of state, and interpreter, as his ambassador to the king of *France*; who accordingly took shipping at *Offra*, with three of his wives, and as many of his children; a retinue of six or seven other *Blacks*, and the king of *Ardra's* presents, of a very small value; and was set ashore at *Dieppe* in *France*, on the third of *December*. Thence proceeding to *Paris*, with his retinue, he was admitted to audience by the king, at the palace of *Les Thuilleries*, and afterwards maintained all the while he staid at *Paris*, at the charge of the *French* company, with whom he concluded a treaty of commerce at *Ardra*; and was sent back to that country by the way of *Havre de Grace*, in the ship *St. George*, with considerable presents for his master from the king of *France*, which were committed to the care of *Carolof*; then returning into *Africa* in the same ship, he landed at *Ardra* on the first of *October* 1671.

Knaveish
Black.

When arrived there, *Lopez* pretended that the presents for his master ought to be put into his hands, that he might deliver them; which *Carolof* would not consent to, suspecting he would divert some part to his own private use, as it afterwards appeared the crafty *Black* had designed to do. His refusal so incensed the *Black* em-

bassador, that he employed all his interest ^{BARBOT.} in the country against the *French*, and much distracted their affairs, till at last *Carolof* was obliged to take other measures, till he could speak with the king of *Ardra*; who was then busy appeasing a civil war in his own dominions, which had stopped all the passes for carrying down the slaves to *Offra*, so that less than two hundred slaves were sent down in fifteen months; a thing so prejudicial to the *Dutch* trade, that five of their ships were sent back empty to *Mina*.

Carolof having before drove some trade at ^{French} *Great Popo*, settled there a factory of his ^{factory at} nation, by permission of the *Black* king, ^{Fida.} upon condition he should pay that prince the value of twenty eight slaves, for each ship's cargo the *French* afterwards took in there, whereas he had contracted to pay an hundred at *Offra*. Going from *Popo* to *Fida*, the king of that country gave him a very favourable reception, granting him the liberty of trading in his kingdom, with assurance, that he would always protect the *French* nation and interest: whereupon he resolved to fix the *French* factory at *Fida*, removing it from *Ardra*, and keeping the king his master's presents to be sent back to *France*.

Another reason which induced *Carolof* to ^{Reason for} settle the *French* factory at *Fida*, was be- ^{settling} cause the roads from *Savi* to *Ardra* were ^{there.} then open, by which means great numbers of slaves were brought down to *Fida*; the king of *Ardra* permitting them to pass thro' his territories, thereby to punish and curb his rebellious subjects, he making his own advantage, whilst they were deprived of the slave-trade at *Offra*.

Thus was the factory settled there for ^{Duty paid.} the *French West-India* company, and afterwards made over by the same to the *Senega* company, which at this time keeps there a chief factor and a recolet friar, as chaplain to the *French* nation, and has only one iron gun at the gates, for salutes, when occasion offers. The said *Senega* company pays to the king of *Fida*, the value of twenty five slaves for the duty of every ship that trades there, and for the liberty of wooding, watering and victualling.

The goods carried ashore from aboard ^{Charge of} the company's ships, are convey'd on the ^{carriage.} backs of slaves, from the shore to the *French* factory; the expence whereof amounts to the value of five or six slaves for a cargo, and as much for the hire of canoes, from the ship to the beach. Men there work very cheap, and will keep upon a trot, with a hundred weight on their heads; so that a *White* man can scarce keep up with them, tho' he carries no burden. Each load from the shore to the *French* or *English* factories, costs commonly from eight

BARBOT. to twelve pence, according to its bulk and weight, which is always exactly proportioned.

The king trades first. The rate in trade is generally adjusted with the king, and none permitted to buy or sell till that is proclaimed; whereby he reserves to himself the preference in all dealings, he for the most part having the greatest number of slaves, which are sold at a set price, the women a fourth or a fifth cheaper than the men. This done, and the king's customs paid, as above mentioned, the factor has full liberty to trade, which is proclaimed throughout the country by the king's cryer.

Shells the most valuable money. The most usual difference between the *European* and the *Fida* merchants, is, when the factor will not give them such goods as they demand, especially *Bougies* and *Cauries*, which are the money of the country, and what they are most fond of; but commonly this is adjusted by paying part in *Cauries*, and part in other goods: because slaves bought with *Cauries* cost double the price as if purchased with other commodities, especially when those shells are dear in *Europe*, the price being higher or lower, according to the plenty or scarcity there is of them.

Prices set. At other times the king fixes the price of every sort of *European* goods, as also of slaves, which is to stand betwixt his subjects and foreigners; and therefore no *European* must go there to trade, without waiting on him before he presumes to buy or sell.

Savi town. That prince generally resides at *Savi*, a town about four miles distant up the inland from the village of *Pilleau*, at the entrance into a wood; whither the factors and supercargoes repair upon their arrival, with a true copy of the invoice of goods they have to dispose of, out of which the king picks such as he has occasion for.

Standard of trade. The proportion of trade is commonly adjusted by the two standards of iron bars and *Cauries*, for valuing of all other commodities. For example, a slave is rated at one *Alcove* of *Bougies*, or *Cauries*; the *Alcove* consisting of fifty *Galinas*, both of them proper measures of the country, which makes about sixty pounds weight *French*, by the *Blacks* there called *Guonbotton*, and is about four thousand of those shells in number. The other rate is fifteen bars of iron. This regulation being agreed on by the king and factors, the goods are brought ashore, and carried on men's backs to the *French* house, whither the king himself repairs, or else sends his factors or agents. When he has chosen what he thinks fit, the nobility or prime persons pick out what they have occasion for, and after them every other *Black*; and then every buyer, king or subject, pays the factor the number of slaves,

according to the amount of the goods each of them has so pitched upon.

As the slaves come down to *Fida* from the ^{Purchasing} inland country, they are put into a booth, ^{of slaves.} or prison, built for that purpose, near the beach, all of them together; and when the *Europeans* are to receive them, they are brought out into a large plain, where the surgeons examine every part of every one of them, to the smallest member, men and women being all stark naked. Such as are allowed good and sound, are set on one side, and the others by themselves; which slaves so rejected are there called *Mackrons*, being above thirty five years of age, or defective in their limbs, eyes or teeth; or grown grey, or that have the venereal disease, or any other imperfection. These being so set aside, each of the others, which have passed as good, is marked on the breast, with a red-hot iron, imprinting the mark of the *French*, *English*, or *Dutch* companies, that so each nation may distinguish their own, and to prevent their being chang'd by the natives for worse, as they are apt enough to do. In this particular, care is taken that the women, as tenderest, be not burnt too hard.

The branded slaves, after this, are re-^{Delivered} turned to their former booth, where the ^{naked.} factor is to subsist them at his own charge, which amounts to about two-pence a day for each of them, with bread and water, which is all their allowance. There they continue sometimes ten or fifteen days, till the sea is still enough to send them aboard; for very often it continues too boisterous for so long a time, unless in *January*, *February* and *March*, which is commonly the calmest season: and when it is so, the slaves are carried off by parcels, in *barcanoes*, and put aboard the ships in the road. Before they enter the canoes, or come out of the booth, their former *Black* masters strip them of every rag they have, without distinction of men or women; to supply which, in orderly ships, each of them as they come aboard is allowed a piece of canvas, to wrap about their waist, which is very acceptable to those poor wretches.

I design, in the supplement, to give an account how the slaves are to be ^{Proper sea-} subsisted and kept aboard, for their better preservation; and must here add, to conclude this discourse of the slave-trade at *Fida*, that in the ^{son.} *French* months of *January*, *February* and *March*, which are the good season, ships are for the most part soon dispatched, if there be a good number of slaves at hand; so that they need not stay above four weeks for their cargo, and sometimes it is done in a fortnight.

The *Blacks* of *Fida* are so expeditious at this trade of slaves, that they can deliver ^{Many} ^{a slaves as} ^{thousand} ^{Fida.}

thousand every month, in case there be no ships at *Jackin*, in great *Ardra*, about three leagues and a half east from the port of *Fida*; which makes a considerable alteration, because the king of great *Ardra*, thro' whose country they must of necessity pass down, when the ships are at *Jackin*, to favour his own people, commonly shuts up all the passes to *Fida*, which puts the *Ardra* men upon dealing underhand with those of *Fida*, tho' the two kings are inveterate enemies: but when the king of *Ardra* leaves the commerce open, then it flourishes at *Fida*.

Credit to Blacks.

If there happens to be no stock of slaves at *Fida*, the factor must trust the Blacks with his goods, to the value of a hundred and fifty, or two hundred slaves; which goods they carry up into the inland, to buy slaves, at all the markets, for above two hundred leagues up the country, where they are kept like cattle in *Europe*; the slaves sold there being generally prisoners of war, taken from their enemies, like other booty, and perhaps some few sold by their own countrymen, in extreme want, or upon a famine; as also some as a punishment of heinous crimes: tho' many *Europeans* believe that parents sell their own children, men their wives and relations, which, if it ever happens, is so seldom, that it cannot justly be charged upon a whole nation, as a custom and common practice.

Notion of Blacks.

Some *Europeans* there would also persuade me, that the inland Blacks of *Fida* are man-eaters, and that at a town about a league above *Savi*, there is a market for slaves, where at the time of a violent famine, they sold them fatted up, to be slaughtered like beasts, and their quarters exposed in the shambles, to be eaten; but I will not answer for the truth of it: but only observe, that among the many slaves we carry thence to *America*, there are many of the *Oyee* and *Benin* Blacks, implacable enemies to those of *Ardra*, who are positively prepossessed with the opinion, that we transport them into our country, in order to kill and eat them: which strange notion so far affects some of them, that they refuse all manner of sustenance, whatsoever we can do to them; and so starve to death, of which more hereafter. This somewhat induces me to believe they are used to eat human flesh in their own country.

Ardra a large kingdom.

Some authors represent this country of *Fida*, as belonging to the king of great *Ardra*, whose territories they make to begin at the frontiers of *Benin* eastward, and extend them to great *Popo*; but it is a mistake, for the kingdoms of *Fida* and *Torry* are between *Popo* and *Ardra*; that of *Fida* bordering westward on great *Popo*, and extending along the shore to that of *Torry* eastward, being about four leagues and a

half distance. *Torry* is a little state by itself, BARBOT. having but one sea-port town or village, called *Foulan*, the circumference of the whole country being but four leagues, but independent of the kings of *Ardra* and *Fida*, tho' extremely inferior to them, both in wealth and power: for *Ardra*, tho' but of a very small extent along the coast, that is, from *Torry* to *Benin*, yet it is a very large spacious country northwards, up the continent, reaching to the kingdom of *Ulkamy* on the north, which is under ten degrees of north latitude. *Ulkamy*, according to a very modern author, borders northward on the country of *Lamtem*, which reaches the same way to the kingdom of *Guber*, and that again to the *Sigismes* lake, or the *Niger*.

Some say the kingdom of *Fida*, or *Ouidab*, Fida kingdom potent. by the *French* called *Juida*, is scarce sixteen leagues in compass; others will have its extent along the shore, to be about ten leagues, including therein the land of *Torry*; that in the middle it runs seven or eight leagues up the inland, extending thence like two arms, in some places eleven or twelve miles broad, and in others much narrower, so that it is not possible to give an exact account of its circumference. There is no question but that it is extraordinary populous, being seated between *Popo-grande*, *Ardra*, *Torry*, and the sea, inasmuch, that in one village alone, as for instance, *Savi*, the king's residence, or those others of his chief officers, and particularly the viceroy's village, there are as many inhabitants as in a whole ordinary kingdom on the *Gold Coast*; and the land is well stored with those large villages, besides a vast number of small ones, which are all over the country, some not a quarter of an *English* mile from each other; because those who live out of the great towns, build and settle where they think best: so that each family may be well said to fill a whole village, as it increases and multiplies, from a single house or tenement it was at beginning: and upon great emergencies the king can draw together, two hundred thousand fighting men, to serve him in his wars.

The traveller is no sooner got ashore Delicate country. there, but he beholds a beautiful meadow-ground, about half a league off: and moving forwards up the land, for an hour or two, betwixt the numerous villages and hamlets he is to pass by on all sides, the ground insensibly rising, as it does, and looking back, he is delighted with the finest prospect, that imagination can suggest; considering the great number of villages, consisting of several houses, which are round at the top, and encompassed with mud-walls or hedges; together with the great number of all sorts of fine lofty trees, which seem

BARBOT. designedly planted in regular order: and the country being covered with a beautiful verdure, either of pasture-ground or trees, and richly stored with corn-fields, and others of beans, potatoes and other fruits, so close to each other, that in some places there is only a narrow foot path left untilled, for the conveniency of passengers. The natives are such good husbands of their ground, that they leave no part thereof waste, but sow and plant it with one thing or other, even within the hedges which enclose their towns and villages; and the next day after they have reaped, they sow the same ground again: and this from the vast multitude of people inhabiting the country, the better to subsist it all well.

But very unhealthy.

It would be rational to conclude, from the fine sketch I have given of the great beauty, and pleasantness of this country, that it must be a sweet dwelling for Europeans; which however it is not, because from the swampy marshy grounds, extending about half a league in breadth, between the strand, and the village of *Pilleau*, and so east and west all along the shore of *Fida*, the sun extracts malignant vapours, which the sea-winds spread all over the country, occasioning many distempers in Europeans: few escape with life, or at least, being taken very ill with violent pains in the stomach, which often degenerate into burning fevers, attended with great deliriums; others, who, by reason of their strong constitution, have lived there several years, without being much incommoded by the bad air, fall into such diseases at sea in their return to *Europe*, and die miserably in their passage home, either of dreadful cholicks, or by the bloody flux. This our doctors do attribute to the crudity of the fruits, and the great freshness of the spring-water of

Fida; and especially to the drink of that country, a sort of beer called *Petaw*, which so alters the nature of the blood in them, that when they come to breathe another air, it creates those distempers in them.

Whatever the cause may be, it concerns every European that lives there to use great sobriety in every thing; to eat little at a time, but often; and drink strong liquors but very seldom, and that very moderately: to be careful not to expose himself to the mildew, nor in the rain, nor to the scorching rays of the sun; nor to give himself to the violent exercise of hunting, but to keep well covered in bed in the night, which is generally there cool and moist.

The spring-water up the inland, is very light, clear and sweet: that which is taken out of the pits, betwixt the river *Tary* and the sea-shore, serves for the ships crews, is sweet enough, considering it is so near the sea, tho' the natives will not drink it, because it is drawn out of wells, twenty or thirty fathom deep, and but six or eight foot in circumference; so that no sun can warm it, and is thereby raw, and as cold almost as ice; and that they account very unwholesome in so hot a country as this is. They pretend the using such cold water, but for a few days together, would occasion fevers; and thence it is, that all the people there, the slaves not excepted, drink only beer; of which more hereafter.

Our sailors commonly hale the water-casks to and fro with ropes, tying three or more together, and so tow them thro' the surf, which is very hard and perilous work, but it cannot be done otherwise.

The natives fetch the wood, or fuel for our ships from the inland forests, and sell it to us, being commonly the stumps and roots of osier, and other shrubs or bushes.

C H A P. II.

Product of the earth at Fida. Cattle. Tame-fowl. Wild-beasts. Wild-fowl. Account of the natives; their courteous behaviour; their employments; their ill qualities; their habit. Wives and children. Course of inheritance. The king; his family and government. His revenue. His wives. The king's death. People of Fida no good soldiers. Their weapons. Contracts. Funerals. Shells used for money. Slaves. Keeping of accounts. Division of time.

Fertility.

THE fertility of *Fida* far exceeds all I have said of the countries along the *Gold Coast*, both in producing plants of all sorts, and in feeding all sorts of cattle, and wild beasts; as will appear by the following description.

PRODUCT of the EARTH.

THE corn is there of three sorts; the first is the large maiz, or *Indian wheat*, which, tho' not altogether so large a grain as at the *Gold Coast*, is nevertheless as good, and serves the natives for brewing of two sorts

forts of beer; and therefore, they do not sow so great a quantity, because they do not make bread of it.

Millet.

The second sort of corn, is the small milho, or millet, which they sow twice a year, but at one time more than at another: at the time when they sow the most, the whole land is so full of it, that scarce a foot-path is kept untill'd, as I have observed before, which yields them a prodigious crop; and nevertheless it often happens, that at the end of the year, they have none left: nay, some years it has fallen so short, partly by their selling great quantities to the neighbouring nations, great *Popo*, and others, as I have hinted before, that it has occasioned violent famines in *Fida*, so as to oblige a free *Black* to sell himself into bondage to avoid starving; and others, to set their own slaves at liberty for ever, not being able to maintain them; as has been mentioned in the foregoing description of *Cabo Verde* and *Ruffco*, to have often happen'd there. At such times *European* ships can get their complete cargo of slaves for a very small matter; nay, even for nothing but the trouble of carrying them on board, and subsisting them; as it happened to some not long since.

No ovens at Fida.

This small millet is the corn, of which the *Fidians* make bread, boiling it in water, as the *Gold Coast* men do their *Indian* wheat, and never bake it in ovens: for which reason not one oven is to be seen in all the kingdom of *Fida*.

Grain for brewing.

The third sort of grain, is a small millet also, which does not grow on stalks, like the second sort, but in the nature of oat-ears: this millet is of a reddish colour, but so long a coming to maturity, that it is above six or seven months in the ground, and serves the *Blacks* only to mix with the large *Indian* wheat to brew with; they being of opinion, that it adds strength to the beer.

Potatoes.

Besides their common boiled bread made of the small millet, they also use potatoes, which are there so prodigious plentiful, that it may well be said, the whole coast of *Guinea* doth not produce such a quantity, as this small country. They eat the potatoes with all sorts of victuals, instead of bread.

Yams.

Yams are but very indifferent there, and come nothing near the goodness of what we have of this root at the *Gold Coast*; and the *Fidians* do not admire nor use them much.

Beans.

Small beans, of fundry sorts, are very plentiful, which they call *Acraes*. Of one sort whereof, the *Europeans* there make oil-cakes, as light as any in *Holland*; where that sort of cakes is very much esteemed by the common people.

Other plants.

As to *Bananas*, *Backoven*, or *Indian* figs, oranges, lemons, citrons, pepper, and all the

V O L. V.

other fruits of the earth, which the *Gold Coast* ^{BARBOT.} produces, these grow there also, and as good, if not better. But onions and ginger, and especially the former, are not very plentiful; which perhaps may proceed from the little value the natives put on them: for it has been experienced, that many of our *European* seeds of cabbage, turnips, carrots, radishes, *Spanish*-radish, parfly, sorrel, &c. thrive very well; and it is therefore suppos'd, that our salletting would succeed as well, if carefully cultivated, the soil being so good as it is.

It produces abundance of tamarind, or *Tamarinds* and indigo. indigo-trees, and some other fruit-trees unknown to us; and the fruit so very indifferent in the taste, that it is not worth while to say more of it.

The indigo, besides its great plenty, is at least as good and as fine, as that of *Guatemala*, or any other we find in the *East* and *West-Indies*, if not better. The natives dye all their clothes therewith; but waste three times as much of it as they would do, if they were better skill'd in the dying-trade.

There is great plenty of palm-trees throughout the whole country; but the natives not being fond of palm-wine, or at best but few of them drinking it, very little is extracted from them; but they are serviceable to the people of *Fida*, to draw oil from them. As for the pardon palm-tree, which is also very common there, tho' the wine of it is so much valued at the *Gold Coast*, as has been before hinted, these people being generally used to drink beer, value them only for their wood; which being durable, they use it for buildings, &c.

In short, considering the fertility and natural property of the soil of *Fida*, it may well be supposed, that not only all sorts of *African*, but also many *European* fruits, might be there produced to satisfaction.

C A T T L E.

THE cattle at *Fida*, as oxen, cows, goats, swine and sheep, are not different in shape from those of the *Gold Coast*, but infinitely better, more fleshy, and of a more relishing taste; their pasture-grounds and meadows affording as good a nourishment as in *Europe*.

The common price of an ox or cow, is ^{Prices of} from eight to ten crowns, a fat sheep two, ^{cattle.} a good goat one, and a hog two crowns.

Horses are pretty common, but not much ^{Horses.} better or finer than those mentioned at the *Gold Coast*, and generally sold for fifteen or sixteen crowns; being of very little service in a long journey, and soon tired.

T A M E F O W L.

AS to the tame fowls, they have only turkeys, ducks and chickens: of the

P p p p two

BARBOT two first no great quantity, but a prodigious number of the latter. The chickens are small, and yet very plump, fleshy and sweet, at about six-pence a piece, if bought for goods, which is three-pence prime cost; but if bought for tobacco-pipes, we have there a good pullet for three pipes of *European* make; and it is proper for any *European* sea-faring person who goes that way, to carry a good quantity of our common pipes, which will sell there from four to two-pence a-piece.

Value of tobacco-pipes.

WILD BEASTS,

ARE not very numerous there; but farther up the country there are multitudes of elephants, buffaloes, tygers, and many others: as also deer of several sorts, where-with *Fida* is not very well stock'd, because of the incredible number of people living so close together.

There is a sort of creature much resembling a hare.

WILD FOWL.

BUT tho' four-footed animals are not so very plentiful in *Fida*, we may say the whole land swarms with wild fowl, geese, ducks, snipes, and many other species of eatable birds, all very good and cheap.

It is sufficient there over night, to order a native to go a shooting, to have the next day at noon a couple of dishes of fowl, which will not cost above a dozen pipes.

Turtle-doves.

Turtle-doves are so plentiful there, that a good shooter may kill an hundred or more in a morning and evening; that is, in about six hours time.

Birds of prey are likewise numerous, but not in such great variety as on the *Gold Coast*; and to mention their several sorts, would be repeating what has been said elsewhere.

Crown-birds.

I must add of the crown-bird, farther than what has been said of it at the *Gold Coast*, that the body is about the bigness of a pullet, the neck and legs short, the eyes and eye-lids hairy, the bill short and thick, which as well as the legs is very strong, and proper for seizing of its prey.

FISH.

THE sea, about the coast of *Fida*, being so full of sharks, as I have observ'd, affords no great plenty of good fish; and tho' it did, the natives would be very little the better for it, there is such extraordinary danger from the dreadful surf, which runs all along the shore.

But the two fine large rivers, which run thro' the country of *Fida*, (the one passing to the two *Popo's*, little and great, at westward, the other by *Jackin*, to the east) are so richly stored with fish, that besides the great conveniences the natives receive, of being so plentifully provided, the king's duties arising from it, amount yearly to the value of near two hundred slaves.

NATIVES of FIDA.

THE people of *Fida* of both sexes, are generally tall, lusty and well limb'd; not so jet shining black as those of the *Gold Coast*, and much less than those of *Senega* and *Gamboa*; but far more industrious and laborious, even to excess and covetousness; exceeding them all, and others of the *Guineans*, in good and bad qualities.

In good qualities, besides their steady application to work and industry, whereas the *Gold-Coast Blacks* indulge themselves in sloth; they are all, from the highest to the lowest, extremely courteous, civil and officious to all *Europeans*, being very engaging in their behaviour, and different from all other *Blacks*, who perpetually teize us for *Daffys*, or presents; whereas these, on the contrary, require nothing beyond a morning's draught, being of that noble temper, that they had rather give than receive. In the trade we have with them, they are well pleased we should acknowledge the good offices they have done us, tho', on the other hand, they are very fond of their ancient customs.

In civility to each other, in some particulars, they almost equal the *Chinese*, who are so full of manners and formalities, to a nicety, even in trivial matters. The inferior there is so respectful towards his superior, that we are at first surpris'd to find such politeness, on a sudden, among those people, who are so little distant from the *Gold Coast*, where the people are so very defective in that point.

COURTEOUS BEHAVIOUR.

IF any one of the *Fidasians* visits his superior, or meets him by chance, he immediately kneels down, and kisses the ground three several times, claps his hands, wishes him a good day, or a good night, and congratulates him; which the other, either sitting or standing, or whatever posture he is found in, barely answers, with clapping his hands softly, and wishing the other a good day; and when extraordinary civil, will say, it is enough: and during all that, the former remains kneeling, or prostrate on the ground, till the other departs, unless some affair call him away; if so, he begs leave, and retires creeping on the ground; for it would be thought a great crime to sit upon a chair or form, in presence of one above himself.

Children pay the same respect to their parents, wives to their husbands, and younger to elder brothers, and none of them will deliver or receive any thing to or from his or her superior, otherwise than on their knees, and with both hands together, which is a sign of the greatest subjection. And if they speak to any superior as above said,

Industrious and courteous Blacks.

Extraordinary respect to superiors.

said, their hand is always held before their mouth, for fear their breath should offend him or her. Among the *Hebrews*, the fathers had the permission, by the law, to sell their daughters, *Exod. xxi. 7.* but that sale was a sort of marriage; as it was for a time with the *Romans*. They had power of life and death over their children; it is true they were not allowed to use this prerogative so rigorously of their own authority, as the *Romans* did, without the concurrence of the magistrate. The law of God only permitted parents, after they had tried all their private domestick corrections, to accuse their son before the senate of the town, as rebellious and debauched; and on their complaints, he was sentenced to death, and ston'd. That same law was practis'd in *Athens*, and founded on this, that children holding their lives from their fathers, and it being supposed that no father could be so inhuman as to procure his own son's death, unless he were guilty of most horrid crimes, children were kept in entire submission, and consequently paid all due honours and reverence to their parents.

Courtesy
between
equals.

When persons of an equal condition meet, they both fall down on their knees together, clap hands, and reciprocally salute, wishing each other a good day; which ceremonies are also exactly observed by their attendants or companions on either side, and are very pleasant to observe.

Prayer for
sneezing.

When a considerable person sneezes, all that are present fall down on their knees; and after having kissed the ground, and clapped their hands, wish him or her all prosperity and happiness.

Receiving
of presents.

If an inferior person receives a present from one above himself, he claps it between his hands, and after kissing the ground, returns thanks very respectfully. In short, no people in the universe are more precise and nice in paying reverence and honour to superiors, than this nation; in which they vastly differ from the *Gold Coast Blacks*, who hardly know of any rank or distinction amongst themselves; and live like beasts in that particular.

As to their king I shall hereafter observe what great honour and submission they all pay him, even to adoration: his presence is to them so awful, that with a single word he makes them tremble; tho' on the other hand, as soon as he has turned his back, they seem to forget their great fear of him; and not much regard his commands, as very well knowing how to appease and delude him by their lies.

Their EMPLOYMENT.

Tillage.

THE king, and a few of the great men of *Fida*, do not till or sow the ground, as other *Guinean* kings do, in some parts;

but excepting those few persons, every body there minds agriculture, being assisted by their wives, children and slaves, spinning of cotton, weaving of fine cloths, making of calabashes, wooden vessels, smith's-wares, javelins, and several other handicrafts; which these *Blacks* have brought to a greater perfection than at the *Gold Coast*: besides which, they have some trade unknown to the others, being more ingenious and laborious than they. The substantial men, besides husbandry, drive a considerable trade, as well in slaves, as all other valuable merchandize.

BARBOT


They till their ground by hand, and lay it in high furrows for sowing their corn, as we do in many parts of *England*.

The female sex are no less industrious in their proper callings; for besides assisting their husbands, or parents in tillage, they are perpetually busy, at one thing or other, at home. The married women brew beer, dress victuals, and make sundry sorts of hampers, baskets, and other like utensils, with the straw of *Indian* wheat, which they carry to market to sell, together with their husbands merchandize. In short, men and women are very diligent at getting of money; each striving to out-do the other; which is the reason they all live so plentifully; nay even splendidly, for such Barbarians. As well the meaner, as the higher sort of people eat of the best each can get for his money; and if that happens to fail them, they will work hard at any thing whatever, even for small wages, as has been hinted before, rather than lose the opportunity of getting money, to spend it again that way: for generally they all love their belly, and will not work with an empty one; whereas the *Gold Coast Blacks* grudge to bestow a small matter for eatables; if they think any thing too dear, they'll have none, and are well pleased to be without a good morsel.

Blacks live
well.

Their ILL QUALITIES.

AS to their bad qualities, they are as cowardly in battle, as the other *Blacks* of *Guinea*, but far more luxurious; those of the *Gold Coast* contenting themselves with one, two, three or four, and the considerable persons with twenty wives: but there an ordinary man has thirty or forty; the great ones sixty or seventy; and the chief officers and commanders, some one, some two, some three or four hundred; and if we may believe them, some a thousand; and the king more in proportion of his dignity, because they think it a great honour to have a vast number of wives to show themselves great and creditable.

They are all, except the king, and three or four of the most considerable men, the greatest and most cunning thieves, that can

be

BARBOT be imagined, without exception; therein far exceeding our *European* pick-pockets. No ship of any nation whatsoever can come thither without being robbed of goods, to a considerable value; for the *Europeans* being obliged to make use of *Blacks* to carry their goods from the beach, to the village *Savi*, as I have said before; and from that village to the shore again, tho' they be never so close watched and attended all the way, which is three good leagues, those villains will find an opportunity to act their part; and if they happen to be taken in the fact, they are so bold as to tell us, we cannot think they would work so hard as they do for such small salaries, as we commonly allow them, if they had not the liberty of pilfering our goods.

Instances of their dexterity. For an instance of their great dexterity herein, tho' some factors have their *Boejies*, in small barrels, sewed up in sacks, the *Blacks*, as they carry them along the way, cut the sacks, and dig out the *Boejies*, at the chinks of the barrel, with an iron chissel.

Other factors had their warehouses rifled of what goods and provisions they kept in them, and yet the said warehouses were found, after the robbery, well secured with locks, and very firm and close. In short, they are acquainted with many several ways of robbing and stealing: the most common is, to make a hole in the roof of warehouses, which, as all other habitations here, are covered with reed, and clay or mud, to prevent firing; and thro' that hole, by means of a pole, with an iron hook at the end of it, they draw out the goods.

Thieves protected. Hence it is that the *European* factors are always suspicious of them, and as much upon the watch as they can possible; for tho' they may complain to the king, and he gives order to search after the thieves, to punish them, few or no persons dare inform, for fear of some of the principal men of the court, who commonly share with, and are ready to protect the rogues.

The king averse to them. The king, who is a very free, open, plain man, and a great promoter of trade in his dominions, knowing so well as he does, that his people are generally tainted with this vice of stealing, has, on some occasions, expressed his dislike of it; but as he cannot remedy it, unless he punishes the whole nation, he is not wanting to warn our factors of it; telling them, that *his subjects are not like those of Ardra, and other circumjacent countries, who upon the least umbrage received from the Europeans, would poison them. But I advise you, says he, to take particular care of your goods, for these people seem to be born expert thieves; and will rob you of every thing they can come at.*

Gamesters. As a farther instance of their bad qualities, I shall add, they are very great gamesters, and

readily play away all they are masters of; and when all is lost, some will very brutishly first stake wife and children, and after that their land, and their own selves for slaves.

H A B I T.

THE men are generally much better *Of men.* clothed, than those of the *Gold Coast*. They wear five or six cloths, all of different sorts, one above the other; the uppermost of which is about eight or nine yards long, decently wrapt about their body, but no person is allowed to wear red, it being the peculiar colour of the king's family exclusive to all others-

The women also wear many cloths, one *Of women.* over another, each of them being about an ell long, and they buckle the two ends on their bellies, covering the posteriors very close; but are set in so loose a manner before, that if the wind blows a little fresh, what modesty requires to cover, is often exposed to view. They say this fashion of dress is the women's invention, for their own convenience; it is as easy to guess what they mean by it, as unbecoming to express.

Those cloths, besides what they make *No gold or silver worn.* themselves, which are very fine, are commonly *Indian* chints, white sarcenet, and brocadel, sold them by the *Europeans*. But gold and silver being metals, they are not acquainted with, as well as their value, they never wear any ornaments made of them, and consequently are only very fine and neat in their dresses, both men and women, but not so rich as the best sort of the *Gold Coast* people, who, as has been observed, are all over adorned with idols, rings, and other gold trinkets.

Persons of all ages and sexes there, go always with their heads close shaved, which at first view, and before we are used to it, looks very odd; and so they go in the rain, the wind, the scorching sun, or any other weather, without ever covering their heads. The men of what age soever, have always their beards close shaved also, which makes them all look much younger than they really are: and as to their being so naked headed, it is certain that use makes them very hardy.

WIVES and CHILDREN.

EVERY man may marry as many wives *Numerous families.* as he is able to maintain, and some have married their own daughters. Thus some *Blacks* have a multitude of children, they being commonly stout lusty men, and the women not barren; and all eating and drinking very well.

Some men have above two hundred children, and do not account it a large family to have sixty or seventy alive; nay, it has been

been known there, that one of the king's viceroys, assisted by his sons and grandsons, with their slaves, has repulsed a powerful enemy, which came against him, and made all together an army of two thousand fighting men; not reckoning daughters, or any that were dead. Notwithstanding the men there have the use of many women, their luxury is so very extreme, that they have a vast number of publick harlots, licensed to prostitute themselves to every body at a very cheap rate. Those women keep all the day each in a hut, set up for their trade at distances, all about the country, just by the roads, for the accommodation or conveniency of passengers of what sort soever.

The like practice was tolerated in *Peru*, by the *Incas* kings, to obviate greater evils, as they pleaded. Those *Peruvian* whores lived separately in the country, in sorry little huts, being vulgarly called there *Pampauruna*, a name which design'd their abode and way of living: but such women were totally excluded the company and conversation of honest women, and never permitted to enter into any town.

Menstruous women are esteemed so unclean, that they are not admitted at *Fida*, into the king's, or other great persons houses, on pain of death, or at least perpetual slavery.

They circumcise their children, as the *Mahometans* do, but cannot tell us, whence they have that custom; all their answer is, they received it from their ancestors, by tradition; but do not know the import nor signification of it. Some girls are also circumcised, as I have observed it to be practised in north *Guinea*.

Those *Blacks* differ very much as to the time of circumcising children; some doing it at four, five, or six, and others at eight, or ten years of age.

To return to the women; they are there, as in all other parts of *Guinea*, entrusted with the care of preparing and dressing provisions for their family, and brewing. The wives of great persons commonly wait on their husbands at table, and serve them on the knee, as is practised in *England*, by the officers to the king.

I shall have occasion, in the description of *Ardra*, to observe the way of brewing the beer of *Indian* wheat, of baking bread, and dressing provisions, to which I refer; it being done in the same manner by the *Fida* women, and their houses are the same.

The great men and prime officers, seldom dine without a guard of musketeers at the door of their houses, who fire their muskets from time to time, to honour their masters, who generally love the noise of fire-arms.

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They have several sorts of musical instruments, and the noise of them is much more supportable than those of the *Gold Coast*. Upon occasion of mourning, they do not trouble themselves with a dismal musick as the others do.

BEHAVIOUR in SICKNESS.

IN sickness they are yet more superstitious than the other *Blacks*, making numerous offerings to their idols, several days successively, for the recovery of their health, and no less fearful of death; which makes them very diligent, in the use of proper medicines to cure them, if possible.

As to their offerings, on occasion of sickness, they do not make them in their own houses, as most of the *Blacks* at the *Gold Coast* practise it; for there, every person reserves a place, in the open air, consecrated and enclosed with reeds, and other materials, for making his sacrifices and oblations on this account.

Contrary to the humour of the *Gold-Coast Blacks*, those of *Fida* are so extraordinary jealous of their wives, that on a bare suspicion, they'll sell them to the *Whites*; and in case any person debauches a rich or considerable man's wife, the offender is not only punished with death, but sometimes his whole family is sold into captivity; and no wealthy man there, will suffer any other to enter his wives houses; but particularly the king is very severe in this regard, as I shall mention hereafter; whereas many *Blacks* at the *Gold Coast* drive an open trade with their wives bodies.

Course of INHERITANCE.

IN *Fida* the eldest son (from the king to the lowest rank) inherits, not only all his father's goods and chattels, but his wives, which he uses as his own, excepting his own mother, whom he lodges apart, and allows her a sufficient maintenance all her life-time, in case she is not in a capacity of subsisting by her self.

The KING, his FAMILY and GOVERNMENT.

THAT prince may now be about thirty eight years of age, being a well-set, vigorous, sprightly and agreeable man, and has a large share of good sense; is of a most generous temper, and subtle genius, always attentive to promote the trade of the nation with us *Europeans*; and at all times receives the chief factors and captains of our ships, with much civility, and after a very engaging manner: for besides the entertainment given to them, he commonly, on such days, the better to express his satisfaction, bestows such bounties on his own people,

Q q q q that,

Circumcision.

Wives serve their husbands kneeling.

BARBOT. Musick.

Fear of death.

Places for sacrifice.

His generosity.

BARBOT. that, if we must credit the *Blacks*, some *European* visits cost him the value of an hundred, or a hundred and fifty slaves; and he daily presents the *Europeans* with sheep, hogs, fowl, oxen, bread, beer, fruit, or what the season affords.

Gratitude. The great regard he expresses for the *French* and *Dutch* factors, especially, proceeds from a sense of gratitude and acknowledgement of the eminent service, the *French*, *Dutch* and *Portuguese* formerly did him, in being so very instrumental to fix him, by their forces, on the throne, to the prejudice of his elder brother, who was not liked by these *Europeans*; he, tho' the youngest son, being more acceptable to them, because of his good-nature, and inclination to favour trade: which instance of gratitude in a Barbarian, is worth observing, for he is never better pleased than when we ask a favour of him.

Habit, &c. He is generally habited after the *Moorish* fashion, in a long violet silk gown, and sometimes of gold or silver damask; but is for the most part better dressed than ordinary, when he goes to visit any of the *Europeans*, which he can do unseen of any, their lodges being built round his palace; with whom he can converse, as speaking broken *Portuguese*, or *Lingua-Franca*.

The *Blacks* value him much on account of his being very religious in their way of worship; and that his palace is all over abundantly furnished with idols: they esteem him also, because he is vastly rich, tho' his retinue is but mean, having very little attendance, besides about three or four hundred wives, he has already, as young as he is; and sometimes by a few soldiers.

Palace. His palace is very ordinary, tho' spacious, as being only a heap of little clay houses, or huts, enclosed, without any order or beauty; but for distinction, has four iron guns mounted at the gate, with a guard of soldiers doing duty there.

No person is to know the king's lodging, so that if an *European* asks where the king lay at night, he is answered with this question, *Where does God lodge?* which signifies, *Is it possible for us to know the king's bed-chamber?* Whether this policy is to gain respect among the people, or to conceal the king's person from any attempt, is more than I can decide.

The king's good temper. In this palace is a large room, where he gives audience to foreigners; or is informed by his officers of what happens in the nation, to give his orders accordingly; or if no business occurs, he spends part of the day at one sort of game or other, being a wonderful gamester, as are all his subjects. He never plays for money, but for cattle, and punctually pays the ox, cow, hog or sheep he loses; and if he wins, does not desire, either subject or *European* to pay him. When

he does not sit there, either about business, play or discoursing, he keeps at home amongst his wives, indulging himself in such diversions as they are, one after another, very studious to afford him: and being of a very pleasant humour, and good company, there is some sort of satisfaction in spending time with him; for he will continually entertain us, if he do not play, with the best he has to eat and drink.

That prince, when in the audience-room, *Audience.* usually sits on an oval stool, as is customary in that country; the stool being on a broad foot bench covered with a cloth; the other foot bench, which is there covered with mats, serves our *European* factors to sit by, and converse with him, always bare-headed, as knowing, that he is better pleased they shou'd be so, than cover'd: nor are they to enter that room with their swords on; for he does not like that any should appear armed in his presence.

He eats by himself, and no person, either man or woman, except his wives, is allow'd to see him at that time; but the great officers of his court, often eat in his presence, which when we do, he is very well pleas'd, and the table is pretty well furnished, and in some good order. All his officers, and other *Blacks* of note who are present, lie prostrate on the ground, all the time he is present, without daring to rise; and when we rise from table, those great men and officers are served with what is left, and eat it very greedily, good or bad, tho' they have perhaps much better of their own at home; but this, in all likelihood, is done out of respect, that they may not seem to despise the king's provisions.

This king uses twice a year, to go a progress through the country, which he commonly does with some sort of state; being, besides his retinue, attended by all his wives, dressed the best they are able, being very richly adorned, each with abundance of coral, which is there much more valuable than gold: and it is only at such times, that we can have the sight of his beautiful women, who otherwise are always very close shut up, and guarded from the eyes of men. In this progress not one man accompanies him, but he orders his officers and great men, to wait on him at the place he designs to go to divert himself; and they must there also keep at a good distance from his wives, and see them only as they pass by.

As to government, the king is absolute in it, and assisted therein by some of the most noted men of the nation, who are of his council, and of three sorts: First, the *Fidalgos*, as they are there call'd, which is a *Portuguese* word, signifying men of quality, and they are governors of provinces or districts.

Then

Then the great captains; and lastly, the common captains.

Governors. The *Fidalgos*, or governors, command as arbitrarily as the king himself, in their several provinces, and keep as great state there.

Deputy governors. The great captains are deputies to the former, in their several districts, and live great.

Common captains. The common captains are much more numerous than all the others, and each of these has a peculiar character. He who is appointed inspector of markets, is called, captain of the market: he who is superior of the slaves, captain of the slaves, and so forth; another is captain of the prison; another of the beach; every affair that can be thought of, having a proper captain, or overseer, appointed by the government.

There is besides a great number of other honorary captains, without any function.

REVENUES of the CROWN.

Offices sold. ALL the above-mentioned offices are sold, every man paying a greater or less sum to the prince, according to his post; which makes one branch of the royal revenue.

The revenue accrues in a great measure out of the tolls; there being nothing so little, but what pays a toll to the king, which every year amounts to a very great sum.

Duties on slaves. Besides which, there is a crown, or five shillings a head duty for every slave that is sold for goods; but the collectors of it, cheat their prince considerably, by agreeing underhand with those who sell these slaves, so that a small matter comes into the treasury, only for such as are sold for *Boejies*: this being the money of the land, it is always paid in the king's presence, and out of that, he takes three crowns for every slave; and yet, some are so sly, as to fetch the *Boejies* from us in the nighttime, or at some other unseasonable hours, to cheat the prince of his customs.

Each ship which trades to *Fida*, and there are forty or fifty every year, more or less, as it happens, either by his duties, or his own trade, may be computed to be worth to him near eighteen hundred crowns.

Add to this, the tolls out of the river-fish, mentioned heretofore, and the heavy fines and mulcts in criminal cases; as also the sums accruing to him by the sale of places, and offices of trust, as has been said above: and this prince would have a vast income, and be very potent for a *Black*, but that each collector in his province, and he has above a thousand all over the country, cheats him of what he can; so that he scarce receives one half, or perhaps a third of it.

Those incomes serve to defray the expences of his household, and the many rich offerings he is obliged to make to the snake-house and idols; and to keep an army constantly in pay, for carrying on his war with great *Popo*, and *Offra*, which he seems resolved to subdue: besides which, he also maintains a great number of his subjects in meat and drink, and gives very largely to his people upon extraordinary occasions, as I have hinted before; and even to the *European* factors, whose tables he most days furnishes with eatables and liquors, all sorts in so plentiful a manner, that it is often more than they have occasion for; besides that he causes houses or lodges to be built near his town for their accommodation; some of which are very large, containing several ware-houses and many chambers, besides a beautiful court within, adorned on each side with a cover'd gallery.

BARBOT.
The king's expences.

The KING'S WIVES.

TO return to the king's private concerns at home: Whosoever happens, either premeditatedly or accidentally, but to touch one of the king's wives, incurs death or slavery; therefore all such, as have any business about the king's palace, call out aloud, to inform those wives, that there is a man near: and to the end, that no man may enter the walls thereof, the king is always served by his wives, unless to repair it, or do what these women cannot. And in such cases, the workmen continually call out that the women may, during that time, keep close within; and if it happens otherwise, it may not be imputed as a crime to them.

His wives not to be touch'd.

Those women go into the fields to work, as hundreds do every day; and as soon as they spy a man, they cry out, *Stand clear!* whereupon, that person falls immediately on his knees, or flat on the ground, waiting till they pass by, without daring to look at them.

This prince is so very jealous of his authority over his wives, that on the least disgust, he is ready to sell them for slaves, and sometimes fifteen or more together; which makes the women there to prefer a speedy death, before the miserable condition of a king's wife: as there have been instances of some, who being pursued to that end, have drowned themselves in wells. For when any one is brought in to the king, that has pleased him, he will perhaps enjoy her company twice or thrice; after which favour, she is confined for ever in his seraglio, as it were in perpetual widowhood: as *David's* ten concubines were shut up in a separate place by his direction, because *Abalom*, his son, had violated them, during his flight from *Jerusalem*. (*Joseph*, l. 7. c. 10.)

The

BARBOT.

The captains of this seraglio frequently supply it with fresh ladies, as they find beautiful virgins; which they chuse and pick amongst their country people, and no person whatever of their relations dare oppose them.

Awe of subjects.

The king is feared and revered by all his subjects, even to adoration, no person of what rank soever, appearing before him, otherwise than kneeling or prostrate on his belly. Those who are to wait on him in the morning, prostrate themselves before the door of his apartment, kiss the ground three times successively, and clapping their hands, whisper some words, as tending to adoration; after which, they crawl in on all four, where they repeat the same ceremonies.

King's children.

The king's children are always kept within doors, till they are of a competent age to wander among the people.

Death not to be mentioned.

I have already hinted, how fearful the Blacks in general are of death; insomuch, that the meanest of them are very unwilling to hear it mentioned, as if that alone would hasten their end. It is therefore looked upon as a great crime, to speak of death in the king's presence, or of any of the principals of the nation; and when any *European* happens to do it to the king, thro' inadvertency, every body that hears it is amazed; none of his own subjects daring to say he is a mortal man: but the king himself never takes it ill of an *European* to be told so; and will even smile at the simplicity of his people, and laugh heartily when we speak of death to his officers.

THE KING'S DEATH.

Publick stealing.

AS soon as the king's death is publickly known, they all fall a stealing from one another, all things they can lay their hands on, tho' of never so great value, openly and in the sight of all people with impunity; and so continue to do till a new king is fixed on the throne, or at least till the officers of the crown, to check that strange practice, cause it to be published, that they have inaugurated a new king; tho' sometimes it is not yet done: for then the robbers, if they continue pilfering and stealing, are liable to punishment.

The son takes his father's wives.

For this reason, they are very expeditious in enthroning and electing a king: and if the deceased has left any male issue behind him, the eldest son commonly, with the assistance of his creatures, immediately after his father's death, takes all his wives into his custody, and enjoys them as his own; as the most effectual way, to assure the crown and government to himself: for when he has so done, few or none of the people will consent he should be forced to quit the royal dignity, in case there arose any party or cabal amongst the chief people, to put another person into his place; as it

happened to this present king, who was placed in the royalty, by the joint forces and interest of the *French*, *Portuguese*, and *Hollanders*, to the exclusion of his elder brother, who was not approved of by them, nor by some of the great men of the nation, perhaps gained by bribes, as I have before hinted: and on such occasions, the younger brother's party keeps all his friends at hand, to favour his election, in the room of the eldest. This practice of the *Fidafians*, aspiring to the royal dignity, to take possession of the precedent king's wives, as is above related, much resembles what was done by *Abfalom*, when he revolted against his father *David*; and by the counsel of *Achitophel*, openly abused his father's concubines: to the end no body should be ignorant of that action, which was a testimony, that he had taken possession of the royal dignity, and of the kingdom.

PEOPLE of FIDA not good SOLDIERS.

I HAVE before observed how populous the *Cowards.* country of *Fida* is, and how in some emergent necessity the king can bring two hundred thousand men into the field; but they are so weak and heartless, and so fearful of death, that ten thousand *Gold-Coast Blacks*, or fewer, drive and repulse that great number of *Fidafians*, who are naturally more inclined to trade and husbandry, than to war; for which reason they have no experienced officers or generals, to head them: and therefore it frequently happens, that when forced to take the field against an enemy, their army is commanded by some mean person; the chief men of the nation very often chusing rather to stay at home, than to lead them to fight; and consequently the inferior officers will scarce obey that commander which renders their wars generally unsuccessful, or very tedious. For that mean general, tho' he had courage enough to accept of the post, to gratify his vanity, is as great a coward, in an engagement, as the soldiers themselves; and ready, upon the first onset, to give way and run home as fast as he can, leaving his men to shift for themselves; and they never fail to follow his example.

However, to give those people their due, it has been observed, on some occasions, that they would stand their ground pretty well, especially in a defensive war, to prevent or stop an invasion in their country, when they were lead by some courageous and skilful general of high birth and dignity.

WEAPONS.

THE soldiery there, as well as at *Ardra*, *Clubs.* are armed, some few with muskets, and many others with bows and arrows, hangers, javelins, and wooden clubs, about three foot long, five or six inches thick, very round and

and even, except a knot at the end ; the breadth of a hand, and three fingers thick. Every man is always provided with five or six such clubs, as being the principal weapons they depend most on ; and so dexterous in throwing of them, that they can, at several paces distance, hit an enemy, and break his limbs with them, as being made of a very ponderous wood. The *Gold-Coast Blacks* are as much afraid of that sort of weapon, as of a musket-ball.

The hangers are fine and well made, and the javelins very beautiful and strong. When a house happens to be on fire, they set up a cry, by which they, in a small time, raise the whole country, the people flocking to the place, armed with clubs, swords, javelins, and other weapons.

Thus far concerning the *Fidasian* soldiery, and kingly office and prerogatives : I shall now speak of the administration of justice, which will appear as irregular and partial as their maxims of government.

ADMINISTRATION of JUSTICE.

THE king and his counsellors usually decide the suits of greatest importance, and governors of towns or districts the lesser causes.

Few crimes are there punished with death besides murder, and adultery with the king's or great mens wives : and the people in general being so fearful of death, as has been represented, every man is very studious not to incur that penalty ; tho' it now and then does happen, that some, thro' passion and inconsiderateness, commit one or other of those two capital crimes. The king then lays the case before his council, requiring each person that belongs to it, to consider what punishment such or such a fact deserves.

Only murder and adultery capital.

Punishment for murder.

In case of murder, the criminal being sentenced to be put to death, is accordingly executed after this manner. The executioner first cuts him open alive, takes out his entrails, and burns them before his face : this done, he fills up the body with salt, and fixes it to a stake in the middle of the market-place of the town, where it is left in that condition.

For adultery.

In case of adultery with any of the king's wives, both the man and woman, being convicted of the fact, and sentence passed on them, they are executed thus: Being brought to the place of execution, which is in an open field, the man is set as a mark for several great men, by way of diversion, to show their skill in darting javelins at him, by which the miserable wretch is cruelly tormented. Then, in the presence of the adulterous woman, he is bereft of his privy parts, and obliged to cast them himself into the fire, which is ready lighted at such executions. This done, both criminals are

put into a deep pit, being first bound hand and foot ; after which, the executioner sets a large pot of boiling water on the fire ; out of which, by degrees, he lades some on them, till the pot is half empty, and then pours the remainder on them all at once ; and finally, he fills the pit with earth, and thus buries them alive.

Others are sentenced to be burnt for the same crime of adultery, and thus executed, by the king's own wives, who are sometimes employed by him to execute his sentences pronounced against offenders ; every one of those women being very forward to bring wood to burn the criminals, tho' it may happen that the man so burnt, with one of those wives, has long enjoyed the company of several of those very women, getting into their houses in the habit of a woman, and so continuing there a considerable time : which some men, tho' upon the point of dying a cruel death, have publicly declared, without accusing any of their accomplices.

Thus in these two particular cases of murder, and adultery with the royal wives, or those of great persons, the king of *Fida* and his council are exact observers of justice, according to the laws of the land, as being themselves therein personally affronted or injured ; but in other less criminal causes, they commit abundance of irregularities, compounding by a pecuniary mulct, which commonly accrues to the king and them, but especially to one of his favourites, called captain *Carter*, and the king's soul, because that prince will not do any thing, tho' but of little moment, without his advice. That *Carter* is also called captain *Blanc*, or the captain who is entrusted by the king, with all affairs relating to the *Europeans*.

In some cases, when sentence is pronounced against an offender, the king sends two or three hundred of his wives to the malefactor's house, who strip, and lay it level with the ground, which no person dares oppose ; all being forbid, on pain of death, so much as to touch any of the king's wives, as I have said before : and thus a man, sometimes unjustly accused and condemned, is on a sudden brought to utter ruin, unless he can foresee what is coming upon him, and have courage and dexterity enough to attend the king, and acquit himself handsomely, so as he may revoke the sentence.

A person accused of malversation, denying the fact, is obliged to clear himself by oath, and other ceremonies mentioned at the *Gold Coast* ; otherwise, as often happens there, he is led to a river, at a little distance from the royal palace, which the *Blacks* believe has a peculiar quality of immediately drowning all guilty persons, that are thrown into it ; and of preserving the inno-

BARBOT cent, whether they can swim or not, tho' they see daily, they all save themselves by swimming; most people there being very expert at it: and perhaps they never yet saw that river convict any offenders in drowning them. All that are thrown into it, and come out safe on the other side, pay a certain sum to the king, which induces me to believe it is a mere invention of the judges, to try people, and acquit them, for money, tho' fully convicted of the offences. This the governors, in their respective districts, practise in like manner, and to the same end; which is getting of money.

But if it ever happens, that the criminal, by some impediment or other, in his swimming a-cross that river, is drowned, they say his body is boiled in a large copper, and eaten by many, as is pretended, in detestation of his guilt; but this I dare not assert for a truth.

The king's wives, and those of considerable *Black*, are often exposed to this sort of trial, upon suspicion of adultery; but those who know themselves guilty, will rather confess it freely, than venture this trial, being made to believe, they will, in such case, be certainly drowned: to avoid which, they incur the inevitable penalty of being either cast off or sold into perpetual captivity.

In case of misdemeanors not proved, they practise another sort of trial for conviction or justification, which is properly a juggle; wherein, by the disposition of some odd things thrown together, as practised at the *Gold Coast*, by their priests, they will absolve or condemn the person accused.

C O N T R A C T S.

Preposterous ceremony.

THERE is another ceremony used among those people, on account of solemn contracts and engagements, which they call *Boire-Dios*, after this manner.

The contractors make each a little hole in the earth, into which they let some of their own blood drop, and having dissolved it with some little earth, each of them drinks of the composition, as much as he can. This done, they look upon it as a solemn engagement, to have but one and the same interest in whatever may befall them, whether good or evil; and that they are bound to reveal to each other their most secret thoughts, or whatever they may have heard said, good or bad, of one another; being fully persuaded, that the least omission therein would certainly occasion their death.

F U N E R A L S.

THEY bury their dead with abundance of tokens of grief, and great mourning; but after the funerals, they feast their acquaintance for five or six weeks together.

They commonly bury deceased persons in their own former mansions, having no separate places for that service, and observe abundance of ceremonies after their death: to instance one for all, they tie some idols made for that purpose, to the legs of a certain black bird, which they set on the grave of the deceased, with a large pot full of water, and dance and sing round and over the grave, till they see it level with the other ground; for at first they raise the earth over the graves, as is practised in many parts of *Europe*.

They kill many slaves, and women, at the funerals of their kings, and other persons of note, to serve and wait on them in the other world, where they make the ignorant people believe, they live greater than they used to do in this; and therefore when any of those great persons, especially their kings die, the courtiers loudly express a fervent desire to keep them company in their grave; which is nothing but cant and dissimulation, since every one knows how fearful they are of death.

I might instance many particulars concerning the people of *Fida*, which being of no great moment I pass by, or refer, as to some of them, to the description of *Ardra*; those two nations being very much alike in abundance of customs and practices, both in civil and religious affairs; that I may conclude this account of *Fida*, with the observations made concerning their religious worship in general and particular, which will afford matter for a separate chapter.

But before I enter upon that subject, it will be convenient to say something of the *Boejies* or *Cauris*, which I have often mentioned in the description of this country; as being accounted the chief wealth there, and so advantageous and useful in the trade we have with its inhabitants, as the current coin among them, which commands every thing, as much as coined silver or gold does throughout *Europe*. I shall also add somewhat concerning the nature and qualities of the slaves purchased there, and at *Ardra*, and their way of account in trade; and of their division of time.

SHELLS used for MONEY.

THE *Boejies* or *Cauris*, which the *French* call *Bouges*, are small milk-white shells, commonly as big as small olives, and are produced and gathered among the shoals and rocks of the *Maldivy* islands, near the coast of *Milabar* in the *East-Indies*; and thence transported as ballast to *Goa*, *Cochin*, and other ports in the *East-Indies*, by the natives of those numerous islands: and from the above-named places, are dispersed to the *Dutch* and *English* factories in *India*; then brought over to *Europe*, more especially by the

Shells only valued in Guinea.

the *Dutch*, who make a great advantage of them, according to the occasion the several trading nations of *Europe* have for this trash, to carry on their traffick at the coast of *Guinea*, and of *Angola*; to purchase slaves or other goods of *Africa*, and are only proper for that trade; no other people in the universe putting such a value on them as the *Guineans*; and more especially those of *Fida* and *Ardra* have long done, and still do to this very day. And so, proportionably to the occasion the *European Guinea* adventurers have for those *Cauris*, and the quantity or scarcity there happens to be of them, either in *England* or *Holland*, their price by the hundred weight is higher or lower. I can give no reason why they are usually sold by weight, and not by measure.

Several sizes.

These *Cauris* are of many different sizes, the smallest hardly larger than a common pea; and the largest, as an ordinary walnut, longish like an olive; but of such great ones there is no considerable quantity in proportion to the inferior sizes; and are all intermixt, great and small. They are commonly brought over from the *East-Indies*, in packs or bundles, well wrapp'd, and put into small barrels in *England* or *Holland*, for the better conveniency of the *Guinea* trade.

Having given this account of the nature of these *Boejies*, it remains to observe the use made thereof, by the *Guineans*.


Shells strung.

At *Fida* and *Ardra*, where, as I have hinted before, they are most fond of them, they either serve to adorn their bodies, or as current coin. At *Fida* the natives bore a little hole through each *Boejie*, with an iron tool, made for that purpose, and thread them, forty *Boejies* in a string, which they call *Toques* in *Portuguese*; and in their natural language *Centre*.

Parcels and measures.

Five such strings, or *Centres*, of forty *Boejies* each, make a certain small measure, called a *Galinba*, and in their own language a *Fore*. Two hundred *Cauris*, and fifty such *Fores*, make an *Alcove*, or a *Guinbotton*, in their language; the word *Alcove* being *Portuguese*, as well as that of *Galinba*, but as frequently used by the *Blacks*, as the other names of *Fore* and *Guinbotton*, of their own language. This *Alcove* measure weighs, as I have before observed, about sixty pounds, and contains four thousand *Boejies*.

With these strings, or *Toques*, or *Centres*, of forty *Boejies*, they buy and sell all sorts of goods among themselves, as if they were silver or gold money; and are so very much taken with them, as to tell us they are preferable to gold, both for ornament and traffick; inasmuch, that a handful of them is better for those purposes, than an ounce of fine gold: and it is a general rule there, to reckon a man's wealth by the number of

the *Alcoves* of *Boejies*, and the quantity of BARROT. slaves he possesses. 

As to the slaves, and the trade of them, whereof I have before spoke at large, it will be proper to observe here, that commonly the slaves we purchase at *Fida* and *Ardra*, are brought down to the coast from several countries, two and three hundred leagues up the inland; where the inhabitants are lusty, strong, and very laborious people: thence it is, that tho' they are not so black and fine to look at as the *North-Guinea* and *Gold-Coast Blacks*, yet are they fitter for the *American* plantations, than any others; especially in the sugar islands, where they require more labour and strength than in the other colonies of *Europeans*, at which the *Fida* and *Ardra* slaves are found, by constant experience, to hold out much longer, and with less detriment to themselves, than the other slaves transported thither from the other above-mentioned parts of *Guinea*. One thing is to be taken notice of by seafaring men, that these *Fida* and *Ardra* slaves are of all the others, the most apt to revolt aboard ships, by a conspiracy carried on amongst themselves; especially such as are brought down to *Fida*, from very remote inland countries, who easily draw others into their plot: for being used to see mens flesh eaten in their own country, and publick markets held for that purpose, they are very full of the notion, that we buy and transport them to the same purpose; and will therefore watch all opportunities to deliver themselves, by assaulting a ship's crew, and murdering them all, if possible: whereof, we have almost every year some instances, in one *European* ship or other, that is filled with slaves. To prevent which, it is necessary to observe exactly, the directions I propose to give in the supplement to this book, both for managing slaves, and subsisting them properly in their transportation at sea; as also for preventing their revolt and mutiny.

KEEPING of ACCOMPTS.

THE *Fidasians* are so expert in keeping their accompts, that they easily reckon as exact, and as quick by memory, as we can do with pen and ink, though the sum amount to never so many thousands: which very much facilitates the trade the *Europeans* have with them; and is not half so troublesome, as with other *Guineans*, who are commonly very dull on this head.

Another thing of great advantage to trade Language. with them is, that most of the *Fidu* merchants, can speak either something of the *Lingua Franca*, or of some other *European* language, but more especially *French*, which some few are very perfect in, through the long intercourse they have had with us: and herein the

BARBOT. the *French* have some advantage over the other *Europeans* trading there, that their language is near ally'd to that *Lingua Franca*, or broken *Portuguese*.

However, for the facilitating of commerce with those, and the *Ardra Blacks*, I have taken the trouble to collect some of the most familiar words and phrases of those two nations, which are annexed to the vocabulary of the *Guinea Blacks* most common language in the supplement to this volume: the *Fidafians* using the same language as those of *Ardra*; by which, as well as by their uniformity of manners and practices, it seems they were formerly one and the same nation.

It would be proper here to insert, the several sorts of *European* goods, with which

we drive our trade there, to purchase slaves; but the same sorts of goods being used in the slave-trade, at *Ardra*, I refer to the description of that kingdom, and of the trade we have there, with the natives.

As to the *Fidafian* way of reckoning the time, there can be nothing said very exactly, but that they seem to live in a manner by guess: for it does not appear, that they have any divisions of years, months, weeks, days or hours; but reckon their sowing-time by moons, and know that every three days there is a great market. Nor do we find, that they have any festivals. None of them can read or write, not even their priests.

C H A P. III.

Of the religion of the people of Fida. Their notion of God, and inferior deities. Peculiar protector for any business. Worship of snakes; of trees, and the sea. Notion of hell, and difficulty of being converted.

NOTION of GOD, and inferior DEITIES.

Snakes, trees, and sea-deities.
THE *Fidafians*, for the most part, have an imperfect notion of a supreme Being, Almighty and Omnipresent, to whom they attribute the formation of the universe; and give him an infinite preference above their endless number of idol gods; to whom, because he is so highly exalted, they neither pray, or offer any sacrifices, alledging, that they think his incomparable grandeur does not permit him to think of human race, or be at the trouble of governing the world, which he has therefore committed to their idols, to rule as his vicegerents in all things; and therefore they direct all their religious worship to those inferior deities: amongst which they reckon as the principal; first, a sort of reddish brown snake; next to it, the high lofty trees, of a beautiful form; and next to them again, the sea. These three chief divinities, say they, we worship and pray to all over this land, each of them having its particular prerogative and power, distinct from the other; but with this difference, the snake-god has an unlimited power over the trees and sea, and can rule and reprove them in case they be slow or neglectful, in acting the parts of their offices, amongst the creatures of the universe; and those two subordinate divinities are in no wise to intermeddle in the office of the snake-god.

Idols.
 Besides those three principal deities, they have an infinite number of inferior idol-gods, natural and animal, who derive their prerogatives and offices from the three principal before mention'd, but most particularly from the animal-god, the snake; and every man is allow'd to make himself as many of those inferior idol-gods, as he thinks

convenient: as for instance, if a *Black* resolves upon important business, he first searches out a god-protector, which is commonly the first creature he spies, dog, cat, or other most contemptible animal, or any inanimate thing, a stone, a piece of wood, or the like.

PECULIAR PROTECTOR.

THE god-protector thus accidentally found out, the *Black* immediately presents him with an offering, and makes a solemn vow, that in case he succeeds in the affair he is to enter upon, he will very religiously for the future hold and worship him as his peculiar deity. Which he accordingly performs, if the event answers his expectation; presenting that dumb deity every day with new sacrifices, and praying to him. On the contrary, if he misses his aim in that affair, he takes no more notice of the chance-god. In short, they make and unmake their gods daily, and are the masters or inventors of the objects of their religious worship. *Gods made and unmade.*

Every individual inhabitant of *Fida*, is not so credulously addicted to those gross superstitions: for some of those who have conversed most with *Europeans*, and can speak their languages, are commonly acquainted with the principles of the christian religion, and have a rational notion of the true God, and how he is to be worshipped, and ascribe to him the creation of the universe, and of all the creatures therein. Those, whose number is not great, ridicule the false deities of their country, when they discourse with us, and seem to regard them no farther than is necessary, not to incur the hatred of their countrymen, or to make their friends and relations easy with them; being always very


very cautious not to rail at their gross superstitions, nor to reveal to them the contrary notions they have concerning the true existence of the divinity, and the worship that is due to it; because that would undoubtedly prejudice them very much in their worldly concerns.

Idols. Besides all the above-mentioned natural and animal deities of *Fida*, they have an innumerable multitude of idols; each private person making as many as he pleases, as well as the prince and great men: they are commonly puppets, made either of fat mould, or of a white potter's clay, whereof they have infinite numbers, both in their habitations, and about the roads and foot-paths all over the country of *Fida*, under proper huts and niches; besides a vast quantity of other clay huts, erected in all parts, to shut up all such snakes, as they by chance meet on the roads: which huts they call *Casas de Dios*, or god's houses.

WORSHIP of SNAKES.

AS to this snake-worship, which is there the grand devotion of all the people, from the king to the slave; I shall first describe the proper sort of snakes, which is the chief deity of the *Blacks*, being that which is streak'd with white, yellow and brown: the biggest commonly seen there of that sort, is about six foot long, and the thickness of a man's arm; they are very greedy of rat's flesh, frequently chase them, and when they have caught one, are at least an hour before they can swallow it down, as having a very narrow throat, which when they are to swallow their prey, extends itself by degrees. It is a sort of diversion to see that animal chase rats, and swallow them. If a snake happens to be under the tiling of a house, and sees a rat pass by, at which it cannot come, the snake will hiss, and use her utmost endeavours to disengage herself, and get at it; but because that requires a pretty long time, the rats, as if they were sensible of that long creeping animal's being very slow to move, will pass and repass before her several times, as it were in scorn: and this is often observed in the evening.

The principal snake-house stands about two leagues or more from the king's town, and is erected under a very beautiful, lofty tree, in which the *Blacks* say, resides the chief and largest of all the snakes, which they represent as big as a common-sized man, and of an immense length, being accounted the procreator of all the other snake-gods; and having been found out very many years ago, when by reason of the wickedness of men, it left another country, to come to them, which caused an universal joy; and after having render'd it all man-

ner of religious respect and homage, they ^{BARBOT.} carried it on a silk carpet to the holy house  it is now kept in.

The reverence and respect the *Blacks* ^{Respect to snakes.} have for the snake is so great, that if one of them should but touch one with a stick, or any otherwise hurt it, he is sentenced without remission to be burnt alive. At first settling of the *English* at *Fida*, a captain of that nation, having landed and housed his cargo, or part of it, his men found one night a snake in their lodge, which they immediately killed, and threw it out at their door, being ignorant of the consequences of what they had done, as meaning no harm. The *Blacks* in the morning seeing the dead snake, and the *English* very innocently telling them, without being ask'd who had killed it, immediately assaulted them on all sides, murdering all that *English* were in the lodge, and burning it, with all the goods that were in it: which barbarity ^{murdered for a snake.} so discouraged the *English*, that for a long time they refrained going thither to trade, but carried on their commerce in other parts of *Guinea*; till at last, some ventur'd thither again, and have ever since continued to do so unmolested, observing very cautiously not to do the least harm to any snakes; which is in like manner exactly observed by all other *Europeans* trading at *Fida*, being always informed by the *Blacks* at their first landing, that the snakes are the gods of their country, and required not to molest them, in any manner whatsoever.

Ever since that tragical accident befallen the *English*, we have not heard of any harm ^{Europeans cautious of them since.} done to *Europeans*, they being all very cautious how they meddle with snakes; though many of those insects frequently enter their lodges, in hot sun-shine weather, sometimes five or six of them together, creeping upon their chairs, benches, tables, and even their beds, whilst they are asleep: nay, some of those vermin, if they get a good place under a bed, and like it, and the servants, out of laziness, do not turn up the bedding, will continue there a whole week, and perhaps breed there.

When any snakes come thus to harbour in the houses of *Europeans*, some of them will give notice thereof to the natives, who gently carry them out of doors, if they are found in such places as they can lay ^{The Blacks remove them.} hold of them; but if they happen to be gotten to the joyce, or any other high place of the houses, though they be but one story high, the *Blacks* will scarce be persuaded to remove them from thence; and so are left till they come out of themselves, which sometimes will be a fortnight, without eating any thing; though the simple credulous *Blacks* believe, the snake thus perched on high, knows how to feed itself: and it has

Snakes catch rats.

Snake-house.

BARBOT. happened, that some *Europeans* having had a snake a long time in their house, have acquainted the king with it, who has immediately sent them a fat ox, to pay for that creature's board.

'Tis death to hurt them. If an *European* should happen to kill a snake through inadvertency, and without any design, he would certainly undergo the same fate as those *English* above-mentioned; unless he could make his escape to the king, and satisfy him, that it was an accident, and he may then prevail with the priests to accept of a fine; but this is very hazardous, if the sacrificer should go about to raise the multitude. I would therefore advise all *Europeans* in those parts, to be cautious of any thing of that nature.

An *Aquamboe Black*, having once taken up a snake on his stick, as not daring to handle it; and so carried it gently out of the house, without any hurt done to the creature, two or three *Fida Blacks* who happened to see it, set up the cry, as they do for fire; whereupon, the mob immediately flock'd to the place in arms, and had certainly murdered the foreign *Black*, but that the king being informed of his innocence, rescued him from them, by sending his prime ministers to his assistance.

Worship paid to them. When a snake gets into a *Black's* house, he immediately sends for the next priest, who carries that insect to the snake-house; and if ask'd, whither they design to carry it, they answer, that the god they hold will direct them. No person passes by the snake-houses, without going in to worship those vermin, and enquire what they shall do to please them. Every house has an old priestess, who is maintained by the provisions continually carried for the snakes, by those superstitious people: and she gives them answers to their several questions, in a low voice, as the mouth of those deities. She orders one not to have to do with his wives at certain times and seasons; another not to eat fowls, beef or mutton, on such and such days; another not to drink palm-wine, nor beer; and so others to abstain from other things, according to her fancy: which those ignorant people religiously observe, believing that their deities would infallibly punish the least transgression with death.

Way to be rid of the Blacks. This shows what great respect those people have for such vermin, and how dangerous it is to do them any harm. For this reason, when we are weary of the *Blacks*, and desire to be rid of them, we need only speak ill of the snake, at which they will immediately stop their ears, and run out of doors; but no *Black* of any other nation, must presume to do the like, without he will run himself into great danger, and the natives dare not offer at it.

The best is, that those snakes do no mischief to mankind: for if they happen to be ^{Harmless} trod upon, and bite or sting, it does no more hurt than the sting of the millepedes, before spoken of in the description of the *Gold-Coast*. Therefore it is, that the *Blacks* do think it good, to be bit by those insects, because they fancy it secures them from the sting of other poisonous snakes, whereof there are great numbers in that country. But how ridiculous this notion of their's is, appears by the frequent battels we there see between those snake-deities, and the venomous snakes, which are much the largest; and there being great enmity between them, would certainly destroy the worshipped vermin, were not some *Blacks* always at hand to rescue their gods.

If a fire happens to break out, and one or more snakes are burnt in it, every one that hears it stops his ears, and gives money to be reconciled to the burnt snake-god, for having been so careless of him; tho' they firmly believe the burnt-snake will quickly return, to take vengeance of such as have occasioned its death, by this accident of fire. If any of them happen to be kill'd by a beast, either designedly or accidentally, upon complaint made to the king, by the priests, that prince sometimes, to satisfy them and the people, will order a general slaughter of the beasts of the same kind, as that which so killed the worshipped snakes; and the commonalty of the *Blacks* do execute it with swords and clubs, till the king seeing a certain number so sacrificed, to appease their snake-god, and being petition'd by the owners, revokes his order, and forbids any farther execution: which proceedings sufficiently testify, how arbitrarily the prince and the priests rule the people, both in civil and religious matters.

The *Fidasians* invoke the snake, in excessive wet, dry or barren seasons; upon all occurrences relating to government; for the preservation of their cattle; and, to be short, in all necessities and difficulties.

Snakes invoked in distress. The king, at the instigation of the priests, and his courtiers, who are commonly the tools of those priests, sends very rich offerings to the snake-house, of money, silk stuffs, cattle, eatables, liquors, and many other things of the product of the country, or from *Europe*; which in all likelihood those crafty sacrificers convert to their own use. This they so frequently demand of him, that sometimes he grows tired, and denies them their request, and perhaps in an angry manner, if it is required on account of obtaining a good crop, and he thinks he has sent enough

nough already for that season, and is sensible the best part of the corn is rotten in the fields, he will tell them plainly, he does not design any farther offerings; and if the snake will not bestow a plentiful harvest, he may let it alone.

pilgrimages.

The kings of *Fida*, make yearly pilgrimages to the snake-house, in great state; and conclude them with rich presents, not only to the snake-god, but also the great persons of the nation that have accompanied him thither, which is very expensive to him. This present king, if he does not perform it in person some years, orders it to be done by his wives, which is not so expensive to him.

However, if on the one hand this snake-god's service proves chargeable to the prince, the revenues which accrue to him from it, are on the other hand very considerable: for every year when the *Indian* wheat is sowed, till it grows up to a man's height, he and the priests get much money by the young women and girls, that are set to watch and guard the corn fields against the devouring birds and other animals.

Mad notion.

Those young women are often carried away, and the simple credulous *Blacks* made to believe, that the snakes during the whole season make it their business, every evening and night, to seize all the beautiful young women that please them, and to make them distracted, and to cure them. The parents carry such mad girls to a particular house, built for that purpose, where they are obliged to stay several months, as they give us to understand, to be cured of their madness; and during that time, they must furnish them with all sorts of necessaries so plentifully, that there is enough for the priests also to subsist on.

Superstitious fraud.

When the time of this confinement is elapsed, they obtain leave to come out, after they have paid the charges of their cure and keeping, which are commonly in proportion to the circumstances of their parents: so that by a near calculation, one young woman with another, brings in twenty crowns; and the number of such as are thus confined on account of distractedness, amounts to several thousands yearly, each village having a particular house appointed for that service, and the townstwo or three each. The money arising from those cures, is thought by the generality of that nation, to be employ'd in religious uses by the priests; but it is very apparent, that the king has the best part of it, and the priests the overplus.

The *Blacks* believe, that as soon as a young woman is touch'd by the snake, she presently runs mad; and that if not immediately confined in the snake-house, she'll break and spoil every thing that comes in her way:

for which reason they never fail to shut her up, when once suspected of madness. And to entertain this opinion in them all, the priests, from time to time, appoint some such girls, as they pretend to have been touch'd by the snake, who commit all manner of disorders about the country.

They also persuade the *Blacks*, and the poor credulous people tell us, that a snake will carry off a girl out of the snake-house, though it be close shut up; and to convince the people of it, the priests diligently observe those young women, who have never been affected by the snake, they prevail on them, first by promises, or afterwards by threats, to perform what they desire of them, *viz.* that being in the street, and seeing the coast clear of people on all sides, they set on crying and raving with all their might, as tho' the snake had fast hold of them, and order'd them to repair to the snake-house; and if any person comes to their assistance, to tell them, the snake is vanished, and that they are mad, which obliges their parents to confine them to the snake-house. And when the time of their being dismissed is come, the priest lays a severe injunction on them, not to reveal how they were seized by the snake, or rather not to discover the cheat; but to affirm, the snake did it, threatening them with being burnt alive, if they don't exactly comply herein.

The king, who finds those religious frauds yield him much money, as well as the priests, is no less willing than they, to confirm the people in those follies they are made to believe, concerning that sort of madness in young women, &c. and now and then causes some one of his own daughters to pretend to be seized by the snake; and immediately sends her away to the snake-house, where she is confined for some time only, but not so long as is customary for girls of an inferior rank: and when she is discharged from thence, all the other young women, that happen then to have been shut up there, are on her account also dismissed.

On the day of the princess's delivery, she is brought out in a splendid manner, and conducted with all the other young women, released on her account, to the king's court, having only a silk scarf pass'd betwixt her legs, and being richly adorned with beads and corals, much valuable there.

In this equigage, whilst she is there, she commits all manner of extravagancies, during the playing on several musical instruments; which madness the *Blacks* present firmly believe remained in her, by reason of her being enlarged before the expiration of her due time of confinement.

During that time, the most notable persons of the court croud thither for three

BARBOT. or four days successively, with their presents for the princess, amounting all together to a very considerable value; and so the young lady, or rather the king, gets very considerably by the cheat. If any *Black*, wiser than others, is sensible of the fraud, yet will he, to avoid incurring the displeasure of the king and priests, and for his own security, shut his eyes, pretend ignorance, and allow it for a real truth, to avoid being poisoned; as happen'd to a *Black* of the *Gold-Coast*, married to a *Fida* woman, who pretended to be seized by the snake; but he, instead of sending her to the snake-house, as being of a different religion, clapt her in irons: which so enraged the woman, that she privately accused him to the priests, who, not caring to make any publick attempts on him, because he was of a different nation and religion, secretly poison'd him, so that he became speechless, and lost the use of all his limbs.

The religious worship and adoration of snakes, or serpents, is not peculiar to those people; several other nations have practis'd it: for not to mention the golden serpent, worshipp'd by the first *Israelites*, nor the history we have in scripture, of a dragon or serpent adored by the *Babylonians*; the *Egyptians* had in former times a singular veneration for a certain species of *Asps* or serpents, called *Thermutis*, pretending it was sacred, and therefore they paid it a peculiar respect, according to *Ælian*.

The serpent was accounted by the *Egyptians*, one of the most venerable symbols of religion; *Eusebius*.

Serpents were adored in *Prussia*, according to *Erasmus Stella*, in his antiquities of *Borussia*, i. e. *Prussia*, *Lib.* 10. Those people, in former ages, having no religion, began it by the adoration of serpents.

In the time of *Sigismund*, baron of *Herberstein*, in his relation of *Muscovy*, a serpent was adored in *Samogitia*, and in *Lituania*. And we hear of some nations in the *Indies*, which to this day adore serpents; *Jurieu*.

It has been supposed, that the *Romans*, in a time of plague, fetch'd from *Epidaurus*, *Esculapius*, the son of *Apollo*, in the form of a very monstrous serpent, to whom the *Romans* gave a magnificent reception at his landing, on an island in the *Tyber*; the senate, the principal ladies, even the sacred vestals, and all the people, meeting him at his landing, first welcoming him with shouts of joy, burning on the *Tyber* banks an infinity of frankincense, and building many altars, from space to space, where they sacrificed abundance of victims to the honour of that serpent-god.

As to the two other natural deities, of the *Fidassians*, the lofty beautiful trees, and the sea, they pray and worship them only

on some more particular occasions, and in this manner.

WORSHIP of TREES, and the SEA.

FIRST as to trees, they make offerings and pray to them in time of sickness, and more especially under fevers, for the recovery of the patients; which they think is more properly the province of the tree-deities, and of the snake-gods. Besides which deities, on such occasions they also sacrifice to the other inferior idol-gods; and their superstition is so excessive herein, that when the king is sick, they sacrifice a man, and eat part of his flesh, in honour of those extravagant deities.

When the sea is tempestuous and raging, so as to hinder goods from being brought ashore; or when no ships have been there for a long time, and they would fain see them come, the sacrifices or offerings for that third principal deity of the *Fidassians*, are all sorts of goods, cast into it, but this sort of offering turning to no profit to the priests, they do not much encourage the practice of it.

PRIESTS and PRIESTESSES.

THE religious functions are there performed by men and women indifferently; and both the priests and priestesses are so highly reverenc'd by all the people, that they are not to be punished any manner of way, even for the most horrid crimes they can commit; unless for high-treason against the king's person, as it happened in this king's reign, that a priest had conspir'd with the king's brother to murder him; for which crime both the king's brother, and the priest, after due conviction, were both condemn'd to death, by the king and his council, and accordingly executed.

The priestesses are as much honoured as the priests, or rather more; insomuch, that they assume to themselves the distinctive name of God's children. And whereas all other women are liable to a slavish submission to their husbands, these priestesses, on the contrary, exercise an absolute sway over them, and their goods; living with them arbitrarily, and at their own pleasure; their husbands always speaking to, and serving them on their knees; accounting it a very great advantage to have such holy persons for their consorts.

The idolatrous Jews, in the times of *Asa*, and *Hosea*, had women officiating as priestesses of the infamous idol *Priapus*, then worshipp'd among them, set up by *Maacab*, the queen-mother to *Asa*, and her self being the chief priestess, which the good king *Asa* removed.

Camma, wife of *Sinatus Galatianus*, was the great priestess of *Diana*, in *Galatia*.
The

The famous temple of *Diana* at *Ephefus* was served by a woman. The sacrifices of *Ceres*, and its mysteries, were officiated by women, and the men had no hand in them; (M. *Jurieu*, p. 769.)

NOTION of HELL.

THE *Fidasians* have a sort of idea of hell, the devil, and the apparition of spirits, as well as the people of *Congo*, but not in the same manner as they; who often die with the fright, as shall be mention'd in its place.

They believe a place of torments.

They think hell is a fix'd place under the earth, where those who have lived wickedly are punished with fire, and miserably tormented. Some of their priestesses come from a foreign country, and tell them, they have been there, and saw several of their acquaintance, and particularly some one those people have known very well in his life-time, who they say is there grievously tortured.

Stupidity as to hell.

A *Portuguese* missionary, being once in discourse with one of the courtiers, and telling him, that in case he, and the people of *Fida*, did not repent of their wicked old course of life, they would certainly burn for ever in hell, with the devils; the *Black* replied, our predecessors, whose numbers are infinite,

liv'd as we do, and worshipp'd the same gods; if they must burn for it, we must be contented; we are not better than they, and shall comfort our selves with them in hell. This instance of their stupidity and unconcernedness of a state of misery, evinces how difficult it is to convert those superstitious people from their erroneous absurd opinion and idolatrous worship.

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Thence it is that so many missions as the *Portuguese* have sent thither from *Portugal*, and *St. Tome*, from time to time, within this century, have always been fruitless, and of no effect. But *Polygamy*, so extravagantly and generally affected there, is an insuperable difficulty, no man enduring to be confined to one wife. There are many other impediments in the nature and temper of the *Fidasians*, infomuch, that it seems to be labour in vain to undertake their total conversion to the christian religion: for which reason the *Portuguese* missionaries have quite forsaken them, and do not think fitting to trouble themselves any more with such people; for indeed they must first be made men, before they can be made christians; their stupidity being like other *Blacks* and *Cafres*, who can conceive nothing that is spiritual, but only sensual and palpable objects.

CHAP. IV.

Little Ardra next the sea. The country of Torry. Description of great Ardra. Their habit; polygamy and marriages. Funerals. Commodities exported and imported. Notable Black king. Soldiery. Administration of justice. Religion.

BEFORE I enter upon the description of the kingdom of *Ardra*, by some surnamed *Grande* or the *Great*, I must take some notice of the little country of *Torry*, which, as I have hinted before, is enclosed between *Ardra* and *Fida*; and in the next place, must say something of *Little Ardra*, another small country, contiguous to that of *Torry*, on the east of it, and both lying along the sea-shore.

LITTLE ARDRA described.

FROM the port or road of *Fida*, to *Little Ardra*, the coast runs easterly, about nine leagues; low, flat land, in many parts woody, only towards *Little Ardra*, the shore rises a little, and has three small hills, near one another, on a kind of point, or cape, that is at the beginning of a large bay, and is the proper anchoring-place for ships, that design to trade at *Little Ardra*, which is in that bay. The river that runs thro' the countries of *Great Ardra*, and *Offra*, falls into, and separates the kingdom of *Benin*, from that of *Great Ardra*; its water is brackish.

Little Ardra is also known from the sea, in coming from the westward, by four large thickets of trees, which appear at a distance from each other, three leagues to the westward.

The *French* and *English* commonly call the port of *Little Ardra* the road of *Ardra*; the town being somewhat higher, about two hundred paces from the strand, on an extent of six hundred fathom of ground, of which more hereafter. To return to the description of *Torry*.

TORRY COUNTRY,

IS a little state or commonwealth, about four leagues in circumference, betwixt *Fida*, *Little Ardra*, or *Offra*, as most of the *Europeans* call it, and the sea, and scarce three leagues distant from the coast or road of *Fida*.

Extent and situation.

Foulaen is the principal town thereof, seated on the river *Torry*, which runs almost east and west to *Great Popo*.

Capital town.

The inhabitants are either husbandmen, cultivating their soil for *Indian* wheat, and other

stands.

BARBOT. other eatables, to drive a trade with foreigners; or, like the *Little Popo* men, live upon plunder; lying like strolling robbers on the roads of *Offra* and *Ardra*. The lands of *Little Ardra* or *Offra*, begin not far from the town *Foulaen*, in *Torry*; somewhat farther inland, and make part of the kingdom of *Great Ardra*.

Return to **LITTLE ARDRA.**

Bar at
Little Ar-
dra.

I Have already given some observable marks to find out the proper port of *Little Ardra*; and to proceed methodically in the description of that country, must add, that the bar which continues to front the shore all along from *Rio da Volta* to *Little Ardra*, is every where as bad and perilous as at *Little Ardra*, but more especially in the high season; and above all, at the new and full moon: for then the surges are so violent and high, that it is totally impracticable for twelve or fifteen days.

The road.

The right road of *Little Ardra*, in the summer season, that is, from *December* to *April*, is in six fathom water, sandy ground, about three quarters of a league from shore: and in the winter, or high season, which is from *May* to *November*, about a league and a half from land, in eight or nine fathom.

The bar before the port of *Little Ardra*, is very shallow, and therefore the surges are there so very violent.

In the summer season the air is clear and serene, and more wholesome than 'tis usually in the bad season.

Offra town.

The town of *Offra* is up the land, about seven *English* miles, from that of *Little Ardra*, on the same river, and governed by an *Ardra* commander. Being the residence of the *European* factors, the *English* and *Hollanders* have each a fine house there; the latter more especially driving there a very considerable trade in slaves, &c.

Jakin
town.

The town of *Jakin* lies betwixt *Offra* and *Little Ardra*, north north-east from the latter; seated on a rivulet. It had the name from a *Black*, who lived there many years since, and takes up about one thousand five hundred fathom of ground, being enclosed with a mud-wall, very thick and solid; the house or palace of the governor, is tolerably handsome, made of a strong clay. Thus much for *Little Ardra*.

Description of **GREAT ARDRA.**

Ardra
town.

GREAT *Ardra*, the usual residence of the king of *Ardra*, lies sixteen leagues farther inland, north north-west from *Little Ardra*; a large spacious road, leading all along from the one to the other: and much about the middle of it is a little place called *Gran-Fero*, and by the *Dutch*, *Pleyster Plaets*, where is a kind of an alehouse, or publick inn, for the accommodation of pas-

sengers, travelling betwixt *Great* and *Little Ardra*, either in hammocks on men's shoulders, or on horse-back.

The *Blacks* tell us, that the town of *Great Ardra*, by them called *Assem*, is nine *English* miles in compass, the streets being extraordinary wide, and the houses built at a distance from one another, to prevent firing.

The king of *Ardra* has there two large spacious palaces, in one of which he keeps his court; the other being empty, and kept so, to remove thither in case that he lives in, should be consumed by fire: both of them are enclosed with a sort of rampart of earth, five foot thick, as is the whole town, and the ditches of the town and palaces are within the enclosure or walls. The houses are cover'd with straw, and divided into several rooms, if we may rely on the report of the natives. The palace the king lives in at present, is divided into large courts, apartments and gardens, with several long and wide galleries about the buildings; handsomely supported with uniform columns and pilasters, forming fine large piazzas on either side of the courts and gardens, under which people walk and recreate themselves; and the buildings two stories high, in which are many large and spacious apartments, rooms and closets, and all built with nothing but clay.

The gardens are also walled about, divided into fine large walks of green trees, and green plats, and beds of flowers, especially of three sorts of lillies; which shews the politeness and industry of the natives.

Having described the Metropolis of *Great Ardra*, I shall now proceed to the description of the whole kingdom.

Ardra, with all its dependant countries, is a large populous kingdom, but not enough resorted to by the *Europeans*, to know exactly its length and breadth. This we know, that it is of a narrow extent towards the sea-side, but of a great length and breadth up the inland; some making it to border on the west upon *Rio da Volta*, and at east on *Benin*, enclosing *Fida* and *Torry* on the north side; and will have it to reach at north and north-west to *Oyeo*, a large populous country, and to other potent kingdoms situated towards the *Niger*.

This country is very populous, as I have already hinted, and consequently has many large towns and villages; most of those towns being enclosed with thick mud-walls or fences, like the metropolis. Among the rest, the towns of *Joyo* and *Ba* are observable; the former being three days journey from *Jakin*, and the latter about two miles farther from *Joyo*, having two gates on the south side; and on the north a river, which comes from *Benin*. The *Dutch* have a factory there.

The

Other towns. The other towns and villages in *Ardra*, which are not enclosed with mud-walls, are seated in places of natural strength, which secures the inhabitants from insults, and procures them an open trade.

Furniture of houses. The houses in *Ardra* are all of a fat clay, the walls or shells commonly about three foot thick, and covered with straw; and not much better furnished than those of other *Guineans*, that is, only with such utensils or goods, as are of absolute necessity. The king's houses are in that respect no richer than the rest, only he has some damask elbow-chairs, formerly presented him by *Europeans*.

Air of the country. The air of this country in general is extremely unwholesome for *Europeans*, scarce five out of forty that go to reside there any time escaping death; which, however, may in some measure be attributed to their own intemperance, in regard of women, or their carelessness of preserving themselves from the evening mildew, or their excessive use of the fruits of the country, which do not agree with our constitution. For the natives commonly live to a great age, and are healthy and vigorous, except when the small-pox rages amongst them, which generally sweeps away great numbers of them.

Fruitfulness. This country is all flat and level, and the soil very fertile, much covered with shrubs and rushy plants, and in some parts woody; but in others, which are properly vales, it is very agreeable and pleasant.

Convenience of travelling. It has this farther conveniency, that it is all over stored with convenient roads, and small rivers, very deep, and fitting for travellers and merchants.

Products. It produces abundance of *Indian* wheat, millet, yams, potatoes, oranges, lemons, coco-nuts, palm-wine, and salt made in the low swampy grounds, and yielding a considerable trade with the natives of the island *Curamo*, who go thither to fetch it in their large bar-canoes.

Horses. The country about the city of *Great Ardra*, abounds in horses, which serve to mount the king's cavalry.

Bread. The natives prepare their corn for bread, much after the same manner as is practised at the *Gold-Coast*, either in cakes or cankjes.

Food. They either roast yams on coals, or boil them with butter, which they know how to churn; they also use rice for common food, and pulse, herbs and roots, with beef, hogs, goats, sheep's and dog's-flesh; and likewise poultry, dressed with rice, and call such eatables, *Kade*, indifferently.

Beer how made. Their ordinary drink is the beer *Pitau*, as at the *Gold-Coast*: *Fero* and *Offra* have the best sort. It is usually made in the following manner: first, they steep *Indian* wheat well, and then dry it in the sun;

then they beat it in deep hollowed trunks ^{BARBOT.} of trees, or grind it on large flat stones, in the manner used to make bread, pouring hot scalding water over it from time to time, as they grind it; after this, they let that malt steep afresh in water, stirring it well from time to time, and thus make ^{its nature.} their *Pitau*, or beer, which being mixed with water, and moderately used, is pretty good drink; but by itself is dangerous, for it will occasion excessive griping in the guts. Another bad quality in this liquor is, that it soon turns sour, and is not fit to be transported to any other place.

H A B I T.

THE dress of men and women in *Ardra*, is exceedingly richer and finer than that of the *Gold-Coast*. They commonly wear five or six rich cloths, ^{Rich cloth.} one above another, as I have said of the *Fida Blacks*, all the rest of the body remains naked: those cloths are made in the country, and some of them are enriched with gold thread, either plated or woven in them, which looks very fine.

The gentry and others of the prime fort, ^{Garb of gentry.} commonly wear a short cloak on their shoulders, and under it silk, or *India* chints wrapped about them, with fine white callico-shirts made there.

The king of *Ardra* usually wears two ^{Of the king.} as it were petticoats, one longer than the other, after the *Persian* fashion; and sometimes a silk scarf belt-wise, with a sort of laced coif, hanging down on his back, and under it a little crown, of black wood, that casts a very sweet scent; holding in one hand a sort of whip, the handle whereof is curiously fashioned.

The females there, exceed the males in ^{Of the wo-} their dress: those of some distinction, ^{men.} commonly wear fine painted *India* callicoes, white *China* farcenets, and rich silk, and linen-wrappers.

Both men and women are very careful ^{Washing and persuing.} to wash their bodies, morning and evening, in clean pure water, and to anoint them with civet; especially married women, who are very studious to please their husbands, knowing them to be extremely luxurious.

POLYGAMY, and MARRIAGES.

A Man, even of the lowest rank, may have as many wives, as he thinks he can maintain; but the king, and the principal persons, keep each a vast number of wives and concubines. The king's chief wife has the title of queen, with this ^{The queen.} prerogative, that in case the king denies her any thing she has occasion for, she may sell some of the king's other wives for slaves; and of this, there have been many instances, from time to time. Most of the *Ardra* gentry

BARBOT. try marry young women of quality, not above eight or ten years old; but do not consummate the marriage, till they have kept them some years in the nature of servants, stark-naked: and when they have fixed the time for cohabiting, they then clothe them with a piece of cloth, or a short frock.

Women married young.

The meanest man there may pretend to, and often marries, the woman of the greatest quality in the town or place where he lives; having no manner of regard to birth or fortune.

No marriage-ceremony.

Their marriages are concluded without any other ceremony, than the mutual consent of the parents on both sides: only the bridegroom commonly presents his bride with two or three cloths, and must treat the parents, and invited friends, with eight or ten pots of *Pitau*, or beer; and then declares to all the company, that he takes the woman in the quality of first or chief wife.

The *Ardra* women generally are not very fruitful, and it is rare to find one that has three or four children; but if any one happens to have seven or eight, she is as much valued and beloved by her husband, as the barren women are slighted and despis'd. The men of quality's wives are always very respectful towards their husbands, and very silent in their presence, being sensible of the subjection due to them, by the laws of the land. When their husbands command them to appear before a foreigner, they commonly sit down all together on mats, at one end of the room; and if ordered so to do, they'll freely sing, beating time methodically, with two little sticks on a small bell, the most usual musical instrument among them. If a woman happens to be delivered of twins, they conclude she must be guilty of adultery, believing it impossible for her to have two children at once, by one man.

Punishment of adultery.

A woman convicted of adultery, is left to her husband's choice, either to sell her for a slave, or to keep her still: yet this law does not cure many of their natural inclination to enjoy the company of strangers, being very ready to make use of the first opportunity that is offered them to gratify their sensuality; and always curious to appear wanton and lascivious, even in their gestures and carriage. Nor are the men less inclined to that vice: for notwithstanding their great number of wives, they will hunt after other men's wives or daughters.

However, the greatest persons are somewhat more reserv'd in this particular; and very studious not to expose their wives to the view of their countrymen, and only to such of the *Europeans* as they value most, and are fully persuaded of their chastity.

FUNERALS.

THEY differ little from the *Gold-Coast Blacks*, in the manner of interring their dead; except in this particular, that there the deceased's relations furnish the cloths for shrouds, to wrap the corps in, and here the governor of the place does it: and that they commonly bury the dead person in the house he inhabited, in a vault built for that purpose.

The *Ardrasians* do so little value their own, that they rather use the *Ulkami* language; which they are studious to learn, as being in their opinion far more elegant and sweet.

The inhabitants of little *Ardra*, and those who live near the sea-side, employ themselves altogether in fishing, boiling of salt, and trading; and the inland people in husbandry, tilling the ground by strength of arms, and the same way as those of *Fida* do it; which is very laborious and hard work.

They have many publick markets every where, but more particularly at *Ba*, every four days, where they expose more salt to sale, than any other commodities; that salt being carried from *Joyo* in canoes, and from *Ba*, is transported to the *Ulkami* country, whose inhabitants convey it farther up the inland, to other nations more remote. About five or six leagues from *Ba*, stands a lofty tree in a plain, under or about which, is kept a great market, at certain times of the year, to which there resort from several parts of the country three or four thousand merchants, with all sorts of *African* goods.

COMMODITIES Exported and Imported.

THE *Dutch*, as I have hinted before, drive a considerable trade at *Ardra*, and next to them, the *English*, having proper factories or lodges at *Little Ardra*, and at *Offra*; and exporting thence, slaves, cotton cloths, and blue stones, called *Agry* or *Accory*, very valuable at the *Gold-Coast*.

The best commodity the *Europeans* can carry thither to purchase slaves, is *Boejies*, or *Cauris*, so much valued by the natives; being the current coin there, as well as at *Popo*, *Fida*, *Benin*, and other countries farther east; without which, it is scarce possible to traffick there.

Slaves in *Ardra* are usually purchased, one half with those *Boejies*, and the other half with *European* goods; and when they are scarce and dear in *Europe*, as it happens sometimes, we endeavour to satisfy the *Ardrasians* with one third or fourth part of them, and the other parts in other merchandize: of which, generally flat iron-bars are, next to *Boejies*, the most acceptable; for the round or square bars will not do.

And

And again, next to iron, fine long coral, China farcenets, gilt leather, white damask and red; red cloth, with large lifts, copper bowls or cups, brass rings, Venice beads, or bugles of several colours, agates, gilded looking-glasses, Leyden ferges, platilles linen, morees, falampores, red chints, broad and narrow tapseils, blue canequins, broad gunez and narrow, (a sort of linen) double canequins, French brandy in ankers, or half-ankers, the anker being a sixteen gallon rundlet; canary and malmsey, black caudebec hats, Italian taffeties, white or red, cloth of gold or silver; Dutch knives, called *bosmans*; striped armoizins, with white and flower'd; gold and silver brocadel; firelocks, muskets, gun-powder; large beads from Rouen; white flower'd farcenets; Indian armoizins; damask napkins; large coral ear-rings; cutlaces, gilded and broad; silk scarfs; large umbrelloes; pieces of eight; long pyramidal bells.

All the above-mentioned goods, are also proper for the trade in *Benin*, *Rio Lagos*, and all along the coast to *Rio Gabon*.

Way of adjusting them.

The commerce is there adjusted with the king, in the same manner as is done at *Fida*; and as soon as a ship arrives there from *Europe*, the commander or supercargo must wait on the governor of *Little Ardra*, to be conducted by him to the king, taking along with him the usual presents, which commonly consist in a parcel of about three or four pound weight of fine coral, six *Cyprus* cloths, three pieces of morees, and one piece of damask, for the king; another parcel of coral for the queen; a piece of damask napkins for the prince; one piece of armoizin for the *Foella*, or captain of the *Whites*; another for the porters of the court; another for the courtiers, or else some beads, or great brass rings; ten galinhas of *Boejies* for dancers, who commonly attend at the water-side at landing; or the value thereof in other things.

This governor is commonly very civil towards the officers of ships who land there, ordering twelve or fifteen hundred armed men to receive them on the shore, all dancing; and if he is hindred by business from waiting with them on the king, at *Great Ardra*, he charges some of his principal officers to accompany them with a fine retinue, and porters with hammocks, each porter to have four brass rings a day, besides subsistence.

Duties paid.

'Tis usual for *Europeans*, to give the king the value of fifty slaves in goods, for his permission to trade, and customs for each ship; and to the king's son, the value of two slaves, for the privilege of watering; and of four slaves for wooding, in case it be wanted; otherwise those duties are not paid.

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As for the hire of bar-canoes, we commonly adjust it with the *Honga*, or captain of the bar; for every twelve trips of a canoe, with goods from or to a ship, one slave in goods: which obliges the *Honga* to attend in person at the beach, with his men, all the while the ship is sending her cargo ashore, in order to quicken his canoe-rowers, and to give the necessary assistance, if the canoe happens to be overturned by the surges, or filled with water; or to help our people in the long-boat, in which we usually bring our goods from the ship to the skirt of the surf, cast anchor there, and deliver the goods by parcels into the bar-canoes, to run them ashore thro' those horrid surges, which no boat or pin-nace can perform, without the risque of being split in pieces, and all the goods cast away.

Landing of goods.

The *Europeans* being obliged to deliver at their own charge, at *Great Ardra*, all such goods of their cargo, as the king has pitched upon for himself out of their invoices; the common allowance to the porters, is one brass ring for each trip, of a light burden, the distance being sixteen leagues; which is extremely cheap.

These particulars, I have thought proper, for the information of such as trade at *Ardra*: to which purpose, the following observations will be of use.

I have hinted before, that we always adjust the price of *European* goods, of slaves, and of the blue stones, called *Aгры* or *Accory*, with the king of *Ardra*; which being agreed on, that prince causes a publick cryer to proclaim it about the country, and to declare that every man may freely tradewith the supercargo of such a ship, who is to satisfy the cryer for his labour; and to pay him forty brass rings, twenty hens, one goat, a piece of canequin, and a piece of short or little armoizin. And without such publick notice from the king to his people, none of them would ever dare to dispose of any *Aгры* slaves or blue stones, above mentioned.

Licence to trade.

The governor, or his officers, who have conducted the factor or supercargo of a ship to *Great Ardra*, to adjust trade with the king, accompany him back in the same order as far as a village, distant about four *English* miles from the shore of *Ardra*, to the south south-west, called by the *Hollanders*, *Stock-vis-dorp*, where they appoint a house for him to drive his trade in; which being done, the factor causes all his cargo to be brought ashore, and carried to that village by porters; and thence, he sends up by them to *Great Ardra*, all the goods the king has pitched upon for himself.

Place to unload goods.

U u u u

After

BARBOT. After which, the great captain of commerce, called the *Foella*, is to take his choice of the cargo ; but it is very rare, that factors or supercargoes will give a true invoice of all their best goods, either to the king, or the *Foella*, as knowing they have other notable persons, and considerable merchants to please, who generally give a better price, or pay more punctually than the former usually do.

Great captain of trade.

This custom of adjusting the price of goods and slaves, at first, very much facilitates the expedition of *European* ships, as taking off all manner of disputes and contests betwixt the several native traders, and the *Europeans* ; and when any such happens, which was not foreseen, the king, being informed thereof, immediately regulates it.

Way of reckoning.

The measure for *Boejies*, is there the very same as at *Fida*, and the *Blacks*, who, like those of *Fida*, can neither write nor read, observe much the same ways of accompting, by means of small cords or strings, knotted in several parts, on which they soon make their calculations ; much in the same nature as is practised by some *Indian* nations of *America* : and those knotted cords are to the *Ardrasian* traders, what our pocket-books are to us *Europeans* ; for with them they know how to observe time, places, numbers, and even a meeting appointed at such an hour or day, and so forth.

The factor or supercargo having finished his sale, is to present the king again with two muskets, twenty five pounds of powder, and the value of nine slaves in other goods, as an acknowledgement to that prince for his favour in granting him the permission to trade in his dominions : he must also, on the same account, present the *Foella* with one piece of armoizin, the *Honga* or captain of the bar with another piece, and some other inferior officers with another piece among them.

High duties.

So that reckoning all those customs and duties together, one way or other, they amount to the value of seventy, seventy five, or eighty slaves, in goods, for each trading ship : whereas at *Fida*, they do not altogether exceed thirty two, or thirty five ; which is great odds for the *English* and *French* factors residing there.

Dutch trade.

The *English* have also a lodge at *Offra*, but the *Dutch* having the preheminnence in commerce, as being the first intruders at *Ardra*, they carry a great sway over the *English* ; and one year with another export above three thousand slaves.

The *Portuguese*, in the beginning of this century, had a considerable trade there, but were supplanted by the *Hollanders*.

NOTABLE BLACK KING.

French honoured.

THE *French* were much honoured and carested by the late king *Akeny* or *Tezy*.

That prince, being convinced of the grandeur of the king of *France*, tho' he seldom saw above one *French* ship there in a year, and the *Hollanders* had five or six ; yet he would never allow the latter the pre-eminence of the flag, or precedence in publick solemnities, being a judicious, polite man. He was seventy years old when he sent *Dom Matteo Lopez* his ambassador extraordinary to the *French* court, of which I have taken notice before.

That king *Tezy* being much importuned by the *Dutch* factors residing in his dominions, to grant them leave to build a stone house, answered them thus : “ You will,

“ perhaps, at first build only a large strong stone house ; but at another time, you'll desire to enclose it with a strong stone wall ; afterwards, you'll strengthen it with some great guns ; and thus, in process of time, you'll render it so strong, that with all my might I shall not be able to remove you, as you have done at *Mina*, and other parts of the *Gold-Coast*, where by little and little, your nation has at last subdued whole nations, and made the kings thereof tributaries, and slaves. Therefore, said he, keep where you are, and be satisfied ; you shall never have any other house or building in my dominions, to carry on your trade, but such as shall be erected by my own people, as we usually build in *Ardra*, that is, with clay ; and that you shall keep or hire as tenants commonly do.”

The present king of *Ardra* is son to that late king *Tezy*, very absolute, and much respected by the whole nation ; none of the subjects ever appearing before him, without falling flat on their faces, and in that humble posture, they speak to him. Only the great *Marabou*, or chief priest, has the privilege of standing, and discouring him in that posture, which renders him the second person in the country ; and he is the king's chief minister of state, both in temporals and spirituals.

Of all the *Guinea* kings, those of *Ardra* and *Benin* are the most respected, and even dreaded by their subjects. This king of *Ardra* is entirely arbitrary, in all matters of government, civil, military and religious ; justice, peace, war, all is entirely at his disposal.

Every individual subject pays him a heavy capitation, as well as foreigners residing in his dominions. He has a numerous court ; and every officer whatsoever, is called captain, according to the post he is in. The king's steward is called captain table ; the purveyor general, captain meat ; the great butler, captain wine ; and so of the others ; as is practised among the *Black* nations at *Cape Verde*.

Convenient travelling. I have already said that passengers in *Ar-dra* have the conveniency of travelling from one place to another, in a hammock, fastned at both ends to a long pole, on men's shoulders, as at *Fida*. The porters are relieved from space to space by fresh men, and in this manner a passenger performs a long journey in a day, without any other inconvenience, than being kept so long lying at his full length, in the hammock; for when it rains, or the weather is scorching hot, the hammock is covered over by the porters, with a fine carpet: however, we commonly travel only by night, from *Little Ardra* to *Assem*, unless we be in company of the prince, or of some very notable men of the court, when we can travel by day; but the politick *Blacks* carry us then along by-roads, and never through any town or village, tho' there are many such on the great road; and alledge, that it is a positive order from the government so to do, that no strangers may observe the disposition of the country, and the nature and situation of places. Therefore when we *White* men are carried to *Great Ardra*, to have an audience of the king, each according to the nation he belongs to, as soon as arriv'd there, every one is conducted to the lodgings in the king's palace, appointed to that nation, and there very handsomely subsisted at the king's charge, till the time of the audience; and what the king practises in this particular, with *European* visitants, is also observed by the great men, who afterwards come to visit us in our quarters.

Reception of Europeans. The captains of commerce, and of the king's cavalry, are usually introductors of the *Whites*, to the king's audience. When come into the king's presence, that prince commonly advances some steps to the *European*, takes him by the hand, presses it in his own, and three times successively touches his fore-finger, which is there a token of amity and friendship; after which, he bids him sit down by his side, on neat mats spread on the floor.

This done, the *European* lays his presents before the king, and declares what it is he desires of him; which is told him by the ordinary interpreter, as is the king's answer to the foreigner.

Marabou or high-priest. The audience being over, the *European* is conducted to the prince, who usually resides at a large town, enclosed with walls, about two *English* miles distant from *Assem*, or *Great Ardra*, and there introduced and treated much after the same manner as he was at *Assem*, being seated on mats. Thence he goes to the great *Marabou*, who uses to entertain foreigners very nobly, and feast them well. At this audience we sit down on fine silk cushions, after the *Turkish* fashion, and they are on extraordinary curious

mats. The *Marabou* commonly on such occasions sends after dinner for his wives, being about eighty in number, to honour us with the sight of them; they immediately go into a kind of parlour or hall, and there dance and sing before us to the noise of their musical instruments.

This great *Marabou*, as I have said before, has the sole privilege of seeing the king night or day. He is a tall well-set man, much esteemed by the king and courtiers, and extremely revered by all the people of the country. His dress is much like that of the other great persons of *Ardra*.

The king and the prince never appear abroad without a great retinue, and soldiers armed with firelocks. The king's master of the horse generally walks next before the king, with his head cover'd, and a cymiter in one hand; the king following, for the most part, leaning on the shoulders of two officers, having the great captain or general of the horse on his right, and the captain of commerce on his left; and all the other courtiers and gentry round about in a croud.

SOLDIERY.

THE king of *Ardra* can soon, upon occasion, form an army of forty thousand men, or more, both horse and foot; the law of the land dispensing with no subject from serving in the army, when commanded to go into the field, unless decrepit with age, or too young.

The soldiers at *Ardra* are commonly armed with muskets, and cymiters, or swords; that is, those who live near the coast: for those who are more remote from it, use bows and arrows, hangers, javelins, and wooden clubs, all which arms are very fine, and of their own making. Notwithstanding all this, and that they are naturally lusty men, and seemingly courageous, a handful of resolute, stout men will soon fright them, so as to give way at the first onset: which may perhaps proceed from two defects in their army; the one, that they have no experienced general to lead and command them; the other, that they observe no order nor ranks, but march up to the enemy in great confusion, straggling some to the right, some to the left, as every one pleases. Thus their wars frequently prove unsuccessful, and they are commonly beaten by the inland nations, assisted by auxiliaries from *Fida*; sometimes bringing down an army of several hundred thousand men, most of them cavalry, and a warlike people, who now and then overrun one half of the kingdom of *Ardra*, make a mighty slaughter of men, and commit all manner of outrages and devastations.

That

BARBOT. That remote inland nation, which I suppose to be the *Oyeos* and *Ulkami*, strikes such a terrour at *Ardra*, and all the adjacent countries, that they can scarce hear them mentioned without trembling; and they tell a world of strange stories of them. These inland *Blacks*, like most of the *Guineans* and *Ardrasians*, are cruel in war, and cut off all the privities of enemies slain, extending their inhumanity to women and children, and carrying off those privy parts with them: and it is reported of them, that none must presume to take an enemy prisoner, who is not furnished with an hundred of those trophies.

Anniversaries It is the custom in *Ardra*, to keep solemn feasts and anniversaries, to commemorate their victories over an enemy, though of small importance.

In their warlike expeditions, they carry a sort of staves or poles, bowed at both ends, in the figure of an S; at the extremity whereof, they display a small standard, with which they make abundance of various motions; and with their long drums sharp-pointed at one end, they beat a kind of measure: others have a sort of tinkling bells, on which they beat with sticks; at which noise, the soldiers make an hundred various and ridiculous gestures and motions with their bodies. The same sort of musical instrument is also much used in their festivals and diversions.

Musick, buffoons, &c. They have publick vocal musicians, tale-tellers and buffoons, to divert the soldiers in the field; and the cavalry has small short trumpets, which join their musick to the precedent harmony, to excite valour in their men; but to little purpose, as I have observed, because they want natural courage, like the *Fidasians*: and therefore, they dare not revenge themselves, as often as they are provoked by them, on account of some infractions or irregularities, committed to their prejudice, as being perpetually at variance among themselves, and irreconcilable enemies.

Before I proceed to treat of the administration of justice, religion, &c. of this country; I will again add something relating to commerce and slaves.

COMMERCE and SLAVES.

THE *Europeans* are there commonly treated with all manner of civility by the natives; and there is great variety of refreshments, at a very cheap rate: For example, we pay for a barrel of fresh water, and a load of wood for fuel, two brass rings; for a chest of salt, four; and for a pot of beer, one: and those rings they reduce into hens; four of them there called a yellow, being five hens.

The slaves we purchase there, are either *slaves*. prisoners of war, or given them as contributions, by neighbouring nations or kings; and some also that have been judicially condemned for crimes committed, to perpetual slavery: besides, a very few sold to us by their own kindred, or parents.

ADMINISTRATION of JUSTICE.

A Person who dares disobey the king's commands, is beheaded, and his wives and children, *ipso facto*, become the king's slaves. *Disobedience to the king.*

Insolvent debtors are left to the mercy of their creditors, who, if they will, may sell them to pay themselves. The same punishment is inflicted on him, who has debauched another man's wife. *Debtors and adulterers.*

As for adulterous women, if the crime be committed with a man slave, the woman becomes a slave to the master of her adulterer, if he be of a higher rank, than the offended husband; but if the husband is of a higher condition, the adulterous slave is to be slave to him for ever. As to other sorts of crimes, and their punishments, they are the same as at *Fida*: the two nations being much alike, in their manners, politicks and religion.

RELIGION.

THOUGH the difference be not great, I will mention some particulars of the religion of *Ardra*, which chiefly depends on the fancy and direction of their priests, of which there is a vast number; every wealthy person keeping one in his family, as his chaplain.

The religion of those *Blacks*, is a gross superstitious paganism; tho' most of them acknowledge a supreme Being, but in a very erroneous manner, proceeding from an opinion, that the said supreme Being determines the time of life and death, and of all other accidents in this world: and they are naturally very averse to death, even as to tremble at the hearing of it mentioned, and much discouraged under the many cross accidents attending our lives, on this side of the grave. They study to honour that unknown God, by the service and religious worship of their idols, saying, like the *Fidasians*, that the supreme Being is too great for us to dare approach him directly: and therefore, they think to serve him well by the interposition and credit of their idols. Being thus prepossess'd, they turn all their thoughts and practices to those absurd inferior gods, in whom they put all their confidence; and have so great an opinion of them, as to say and believe, that whosoever dares mock or slight them, will be punished with death; or at best, will lead a very miserable life. *Notion of God. Inferior deities.*

Upon

Worship of
dols.

Upon this notion, each person there has his peculiar idol, composed of many filthy things; or else it is some natural being either animate or inanimate, which he keeps hid in his house under a large earthen-pot: and every six months, the head of the family makes a publick offering, and puts several questions to the idol, according to his occasions. If the offering is not large enough to satisfy the priest's covetousness, as commonly the greatest part accrues to his profit, he tells them, that the idol, not being satisfy'd with the offering, will not return an answer to the queries; whereupon, they are very ready to enlarge it, either by sacrificing a dog, or a goat, or some more hens, according to the circumstances of the person: which being done, the priest, as the mouth of the dumb idol, gives his answer to the queries of the worshipper, with a low voice. And those stupid *Blacks*, tho' they see and hear the words spoken only by the sacrificer, or priest, yet they firmly believe the idol himself pronounced them, by a secret impulse in the priest.

The oracle thus delivered, the priest covers the idol with the pot as his niche, and sprinkles it either with beer or meal; and after him, every one that was present at the sacrifice (and they generally invite their friends and neighbours) does the same, as was done by the priest.

Sacrifice
for the sick.

If a person happens to be sick, besides the application of several medicines, the priest must come in, and offer sacrifice for the recovery of the health of the patient, according to the person's ability; either a cow, a sheep, a goat, or some hens: he rubs the idol of the sick person, with the blood of the offering, and throws away the flesh.

High
priest.

It is scarce conceivable what credit the priests in general have among those people; and what reverence, and almost adoration they pay the great *Marabou* in particular. They all believe him to be an eminent diviner, and foreteller of things to come; by the familiar commerce he has, as they suppose, with the demon, which is represented in his hall, where he gives audience, and receives visits, by a ridiculous imperfect figure, or idol, all over white, as big as a child of about four years of age: for they say, the devil is white, whom the great *Marabou* consults about future events, and has them so exactly revealed to him, that not a ship arrives on the *Ardra* coast, from *Europe*, but what he knew of six months before. They also believe, as the *Gold-Coast* people do, that the devil beats them cruelly sometimes: whether it be so or not, I dare not affirm; it is very certain, that several of them are now and then heard to howl, shriek, and cry out horribly in the night-

time. And thence proceeds such a dread ^{BARBOT.} of the demon, that they are ready, as some say, to sacrifice to, and worship him, because of his cruel temper, in order to render him less mischievous. If it be true, that the *Ardra* people do worship this evil spirit, we have instances in authors of other nations of the known world which do the same; and among them some *Cbinese*, and other eastern *Indians*: as also an innumerable multitude of the *American Indians*.

The *Ardrasians* believe the mortality of human souls, and that they are annihilated after death, the flesh putrifying, and the blood congealing: or that if any men be exempted from that total annihilation of body and soul, they are only those who serve their country in the army, and are kill'd in fight; and do positively affirm, they have a multitude of examples of soldiers, who having been so kill'd, do not lie above two days in the grave, but return to life again with other features and lineaments, which renders them unknown to their friends and acquaintance.

This strange opinion is inculcated into the people, by the crafty priests, who are generally entirely devoted to countenance the designs and politicks of the government; which being very sensible of the want of natural courage in the *Ardrasians*, to infuse somewhat of it into them, that they may the better attend the service of the army upon occasion, has thought fit, in all likelihood, to make the priests insinuate such absurd notions into the people. And the better to delude and confirm them in it, those priests, who usually attend the army in the field, as the *Hebrew Levites* and priests did, (the priest *Banaiah*, son of *Joida*, was one of the mighty men of *David*, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 20.) are very careful to bury in the night-time, such as have been slain in fight; and afterwards assure them, they are risen again from their graves, and that they have seen them full of life.

Their burials in *Ardra*, are commonly performed with little or no pomp and ceremony, but rather privately; only upon the death of the king, three months after his funeral, they murder some slaves, and bury them near him.

Authors tell us, that the late king *Tezy* had some tincture of christianity, having been bred up in his youth in a convent at *St. Tome*, by the *Portuguese*, where he was initiated in the principles of the *Roman* religion; and he could speak *Portuguese* well, and that he had willingly, and very readily received baptism accordingly, had he not feared the power of the then great *Marabou* of *Ardra*, who would certainly have excluded him from inheriting his father's crown and dignity.

BARBOT. To conclude with what concerns religion, it is as morally impossible to convince the people of *Ardra* of their erroneous, gross paganism by human ministry, as it is to

convert all other *Blacks*, for reasons already given; unless providence would effect a prodigious change in their nature, by its infinite irresistible grace.

C H A P. V.

Course to Benin. Rio Fermofo, or Benin river. The kingdom of Ulkamy. Awerri and Usa countries. The kingdom of Benin described; its product. Oedo the capital. Trade at Benin. Goods imported and exported, markets, &c.

COURSE to BENIN.

Channels described.

WE commonly reckon about fifty five leagues in a direct course east and by north, from the road of *Little Ardra*, to *Rio Fermofo*, which is *Benin* river, called also *Argon* river; being the usual course the *Hollanders* take to enter that river, to carry on their trade in the kingdom of *Benin*. But the *English* and the *Portuguese*, enter it another way; that is, at the channel of *Lagoas*, which begins at cape *Lagoas*, distant about eight or ten leagues east from *Little Ardra*, from which cape, the coast runs in a semi-circle, to *Rio Fermofo* aforesaid, on the north side; and the lands *Ichoo*, or *Curamo* islands, lie opposite on the south of it, all along at some distance, forming thus all together the *Lagoas* channel, that leads to *Benin* river, which channel at some places, and for several leagues together, is no broader than a large river; especially from the cape of *Lagoas* aforesaid, and the south-west point of the largest of the *Curamo* islands, to the river *Lagoa*, which runs from the opposite north country, into the *Lagoas* channel: the shore on either sides, from the cape, and the *Curamo* islands, being low and shallow water, with sands all along, as it is also on either side of the said channel, from *Rio Lagoas*, to *Rio Fermofo* in *Benin*; only the channel there, in some parts, is very wide, according as the north, or main shore is distant from the south side shore, made up of the low flat islands of *Curamo*. But the right course in that channel, to *Benin* river, is on fifteen and fourteen foot of water all along, from west to east; as is likewise the other channel, east of the *Curamo* islands, which, as I have hinted, is the proper channel used by the *Dutch*; and both large and deep enough for brigantine sloops, and other small craft, commonly made use of, by the before-mentioned *European* nations driving some trade at *Benin*; among whom, the *Hollanders* have the greatest share.

Lagos river.

For the better knowing of the two several channels to *Benin* river, I must observe, as to that of *Lagoas* or *Lagos*, which I call the west channel, that at the mouth, or entrance of it into the ocean, betwixt cape *Lagos*, and the most western island of *Curamo*, which together with the coast on either

side, extending northward from the channel, there is a bar, which choaks it almost across, only on the side of *Curamo* it leaves a passage, found out by often sounding; and through it you enter the channel of *Lagos*, steering your course north-east, to the river *Lagos*, that runs into it, from the country on the north, and gives its name to the said channel, according to the *Portuguese*, who first called it *Lago de Curamo*. That river *Lagos* has a bar, at the entrance into the *Lagos* channel, which is scarce navigable for boats, because of the mighty surges, that render it very difficult. The *Portuguese* geographers place *Ciudade de Jubu*, or city of *Jubu*, several leagues inland of this river. From cape *Lagos*, to *Rio Lagos*, is fifteen leagues, the course north-east, having in that space of land the rivers *Rio-Albo* and *Rio-Dodo*, at a distance falling into the channel, and the village *Almata*, on the east point of *Rio Lagos*; and not far from it, at east again, the town of *Curamo*, where good fine cloths are made and sold by the natives to foreigners, who have a good vent for them at the *Gold Coast*; especially the *Hollanders*, who carry thence great quantities, which turn to a good account. Sloops or bar-canoes are commonly made use of for that trade, as being small vessels, navigated at an inconsiderable charge, and making quick voyages.

From *Curamo* to *Rio Palma*, is seventeen or eighteen leagues east; some towns or villages lying on the shore, betwixt them; as *Aldea de Almadias*, *Palmar* and *Jabum*, this last seated west of *Rio Palma*, or *Palmar*, from which river to *Rio Primeira*, is eleven leagues east; and from *Primeira* to cape *Ruygeboeck*, which is on the west side of the mouth of *Rio Fermofo*, or *Benin* river, is twelve leagues; the shore betwixt both forming a large bay, in which are three small islands, near the main, the course being east south-east, to the said *Benin* river.

The other eastern channel, betwixt the easternmost island of *Curamo*, and the main land of *Benin*, is about ten leagues long, the foundings along the right channel, being fifteen, twelve, fourteen and fifteen foot, from south to north, to cape *Ruygeboeck*; the western

western point or cape of the river *Fermoso*, which at a distance looks like a high rock, with the top cut off; and with the eastern, opposite, low, sandy bay, constitutes the mouth of that river, being about eight or nine leagues distant from each other; whence the two lands drawing still more and more together, reduce it to about four *English* miles in width; but then failing farther up again, it widens in some places, and narrows in others. This river appears very plainly, if entered from the west channel; for from *Ardra* the land is even and woody, the village *Loebo* being on the east side of the mouth.

Joao Alfonso de Aveiro, the first discoverer of *Benin*, gave this river the name of *Rio Fermoso*, signifying in *Portuguese*, the beautiful river; the *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and other northern *Europeans*, call it indifferently *Benin* or *Argon* river. *Aveiro* carried from *Benin* to *Lisbon* the first pepper that ever came out of those parts.

FERMOSO, or BENIN RIVER.

THIS river spreads itself into a multitude of branches, some of them so wide, that they might themselves well deserve the name of rivers; on all which there are many towns and villages, on both sides, each of them inhabited by a particular nation, govern'd by its own king. Among those many towns and villages, are that of *Aguma*, on the western bank of *Fermoso*, betwixt two other rivers, and that of *Alambana*, on the east side somewhat above *Sand-bay*; with another, some leagues to the southward of the latter, and called *Rogocam*, being on the north mouth of a river running from the eastward into the sea; as *Alambana* lies on the south side of another river, called by the *English*, *Binnin*.

The river *Fermoso* makes abundance of windings and turnings, as it enters the country of *Benin*; which, with the multitude of its branches, renders the sailing up it so difficult, that a pilot from land is absolutely necessary.

About two leagues within its mouth, are two branches, two *English* miles from each other; upon one of which is a *Portuguese* lodge and chappel, at the town of *Awerrri*, belonging to a nation, independent of *Benin*, and only an ally and neighbour of it.

The usual trading-place in the river *Fermoso*, is the town of *Arebo*, or *Arbon*, above sixty leagues up from its mouth, beyond which place ships may pass up conveniently, failing all the way by abundance of branches and creeks, some of them very wide. For several leagues up this river the land is every where low and morassy; the banks all along adorned with great numbers of high and low trees, and the country all about it divided

into islands, by the vast number of its branches. There are also many floating islands, or parcels of land covered all over with rushes, which are often removed or driven from one place to another, by the stormy winds and tornados, which sailors often meet with, and are forc'd to steer various courses; for which reason a land-pilot is absolutely necessary, as has been said before.

BARBOT.
Floating islands.

The town of *Arbon* is about half a mile long, lying on the east-side of the *Fermoso*, about a quarter of a mile broad, and all open: the country beyond it is all over full of shrubs and thickets, only parted by such narrow roads or paths, that two men can scarce walk a-breast.

The town of *Gotton*, by the *Portuguese* called *Hugato*, or *Agatton*, being much about the bigness of *Arbon*, is twenty four leagues farther up towards the north-east, and the river much narrower from *Arbon* up to *Gotton*; this latter being about twelve leagues distant from the metropolis of *Benin*, called by the natives *Oedo*, north of it.

This river is very pleasant, for which reason the *Portuguese* gave it the name of *Fermoso*; but very unwholesome, as most of the rivers of *Guinea* are: which must proceed from the continual exhalations hovering about them; and more particularly those in low and morassy grounds: to which may be added another inconveniency here, and in other places, being the innumerable multitude of gnats, or mosquito's, which are a very great plague to all sea-faring men, especially in the night-time. The lands on each side the river are very woody, which breeds those tormenting vermin in such immense numbers, that they attack our sailors at night on all sides, and so pester them, that many the next morning are not to be known by their features, their faces being swollen and full of pimples, depriving them at the same time of their natural rest; which, together with the unwholesome air, occasions a great mortality among our *Europeans*, some sloop or ships in one voyage often losing one half of their crews, and others more, and the survivors remaining very weak and sickly: which strikes such a terror into sailors, that few are willing to serve in such voyages and the boldest always afraid of their lives.

Plague of gnats.

The *Portuguese* tell us, there is in this country a land-road to *Calbary*, and a passage yet more convenient by water for canoes to go from hence into the neighbouring rivers, and to *Rio Volta* and *Lagos* west, and to *El-Rey*, *Camarones*, and others east; which, as to *Rio Volta* seems improbable, but as to the others, 'tis easy to conceive it may be the rivers in this part of *Guinea* being so near together.

Were

BARBOT. Were it not for the intemperature of the climate, and the plague of gnats, this would be a very pleasant place for trade; the river being so agreeable, and the country on each side very plain, without hills, only rising gently; which affords a very fine prospect, the trees standing in many parts as regular, as if planted by art; but the banks of the river are thinly stored with villages and cottages on both sides, which may be because close by the river, the soil is not good: for though what is sown comes up well, yet the contagious damps of the river kill it; but at some distance from it, the land is extraordinary fruitful, and yields a rich crop, of every thing planted or sowed. How far it extends itself up the inland thro' the kingdom of *Benin*, none of the *Blacks* can tell; tho' it is natural to infer, from its wideness below, for many leagues, that it comes from very remote countries.

Before I proceed to the description of the kingdom of *Benin*, and of the trade of its river *Fermoso*, it will be proper to say something of the kingdom or country of *Ulkamy*, situated betwixt *Ardra* and *Benin*, whose name only has been mention'd before.

KINGDOM of ULKAMY.

IT borders at east, south and west, and at north, on an unknown potent nation: the natives call it *Alkomy*, and represent it as a mighty state, whence the *Ardrasians* get most of the slaves they sell to us, whom the *Alkomy Blacks* take prisoners in their excursions on their neighbours; but are a sort of people who have little communication with them: and therefore can say no more of their manners and religion, than that they circumcise men and women, when young; the daughters at ten or eleven years of age: which they say is done, by means of large ants or pismires, of a yellow colour, fastened to a stick, and thus apply'd to the part, and left there, till they have bit it in many parts so, that the blood gushes out of it, which is a very painful operation to the patient; and then the insects are removed.

Circumcision.

AWERRI and USA.

TO return to *Benin*. The *Blacks* of *Rio Fermoso*, and the circumjacent country, for a great way up, compose many small territories, and petty kingdoms, each of which has its peculiar governor, or king; but all vassals to him of *Benin*, except those of *Awerri* and the *Usa* men, a particular people, who live altogether on plunder and piracy on the rivers, seizing men or goods; all which they sell to the first that come thither for provisions, being themselves ill furnished, at their habitations,

Pirates.

which are just at the mouth of the river *Fermoso*; and are therefore called the pirates of *Usa*. Those knavish people extend their piracy so far, that many men coming from *Ardra*, *Calbary*, and several other parts of *Guinea*, east or west of *Benin*, have been taken on that river, and sold for slaves by them. Those *Usa* and *Awerri* men, have always kept themselves free from the jurisdiction of the king of *Benin*, to this time, but are as much tyrannized over by their own kings, upon all occasions; and they esteem the qualification of the king's slaves, a very happy condition.

The river *Fermoso*, and all its branches, harbour a multitude of crocodiles and sea-horses, great and small; and though not very full of fish towards their heads, yet furnish the natives with it nearer to their mouths. Among the several forts, there is one called the quaker, because it causes a shivering in the arm of any person that does but lay one finger on it. There is another sort of fish, very common, at a place called *Boca de la Mar*, the mouth of the sea, where they dry, smoak and sell it all about the country; but not being well salted, it has an ill taste, putrifies presently, and stinks intolerably.

Of the KINGDOM of BENIN.

THIS kingdom in general, is by ancient geographers called the *Dermones Æthiopes*, and the mountain that separates it from *Ardra*, *Aranga mons*. It borders to the north-west, on *Alkomy*, *Jaboe*, *Isago*, and *Oedobo*; to the north, on the kingdom of *Gaboe*, which is eight days journey from *Oedo*, the metropolis of *Benin*; to the east, on the lands of *Istanna*, *Awerri* and *Forcado*; and to the south, on the several little countries and territories next the sea; which are tributaries to, and dependants on it, except *Awerri* and *Usa*, as I have observed before. And thus *Benin* may well be said to extend on the south to the *Æthiopick* ocean.

Its bounds.

Its extent from south to north, must be near two hundred leagues, and its breadth from west to east, about one hundred and twenty five: but is a country not easy to travel in, being for the most part very woody. The lands about *Oedo*, the metropolis, and those near the sea-side, are very well peopled, and stored with towns and villages, little frequented by *Europeans*: it is also well inhabited towards *Alkomy*; however, though there is a vast number of people in the kingdom, yet in proportion to its extent, and in comparison of *Fida* and *Ardra*, it is not populous, the towns in many parts being at great distance from each other; especially up the inland, and near the river. The *Portuguese* under *John Alfonso*

Extent and numbers of people.

Alfonso de Aveiro, first discovered this kingdom in the reign of *Dom John II.* king of *Portugal.* *Vasconcelos*, an author of that nation, makes it but eighty leagues long, and forty in breadth. *Alvarez* at his first voyage thither, established a correspondence with the king of *Benin*, who promised to become a christian; but after some years of commerce, the *Portuguese* being made sensible, how little success their trouble and endeavours used to convert those souls would meet with, because of their obstinacy and perfidiousness, as well in civil as religious concerns, began to discontinue it in the reign of *Dom John III.*

This country in general is flat and low, and very woody, as has been observed before, cut through in some parts with rivers, and swampy grounds, and in other parts is dry and barren; but this is so in a more particular manner about *Agatton*, and *Oedo*: for which reason, the king of *Benin* keeps constantly several men on the roads, to preserve there fresh water in great large vessels, for the conveniency and use of travellers, who are to pay a certain toll for it, and no man dares use it without paying.

PRODUCT.

Product.
Plenty of
yams.

THE land, for the most part, produces *Indian* wheat, but not millet, which makes the former very cheap; and the more, because the natives do not much value it: wherefore but little is sowed, which yet yields a prodigious quantity of grain, and very luscious. Instead of corn there is a prodigious plenty of yams, which is their most common diet, for they eat them instead of bread, with all sorts of flesh; and are therefore very cautious to improve the proper times of the year for planting of them.

Potatoes,
beans, rice.

Potatoes are not very plentiful; but they have two sorts of beans, much like our horse-beans, of a hot disagreeable taste, and not wholesome. There is no rice, though the morassy grounds in many parts, seem to give reason to believe, it might grow well if sowed.

Oranges,
lemons,
pepper.

In the space of land betwixt *Oedo* and *Agatton*, grows abundance of citrons, oranges and lemons, and a sort of red-pepper, much like in colour and taste to the pimento, or *Guinea* pepper; which the natives use most, upon occasion of confirming by oath, what they contract or covenant among themselves, crushing it then in their hands, some swearing never to eat of it, and others to eat of it in all fauces.

Cotton and
cloth.

The fruit-trees are; the coco-nut, *Cormentyn*-apple, banana, baccoven, wild-fig, and the palm and bordon-wine trees, both which last are not the best in *Guinea.* The cotton-trees are also very plentiful, and of the very

finest fort; the wool whereof they dress, ^{BARBOT.} spin and weave into several sort of cloths, which make one branch of the trade of the country; the *Europeans* buying vast quantities to sell at the *Gold-Coast*, as I have observed before.

The *Hollanders*, some years ago, planted of this sort of cotton-feed, at *Mouree*, which they did in *March*; and it throve so well, that to this day, they have some plants of it there. Some other fruits there are growing on trees, not extraordinary good, and only known and used by the natives.

Indigo grows there abundantly, and they ^{Indigo and other dyes.} have the art of making very good blue from it, with which they dye their cloth. They also know very well how to make several sorts of green, black, red and yellow dyes, extracted by friction and decoction, from certain trees best known to themselves: and being better skill'd in making soap, than any other people of *Guinea*, their cloths are generally very clean. Most people in *Benin* are clothed with it, besides what is yearly exported by themselves and foreigners, to many other parts of *Guinea.*

They make soap, as at the *Gold-Coast*, with ^{Soap.} palm-oil, banana-leaves, and the ashes of a certain wood; and differ very little in the manner of making it.

This country is well stored with small ^{Cattle.} horses, asses, goats, cows, sheep, dogs, cats, poultry, and several sorts of deer, all pretty cheap and good, tho' the cattle be very small, but well tasted. Dogs and cats are the choicest dishes of the natives. The sheep as at *Sestro*, are without any wool.

They have likewise abundance of wild ^{Wild beasts.} beasts, elephants, tygers, lions, leopards, wild boars, civet cats, wild cats, serpents of all sorts, land-tortoises, &c. the elephants are in a more particular manner prodigiously plentiful; but lions and tygers are not frequently seen there. Jackalls, or wild dogs, are reported to be very numerous; and apes of all sizes and sorts, among which, baboons extraordinary large, that will assault men, if not too numerous for them. Their several sorts of deer, wild boars, and other eatable wild beasts, afford good sport; and a man may very well live upon it.

There is also poultry of all sorts, pheasants, ^{Fowl.} partridges, both green and blue; turtle and ring-doves, a sort of storks, crooked-bills, ducks, water-hens, divers, snipes, a sort of birds almost as big as ostriches, and another that is a crown-bird; besides a vast number of many sorts of birds, large and small, with a multitude of parrots of several kinds.

The *Blacks* of *Benin* being no great lovers of fire-arms, and consequently not

BARBOT. well skill'd in the use of them, feldom any fowl or wild beasts come to hand; or when they catch any, it is by means of nets: tho' sometimes they kill wild boars and deer with their javelins; but that is rare, and those people, being naturally cowards, dare not venture to hunt lions and tygers: of which more hereafter.

O E D O the CAPITAL.

A vast city. **O E D O**, the metropolis of *Benin*, is prodigious large, taking up above six leagues of ground in compass, if we include therein the queen's court or palace; so that no town in *Guinea* can compare to it, for extent and beauty. It is seated about twelve leagues north north-west from *Agatton*, in a vast plain, which is as pleasant as could be wished; being all over planted with fine large and ever-green trees, very regularly disposed. It is enclos'd on one side by a double ridge of trunks of trees about ten foot high, set close together in the ground, for a fence or palisado to it; the trunks fastened to one another by long pieces of timber athwart, and the interval between the two ridges or rows of trunks filled up with red clammy earth; which at a distance looks like a good thick wall, very even and smooth. The other side of the city, is naturally defended by a large morass; which is, besides, covered by thorny shrubby bushes very thick together, so as that the morass can hardly be well come at.

The town has several gates at a distance from each other, on the side of the wood, and clay-wall, being but ten foot high, and five broad, and shut with one single piece of wood, hung up at each gate, in the manner as we do our gaps of ground in *Europe*: they keep a guard of soldiers at each gate, which leads to the country through a suburb.

Noble streets. There are in *Oedo* thirty very great streets, most of them prodigious both in length and breadth, being twenty fathom wide, and almost two *English* miles long, commonly extending from one gate to another, in a strait line; and besides these, a great number of cross-streets and lanes. In the large wide streets, continual markets are kept in the fore and after-noon every day, of cattle, elephants-teeth, cotton wool or yarn, and many sorts of *European* goods: and all those streets, though never so long and wide, are by the women kept very neat and clean; every woman being charged to sweep before her own door.

Houses. The houses in every street are very thick and close built, and all full of inhabitants; the shells of the houses are all of a strong clammy clay, two foot thick, and but one story high, there not being one stone, tho' never so small, to be found in the whole

country. The tops are thatched with straw or palm-tree leaves; most houses are very wide, each having a great gallery within, and some another without, where they place forms and benches, to sit or lie on, to take the fresh air, in hot scorching weather. The ordinary houses have but one door, and no windows, receiving light only at a hole left open for that purpose, in the middle of the roof, and to let the smoke out, in those rooms designed for kitchens. The best houses are very large and handsome, and tolerably well built, if compared with the buildings of other nations of *Blacks*. Each of those large houses is divided into several little rooms, for divers uses. Their galleries are very neatly kept, being, as most of the inside of the house-walls, wash'd over with a red glazy paint, as the king of *Sestro's* houses are, before mentioned by me. The houses of great and notable persons, are yet finer and larger than those of the commonalty; for these have generally galleries within and without, supported by strong planks, or pieces of timber ten or twelve foot high, instead of columns, not plained, but hewed out.

This large city is divided into several wards or districts, each of which is govern'd by its respective king of the street, as they call them here, to administer justice, and keep good order, being in some manner like our aldermen of wards in *London*. These kings of the street by their post, and being commonly rich men, have a great authority over the inhabitants of their respective wards.

The royal palace stands on the high road *The palace.* leading from *Benin* to *Agatton*, at the right hand; and is so large and spacious, that it takes up as much room as *Rochel* or *Bordeaux*, being all enclosed with a balustrade wall, of the same stuff and materials, as I have shewn the city is on one side: however this palace is accounted, and in reality makes a part of that great city, being also built on a very great plain; about which there are no houses, but has nothing more of rarity in it, than the other buildings of the town, only that it is extraordinary large, the houses and apartments in it being all of the same materials; however, it is remarkable for its large courts, and long wide galleries.

The first of which is supported by near sixty stout planks, twelve foot high, in lieu of pilasters, roughly hacked out. *A gallery.*

When past this gallery, you come to the clay wall, which has three gates, one at each angle or corner, and one exactly in the middle, adorned with a wooden turret about seventy foot high, narrower above than at the bottom; and on the top of it is placed a long large copper snake, its head hanging

hanging downwards, either cast or hammer'd, and indifferent good work. Every building or house has also a small turret, of a pyramidal form; on some of which is fix'd a cast bird of copper, with stretch'd-out wings; which is also a pretty sort of work for *Blacks*, and induces me to think they have tolerable good workmen, that are somewhat skilled in casting brass or copper.

Two other galleries.

Within those gates appears a plain of about an *English* mile, almost square, enclosed with a low clay-wall, at the end of which plain is another gallery, like the former, in every particular; and beyond it a third, like the other two, with this difference, that the columns or pilasters, on which it rests, are human figures, so ill carved, that it is a hard matter to distinguish whether they are the figures of men or brutes; and yet the natives divide them into soldiers, merchants, and hunters of wild beasts: and under a white carpet or sheet are eleven men's heads, cast in copper, but of a very odd sort of work, on each of which heads stands an elephant's tooth, which are the king's idols.

Idols.

Beyond this gallery, is another large plain with a fourth gallery at the end of it, and beyond that again, the king's dwelling-house, adorned with a turret, and a copper cast snake as on the first wall.

Audience-chamber.

The first room in the king's house at the entrance unto the plain or court, is the audience-chamber, where strangers are admitted to his presence, he having then always by him the three greatest officers of his court, of whom more shall be said hereafter. There that prince commonly sits on an ivory couch, under a silk canopy, &c. and on his left hand, against a fine tapistry, are seven white scoured elephant's teeth, on pedestals of ivory, which is the way they have there to place all the king's gods or idols in the palace.

Stables.

The king has pretty large stables there for his horses, which are small, and not very handsome, the land affording no better; but he has a great number of them.

The inhabitants of this large town must be all natives of the country, for no foreigners are allow'd to settle there.

The *Benin Blacks* not being very laborious, and many of those that are wealthy living near the court; there are abundance of families of that sort of gentry in *Oedo*, attending continually in the palace, without any profession; leaving all their concerns, either in trade or husbandry, to their wives and slaves, who are continually at all the fairs and markets in the country round about, to carry on their husbands and masters business; or else serve there for wages, the best part whereof they must very carefully pay to their husbands or masters: which makes

Laborious women.

the women there as much slaves as they are in any other part of the kingdom of *Benin*; for, besides their task of driving their husbands traffick, and tilling their ground, they must also look after their house-keeping and children, and dress provisions every day for their family. But the female sex is there in a most peculiar way so brisk, jolly, and withal so laborious, that they dispatch it all very well, and with a seeming pleasure and satisfaction.

BARBOT.

The inhabitants of this great city are for the generality very civil and good-natured people, easy to be dealt with, condescending to what *Europeans* require of them in a civil way, and very ready to return double the presents we make them; nay, their generous temper goes so far, that they seldom will deny us any thing we ask of them, tho' they have occasion for it themselves: whereas, on the contrary, if treated with haughtiness and rudely, they are as stiff and high, and will not yield upon any account.

They are very nice and exact in all their behaviour and deportment, according to their ancient customs, and will not suffer them to be abolish'd; and to comply with them in this particular, is a sure way to gain their friendship, and be used by them with all possible civility; being so liberal as to give *Europeans* prodigious quantities of refreshments, and more than we really want; nay, some give beyond their ability, to gain a good reputation among us. They are no less studious to be generous in their mutual presents to one another.

They are very tedious in their dealings, insomuch, that sometimes it is the work of eight or ten days, to bring them to strike a bargain for a parcel of elephant's teeth; but because they behave themselves very civilly all that while, it is almost impossible to be angry at them.

This mention of their way of trading with *Europeans*, induces me to refer many other observations concerning them, to another place, and to pursue the discourse of trade, which is the chief subject of this description of *Guinea*.

TRADE of BENIN.

THERE are four principal places where the *Europeans* trade; and to which, for that reason, the neighbouring inhabitants resort, as soon as any of our vessels come to an anchor; viz. *Boededoe*, *Arebo* or *Arbon*, *Agatton* or *Gotton*, and *Meiborg*.

Boededoe is a village of about fifty houses or cottages, built only with rushes and leaves, governed by a magistrate, there called *Veador*, a *Portuguese* word, signifying an overseer; with some other of the king's officers, who in his name extend their jurisdiction over the whole country round about,

in

BARBOT in civil affairs, and receiving the king's duties and taxes; for as to criminal cases of great moment, they send to court, and wait for new instructions and authority to decide them.

Arebo, second place of trade. *Arebo*, or *Arbon*, is farther up the river of *Benin*, and a fine long town, pretty well built and inhabited; the houses much larger than at *Boededoe*, tho' contriv'd after the same manner. The town is governed by a viceroy, who commands over all the adjacent country, assisted by seven other great officers, as at *Boededoe*, who are called *Veadors*, or overseers. The *English* and *Dutch* have both lodges or factories there, and each of them a factor of the nation, call'd *Mercador* or *Veador*, that is, merchant or overseer, in *Portuguese*, being a sort of brokers.

Gotton, third place of trade. *Gotton* or *Agatton* is a very large town, of which, as well as of *Arebo*, I have already spoken in another place. It stands on a small hill over the river, just joining to the continent, and is a very large place; much more pleasant and healthful than the others, the country all about it being full of all sorts of fruit-trees, and well furnished with several little villages, whose inhabitants go thither to the markets, which are held at *Gotton*, for five days successively. This town, as I have said, is a day's journey from *Great Benin*, or *Oedo*, the metropolis, and governed by five *Veadors* or overseers.

Meiborg, fourth place of trade. There is also a village called *Meiborg*, probably from a *Dutch* man, who has resided there as factor for his company; and is a pretty considerable factory.

King's brokers. At all these places, the merchants and brokers, called, as I have observed, *Mercadors* and *Veadors*, are appointed by the government of *Benin* to deal with the *Europeans*, that resort thither to traffick, by reason they can speak a sort of broken *Lingua-Franca*, and are the very scum of the people of the country; and yet, before we can come to the business of trade, we must go thro' many formalities; and no vessel is allowed to go so far up the river as *Agatton*, without a special order from the king of *Benin*; which he usually grants, as soon as the *European* factor or supercargo has sent notice to court of his arrival in the river below. And then the king orders two of his own *Veadors*, with twenty or more of these brokers, whom they also call *Velbos*, or old men; who go down all together to *Agatton*, having the privilege to take every where on the road, what carriages, horses, slaves, &c. they think convenient for performing their journey; and no subject dares refuse them, or if he should, would be severely punished for it.

Those men being come to *Agatton*, or any of the other trading places before mentioned, they pitch on the most proper houses

there for themselves and attendants to lodge in, and the house-keepers must maintain and subsist them all the time they stay there; and if any should repine at it, they will certainly be punished for it, and the *Veadors* may turn them out of their own houses.

The *Veadors* thus settled, at the afore said trading towns, first give a welcome visit to the *Europeans*, newly arrived, being commonly dressed to the greatest advantage, according to the country fashion; and compliment them in the name of the king, the queen, and the great *Veador*, kneeling down, and at the same time tender their presents, which are commonly things of small value: the rest of that day is spent in feasting and dancing.

At another visit they examine all the *Small European* goods in the factory or lodge, if *Small duties.* they are already brought ashore; and agree for the king's customs, and their own fees as brokers, the latter whereof are very inconsiderable. And the whole charges put together for every ship that comes to trade there, that is, for the king's customs, the great lords, the governors of towns and places of trade, and these *Mercadors* and *Veadors* fees, or any other petty charges and duties accruing hereby to any other persons whatever, seldom exceeds six pounds sterling, or twenty five crowns.

Next they fix and adjust the price of *Prices for European* goods, which is commonly the *on goods.* same that was set on the last *European* vessel that was there. But if there be any new sorts of goods, they will spend a whole month in considering and debating on the price of them, and behave themselves, during all that time, to excuse their slowness, as I have hinted before; so that no man can well fall out with them on that account, they being extraordinary civil and courteous.

When that is done, the commerce is open *Credit* and free for the *Europeans*: but it often *tedious.* happens, and is a very great hardship on us, that we are obliged to trust those men with goods, till they make cloths for payment, for which we must stay a long time; and sometimes so long, that the season being almost spent, provisions consumed, and the crew either half dead, or very sickly, we are obliged to depart without the payment for the goods so advanced upon credit: but if we return, they never fail to pay the *Just deal-* whole with abundance of civility. For *ing.* those people, above all other *Guineans*, are very honest and just in their dealings; and have such an aversion for theft and robbery, that by the law of the country, the least act of that sort, tho' a trifle, especially if stolen from us *Europeans*, is punished with death.

None but the *Veadors* or brokers can deal with us, and even the greatest person of the

the nation dare not enter the *European* factories or lodges, under severe fines: as in like manner the *Viadors* and brokers, are forbid under heavy mulcts, or bodily punishment, to intermeddle in any manner of affairs relating to war.

Here follows an exact catalogue of *European* goods, commonly imported by way of trade to *Benin*, and of the goods we export from thence in exchange.

Goods Imported and Exported.

TO begin with the latter: Cotton cloths, like those of *Rio Lagos*, before mentioned, women slaves, for men slaves (tho' they be all foreigners, for none of the natives can be sold as such) are not allowed to be exported, but must stay there. Jasper-stones, a few tyger's or leopard's-skins; *Accory*, or blue coral, as at *Ardra*; elephant's-teeth; some piemento, or pepper. The blue coral grows in branchy bushes, like the red coral, at the bottom of the river and lakes in *Benin*; which the natives have a peculiar art to grind or work into beads like olives; and is a very profitable merchandize at the *Gold-Coast*, as has been observed.

Blue coral.

The *Benin* cloths are of four bands, striped blue and white, an ell and a half long, only proper for the trade at *Sabou* river, and at *Angola*, and called by the *Blacks* *Mouponoqua*, and the blue narrow cloths *Ambafis*; the latter much inferior to the former every way, and both sorts made in the inland country.

The *European* goods are these; cloth of gold and silver, scarlet and red cloth; all sorts of calicoes and fine linen; *Haerlem* stuffs, with large flowers and well starch'd; iron-bars, strong spirits, rum and brandy; beads, or bugles of several colours; red velvet, a good quantity of *Boejies*, or *Carwis*, as much as for the *Ardra* trade, being the money of the natives as well as there. False pearls; *Dutch* cans, with red streaks at one end; bright brass large rings, from five to five ounces and a half weight each; ear-rings of red glass or crystal; gilt looking-glasses, crystal, &c.

MARKETS.

BESIDES the above-mentioned trading places, which are properly for dealing with *Europeans*, the king of *Benin* has appointed publick markets in many provinces of his kingdom, for the subjects to trade together, every three days in the week: they have one at *Gotton*, to which they bring from *Oedo*, *Arebo*, and other circumjacent countries, abundance of *Benin* cloths, *Accory*, and several sorts of eatables and provisions, living dogs, roasted apes, monkeys and rats; parrots, chickens, yams, malaguetta in stalks, dried lizzards, palm-

Goods sold in markets.

oil, wood for fewel, calabashes, wooden BARBOT. bowls, troughs, and platters; abundance of cotton-yarn, all sorts of fishing-tackle, and instruments for husbandry; as also carpenters tools, with all other sorts of weapons, as cutlases, javelins, bucklers, and women-slaves: with all the various species of *European* goods, usually imported into this country, bought of the *Whites* at *Arebo*, by the *Veadors* and brokers; and *Koffo* cloths, which are commonly exchanged for *Benin* cloths, by the natives. *Koffo* is a village, a day's journey east of *Oedo*, or *Benin*, not at all frequented by *Europeans*.

They have also at certain times of the year, publick markets or fairs appointed, and kept in large open plains, betwixt *Oedo* and *Agatton*, near the high-way; to which a great number of people resort from all the neighbouring places, to buy and sell goods: and as it is a custom there, for the king to send his proper officers to the said markets to keep the peace and good order amongst the people that come to it, appointing every merchant a proper place, according to the nature of the goods he deals in, &c. for that reason, during the market-time, the ordinary justices of the place have no manner of authority; but it is vested for that time only in the court-officers.

Regularity of them.

The *Benin* Blacks, as I have hinted before, are seemingly very courteous and civil, and on all occasions very ready to serve one another in point of trade; yet are they very mistrustful, and careful not to discover their affairs, fearing if known to be wealthy and rich, some criminal imputation would be laid on them, by unjust informers of the high rank, in order to fleece them. Some men in authority here, as well as in other countries, make no scruple to oppress their poor fellow-subjects, under one pretence or other, though never so unjustly, provided they can fill their pockets. And therefore, abundance of the natives of *Benin*, pretend to be poorer than they really are, the better to escape the rapacious hands of their superiors; and thence chiefly it is; that they profess so much civility and regard to each other, to gain their mutual good-will, and avoid being inform'd against.

Europeans are so much honoured and respected at *Benin*, that the natives give them the emphatick name or title of *Owiorisa*, in their dialect, which signifies children of God: and in discoursing with us in person, they often tell us in broken *Portuguese*, *Vos sa Dios*, or, you are Gods. It is a great misfortune, that the malignity of the air is there so fatal to *Europeans*, as has been observ'd: for there is no nation throughout all *Guinea*, so genteel, courteous and easy

Honour paid to Europeans.

BARBOT to be dealt with in point of traffick, excepting their tirefome irrefolutions, and that they feldom allow us the liberty of travelling to their chief towns without fome guards, under pretence of civility; but in reality, as if they fufpected ftrangers would fpy the country, and betray them, efppecially at *Oedo*, their metropolis. Which however the *Dutch* nation obtain eafily enough, as being their old conftant traders, and moft familiars, and are in great favour at court, as well as among the common people: but the *Portuguefe* they don't like fo well.

I have already faid fomewhat of the employments of perfons of rank and dignity, and that there are alfo feveral rich men attending continually on the court; I muft add, that the ordinary citizens fpend whole days, in expectation of *European* veffels coming into the river, and repair to the place they ufually ride at, with what goods they have. If no fhips come, in fome while, they fend their flaves to *Rio Lagos*, or other places, to buy fifh; of which they make a very profitable trade in the inland countries: and the handicrafts keep to their work in the towns, &c.

CHAP. VI.

Habit of Benin. Marriages and Polygamy. Circumcifion. Handicrafts. Diet. Funerals. Inheritance.

HABIT of BENIN.

The men's drefs.

THE men in *Benin* are generally handfomer than the women, and both fexes drefs'd, at leaft, as richly as the *Ardradians*. Their habit is neat and ornamental, almoft to magnificence, efppecially among the richeft fort of people, who wear firft a white calico or cotton cloth, about a yard long, and half as broad, which is in the form of drawers; and over it a finer white cotton, commonly about eighteen or twenty yards long, plaited very ingenioufly in the middle; and upon that again a fcarf, about a yard long, and two fpanns broad, the end of it adorned with fringe or lace, much like the women at the *Gold-Coaft*: the upper part of their body is ufually naked. In this habit they appear commonly abroad; but at home, they wear only a coarfe cloth about their waift, and no drawers, cover'd with a great painted cloth of their manufacture, inftead of a cloak. The drefs of the meaner people is much the fame, a coarfe cloth, and one painted, not by any exprefs regulation of the government; for every one there that gets gold may wear it, that is, drefs himfelf as rich as he is able. They don't curl their hair, but let it grow as long as it will, and buckle it in two or three places, to hang a large *Accory* coral in it.

The women's.

Women of the higheft rank, wear fine cloths of their country make, ingenioufly chequer'd of feveral colours, but not very long and buckled together, as is ufed at *Fida*; with this difference, that here the cloth is left open behind on one fide, and clofe before: for at *Fida* it is open before. The upper part of the body is covered with a beautiful cloth, a yard long or more, inftead of a veil, like that which the *Gold-Coaft* women wear.

They adorn their necks with necklaces of coral agreeably difpofed; and their arms are drefs'd up with bright copper or iron-

rings, called by the *Portuguefe* name *Mannillas*; as are alfo the legs of fome of them; and their fingers as thick croud'd with copper-rings, as they can poffibly fet them on. In this habit they look pretty tolerable. They turn up their hair very ingenioufly, into great and fmall buckles, and divide it on the crown of the head like a coronet, or rather a cock's-comb inverted; by which means, the fmall curls are placed in regular order: and fome have their hair divided into twenty or more plats and curls, according as it is thick or thin. Others anoint it with oil extracted from kernels of palm-nuts, by roafting them on the coals, which makes it lofe its natural black, and growing old, turns to a fort of yellow, or pale green. Some again, paint one half of their hair red, and the other black.

The meaner fort of women differ from the richer, only in the goodnefs of their clothes: fome wear a fort of blue calico-frock or jacket, which hangs down almoft to their knees, with a fmall narrow cloth over their breasts, and load their legs and arms with bright copper-rings. Their hairs and heads drefs'd like the others.

The boys and girls go naked; the former till ten or eleven years of age, and the latter till nature difcovers its maturity; and are both only adorned with fome frings of *Accory*, twifted about their middle. When come to thofe years, they are permitted to cover themfelves with fome clothes, with which they are highly pleafed, becaufe they are then expofed to publick view, being feated on a fine mat or white fheet, and vifited by abundance of people, who come to congratulate, and wifh them joy.

A great number of young men and women, above twenty years old, go all about the towns ftark-naked, with only a red coral

coral or jasper collar-ring at their neck, being such as have not yet obtained leave of the king, to habit themselves, and expect an opportunity of getting either a wife or husband, which then certainly qualifies them for being clothed like the other people; and to let their hair grow as long as it can, for there abundance of people wear their hair as long as either sex does in *Europe*. And it is customary, if a man marries a young woman, and is not able to buy her clothes, for her to continue to go naked as she did before; and he is not allowed to lie with her, till he can get clothes for her, which is almost infamous among them.

No natives slaves.

Here is also another law, that no person whatever, may enter the king's apartment in his clothes, without a special licence so to do; otherwise he must strip himself stark-naked, thereby to approve the more, that he is the king's slave; a qualification, which every individual subject, of what dignity soever, boasts of: tho' they are all, as I have hinted before, free men; and there are no other real male-slaves in *Benin*, than what are brought from foreign nations.

MARRIAGES and POLYGAMY.

No marriage ceremony.

EVERY man may marry as many women as he can maintain; and they observe few ceremonies in their marriages, which are generally thus. The man having made his addressees to the parents of the young woman, who seldom deny the demand, on the day appointed, the bridegroom dresses his bride as richly as his circumstances will allow him, with a whole suit of clothes, necklaces and bracelets; and then treats the relations on both sides, not altogether at his own house, or elsewhere, but sends each of them to their own habitation, part of the victuals and drink that he has provided for that solemnity: this done, the marriage is concluded. The difference betwixt the wedding of great and mean persons is only, that the former treat more splendidly than the latter.

Women are commonly married at twelve, thirteen or fourteen years of age; and as soon as provided with a husband, the parents think no more of them, than if they were out of the world.

Widows how dispos'd of.

Those whose husbands happen to die without leaving issue by them, belong to the king, who disposes of them as he thinks fit; and such as become widows before the consummation of matrimony, fall to the king's son, who, like his father, can marry them again as he pleases; and if they are very handsome, will marry them himself. Some other such widows, are also allowed by the prince, to prostitute themselves as publick whores, paying a certain tribute to the king in *Boejies*, the money of the country:

and if they chance in the prosecution of *BARBOT*. their trade to get a boy, they are, *ipso facto*, exempted for ever from the tribute, and allowed to follow on their calling undisturbed, as long as they please: but if, instead of a boy, the harlot has a girl, the tax continues, and the girl is maintained at the king's charge, who is afterwards to provide a husband for her, when come to a proper age.

Those publick prostitutes are also by law *Publick prostitutes*. subordinate to some aged matrons, who share in their profits, and into whose hands they are to pay the tax laid on them, for them to repay it into the great treasurer's hands, for the use of the king.

It is hard to conceive how lascivious and wantonly those common harlots behave themselves, to promote their trade; and not only they, but generally speaking, the other women are extremely loose in their behaviour, tho' they are not very ready to give themselves over to *Europeans*, fearing the punishment the laws of the country inflict on adulterous women: but the *Blacks* there, are not so concerned at our conversing with their wives, as they are jealous of them with their own countrymen. They have so good an opinion of the *Whites*, that when we give them a visit, if some unavoidable *Courtesy to Europeans*. business calls them away, they not only freely leave us alone with their wives, but charge them to divert us well; whereas, no *Black* is allowed to come near their apartment, a custom very rigidly observed throughout all the country: for when a man there is visited by another, his wives immediately retire to another part of the house, so as they may not be seen; but if the visitant be an *European*, they stay in the room, knowing it is the husband's will, and contrive all the ways they can to please, all their happiness depending on them, because the men are absolute masters of their wives.

The wives of persons of great rank and distinction are, for the most part, shut up very close, to obviate all occasions of transgression; but, the inferior sorts of women go every where, as their work and business calls them, and that without any reflection.

If a woman is left a widow, and has *Widows*. some male-issue by her deceased husband, she can never marry again, without the consent of her son: or if he be too young, and not come to years of discretion, the man who offers to marry her, is obliged to present the boy with a woman-slave to wait on him; which, afterwards, may also be his concubine. In case, the widow bride should commit any fault that is punishable, either by divorce or slavery, the husband cannot dispose of her, according to the arbitrary pre-

BARBOT prerogative of husbands over their wives, without the king's consent first had, and next her son's; and if we may credit what the *Blacks* say of the authority such a son there has over his widow mother, he can even make her a slave.

No *Black* there is to lie with any of his wives that is brought to bed, till the child be twelve or fifteen months old, or can walk of itself; but considering the great number of wives they maintain, they may easily comply exactly with this custom.

The *Hebrews* abstained from their wives, not only whilst they were with child, and had other indispositions of women, but also all the time they suckled, and nursed their children; which commonly lasted three years: and we do not find that the women were excused from nursing their own children; and after being delivered of a male child, they were by the law, *Levit.* xii. to keep thirty days of purification; and for a girl, two weeks more.

Menstruous women are reckoned so unclean, that they are not permitted so much as to enter their husbands houses, to touch any thing, dress diet, clean the house, which is the task of all women there, nor even to look into, much less enter other men's houses: but during their uncleanness, must reside in a separate house; and when it is over, they wash themselves, and are restored to their former employments in their husbands house.

The *Israelites*, by the *Levitical* law, were forbid, not only menstruous women, but any thing that such a woman had touched, *Levit.* xv. 19, to 28. and those women kept retired in a separate room or place for a fortnight.

Those people in general are extremely prolifick, the women being very fruitful, and the men lusty and vigorous, and each having a great number of wives. They value a fruitful woman very much, and a barren one is as much despised.

Children. The woman that is big with child, is not allowed even her own husband's caresses, till she is delivered: and when brought to bed of a male child, it is presented to the king, as of right belonging to him; and therefore all the males of the country are called the king's slaves, as has been observed. If she is deliver'd of a girl, it is accounted to belong properly to her father, who keeps and maintains her till she be capable of matrimony, and then marries her when and to whom he thinks proper.

Modesty and sobriety. Both sexes are said to be lascivious, and it is ascribed to the pardon-wine they drink, and good eating, which together invigorate nature: however, they are seldom or never heard to talk obscenely, as believing things of that nature are design'd for obscure privacy, and very improper to be talked of; or if any do, it is by circumlo-

cutions, and most diverting fables and allegories, tending that way; and he that can cleanly express himself in that manner, passes for a wit. Wherein they are more polite than the people at the *Quaqua* and *Gold Coast*; where the *Blacks* generally direct all their discourses to lewdness, and that in the most broad and obscene words, and even gestures; nor are the *Benin Blacks* so much addicted to drink to excess, as those at the *Gold Coast*.

If we may credit the natives, their king has above fifteen hundred wives, as by right inheriting all the wives of his predecessor, and those of many private persons.

It seems probable, from the words of the prophet *Nathan* to king *David*, *2 Sam.* xii. 8. *And I gave thee thy master's house, and thy master's wives into thy bosom, &c.* that this custom was established among the eastern kings; after which model, it is apparent enough, king *Saul*, predecessor to *David*, had form'd his court and family, of all which *David* had taken possession after his untimely death, and by the toleration of polygamy, in those days among the *Israelites*: however, interpreters exclude the mother of *Mical*, one of *Saul's* wives; with whom they suppose *David* could not co-habit, *Mical* being his first wife.

Those women with whom the king has co-habited, can never marry again after his death; but are then shut up in a kind of *Seraglio*, and there kept and waited on by eunuchs: and if any of them should be found to have to do with a man, she suffers death without any remission, as does the adulterer, tho' of never so great quality.

In all parts of *Benin*, except at *Arebon*, they honour women who have two children at a birth, and look upon it as a good presage, and the king is immediately inform'd of it, who causes publick rejoicings to be made, with all sorts of musick; and if the woman so delivered of twins is not capable of suckling both the babes, her husband provides a wet nurse, whose child is dead, for one of them. But at *Arebon*, by a municipal law, they treat the twin-bearing woman barbarously, and kill both the mother and infants immediately, as a sacrifice to a certain demon, which they firmly believe to be hovering continually in a wood near *Arebon*; unless the husband be so fond of her as to buy her off, by sacrificing a woman-slave in her place, and it is but very seldom that any man fails of doing so. But as for the innocent twins, they are to die without redemption; and must be offered up in sacrifice, by an irrevocable and savage law: which barbarous custom is very grievous to the tender mothers of such miserable victims.

This savage law is of such force at *Arebon*, that there have been examples of a priest, whose wife being so delivered of two children

dren at a birth, and she redeemed by the offering of a slave, according to custom, the poor priest was obliged with his own hands to sacrifice his own twin-infants, as indispensably bound to it by his priesthood. And thus, as the *Psalmist* says of pagans, *Psal. cvi. 37, 38.*

*To fiends their sons and daughters they,
Did offer up and slay:
Yea, with unkindly murthering knife,
The guiltless blood they split,
Yea, their own sons and daughters blood
Without all cause of guilt.*

However, this savage custom has in process of time made such impressions on married men, that when the time of their wives delivery draws near, they send them to another country, fearing a twin-birth: and perhaps by degrees they may abolish such an inhuman law, founded on this extravagant notion, that it is impossible for a man to get a woman with child of two children at a time, and therefore look upon it as a prodigy, or monstrous; and that they ought to be made away presently, to atone their gods, who otherwise would certainly plague the whole land with some terrible calamities.

Extrava-
gant no-
tions.

The wood near *Arebon*, where the *Blacks* fondly believe the demon lies lurking, is so venerable and sacred to the inhabitants of that district, that they never permit any foreign men or women to enter it.

If any native unawares happens on a path which leads to this wood, he is obliged to go to the end of it before he turns back; and they are firmly prepossessed, that if the law concerning twin-births be violated in the least particular, the land will certainly be afflicted with some great plague. However, looking upon us *White* men as a sort of gods, as I have hinted before, they do not think the sacred wood defiled by our entering it as often as we think fit, to shoot, or by our turning back before we have gone half way to the end of the path; which some *Europeans* have done, designedly, to ridicule their stupid credulity, which doth not a little stagger the faith of some, when they see their boldness attended by no ill events. But the cunning priests immediately satisfy such doubtful persons, by telling them, that the demon, to whom they sacrifice human blood, does not trouble himself with *White* men, who are gods as well as himself; but if any *Black* should presume so to do, he would soon feel, by some dreadful accident, the indignation of the god inhabiting the sacred grove.

CIRCUMCISION.

THOSE people precisely observe the ceremony of circumcising every individual person, either male or female, some at eight, others fourteen days after they are born. The boys, as usual, by taking off

the fore-skin, and the girls by a small amputation in the private parts. Besides which, they make small incisions all over the bodies of the infants, representing some figures; but more of them are usually made on the girls, for the greater ornament, according to their parents fancies: tho' this sort of operation is very painful to the poor tender babes, as mangling their bodies; but being a great fashion, every body will adorn their children after that manner.

BARBOT.
Figures cut
in the flesh.

When children are seven days old, the parents make a small feast, believing them to be then past danger: and to prevent evil spirits from doing them any mischief, they strew all the ways with eatables, ready dressed, to appease, and render them favourable to the babe.

When we ask those *Blacks* who introduced circumcision, and the looking upon menstruous women as unclean, because it favours much of *Judaism*; they generally answer, they do not know, but that those customs have been handed down from their forefathers, from generation to generation.

HANDICRAFTS.

THE chief handicrafts there are smiths, carpenters, leather-dressers and weavers; but all their workmanship is so very clumsy, that a boy who has serv'd a few months apprenticeship in *Europe*, would out-do them.

DIET.

THE natives of *Benin* are generally wealthy, and eat and drink of the best the country affords. The ordinary diet of the rich people, is beef, mutton, and chickens, with yams for bread; which, after they have boiled, they beat very fine, and make cakes of them. They frequently treat one another, and are very ready to give part of what they can spare to the poor. Their drink is water and brandy, when they can get it. The meaner sort feed usually on smoak'd, or dried fish. Their bread is yams, as with the former, bananas and beans; their drink is water and pardon-wine, which, as I said before, is none of the best.

The king, great lords, and officers in government, who are indifferently rich, subsist many poor at their place of residence, on their charity; employing those who are fit for any work, to help them to live; all for God's sake, as they say, and to obtain the character of being charitable; so that there are no beggars, nor many remarkably poor in this nation.

PRIESTS PHYSICIANS.

THESE people are nothing near so concern'd, or afraid of death, as those of *Fida*, and *Ardra*; but ascribe the brevity or length of life, to God's determination:

BARBOT. yet are very ready, on the least indisposition, to seek all proper remedies and means, to prolong life as much as they can. Besides, when sick, they immediately send for the priest, who is commonly their physician, as they are on the *Gold-Coast*. He first administers the usual herbs, and if they prove ineffectual, he has recourse to sacrifices to their idols; and, as it is done at the *Gold-Coast*, if the patient doth not recover, the doctor is dismissed, and another called, in hopes that his skill may be greater. If the sick person recovers, that priest and physician is well paid, and much valued and respected. Such a priest will soon grow rich by his physick, which is most of their dependence; for as to offerings and religious services, except in this particular, every man there offers his own sacrifices to his idols, without a priest.

F U N E R A L S.

AS soon as a person expires, his corps is washed and cleansed; and that of a native of *Oedo*, the metropolis, who happens to die at a very distant place, is perfectly dried up over a gentle fire, and put into a coffin, close glued, and so convey'd to that city, to be there interred: and tho' a conveniency to carry it, does not offer in several years, they keep the corps in the coffin above ground.

They observe publick mourning for their dead fourteen days: the nearest relations, husband or wives, with their slaves, lamenting and crying about the corps, to the tune of several musical instruments, but with considerable stops and intervals, during which they drink very plentifully.

When a woman dies, her friends commonly take the trunks, kettles, pots, and other necessaries she had made use of in her life-time, and carry them on their heads, all about the streets of the town, attended by musicians, drummers, &c. singing her praises.

Cruel funerals.

If she was a person of distinction, they massacre thirty or forty slaves on the day of her burial; and one has been known to have had seventy-eight slaves thus sacrificed on her account, which were all her own; and to complete the even number of eighty, as she had ordered before her death, they murdered two young children, a boy and a girl, whom she had loved extremely. Thus few or no persons of note die there, but it costs the lives of many others, who are inhumanly slaughtered, to wait on the deceased in the grave: but this horrid tragedy is more cruelly acted at a king's death, as shall be observed hereafter.

Mourning ceremonies.

They commonly bury the dead in their best apparel, and kill more or less slaves to wait on them, according to their quality.

The funeral ceremonies commonly last seven or eight days, with lamentations, songs, dances, and hard drinking: and some have taken up a corps again after it was interred in all due formalities, to repeat the ceremonies of mourning and burial; and to slaughter as many more men and beasts, on their account, as was done at first. When the funeral is over, every person retires to his own home, and the next relations, which continue in mourning, bewail the dead for several months successively; some with their hair shaved, others their beards, or half their heads.

I N H E R I T A N C E.

THE right of inheritance devolves in the following manner. A husband is the sole heir to his wife; her children being deprived of all she possessed, except what she was pleased to bestow on them during her life-time; but, on the other hand, women cannot inherit their husband's estate, not the very least thing, but all is at the king's disposal, and even the woman herself, as has been already observed.

Among deceased persons of distinction, the eldest son is the sole heir, upon condition he pay the king a slave by way of herriot; and another to the great lords; and petitions them *ad formam*, that he may be allowed to succeed his dead father in the same quality: which the king commonly grants; and so he is declared the lawful heir of all his father's goods and chattels; of which he bestows no more on his younger brothers, than what he pleases. If his mother be still alive, he allows her a maintenance suitable to her rank; besides permitting her to keep whatever his father had given her, in his life-time. And as to his father's other wives, especially those that never had any child by him, he takes them home to him, and uses them as his own; those he does not like so well, are also taken home with their children, but set to work, the better to subsist them, and he has no manner of commerce with them, in the nature of married people: and of this last sort of widows there are great numbers.

If the deceased person leaves no issue of his body, his brother inherits all he was possessed of; and when no brother, the next a-kin is his heir: and if no heir at all, then the king is the heir, according to law.

The crown of *Benin* is likewise hereditary; first to the eldest son of the king, and in default of issue from him, to the king's brother, or his issue male, as I shall shew hereafter: which brings me to speak, in the following chapter, of the government of *Benin*, of the king's prerogative, administration of justice, and religion of the natives.

C H A P. VII.

Government of Benin. The king's prerogative. His revenue, wars, army. His appearing abroad. Audience to Europeans. Burial of kings. Enthroning of them. Punishments for crimes. Several trials. Issabo, Jaboe, Oedoba, Biafra, and other kingdoms briefly described.

G O V E R N M E N T.

Three
prime mi-
nisters.

THE government of *Benin* is principally vested in the king, and three chief ministers, called great *Veadors*; that is, intendants, or overseers: besides, the great marshal of the crown, who is entrusted with the affairs relating to war, as the three others are with the administration of justice, and the management of the revenue; and all four are obliged to take their circuits throughout the several provinces, from time to time, to inspect into the condition of the country, and the administration of the governors and justices in each district, that peace and good order may be kept as much as possible. Those chief ministers of state, have under them, each his own particular officers and assistants in the discharge of their posts and places. They call the first of the three aforementioned ministers of state, the *Onegwa*, the second *Offade*, and the third *Arribon*.

The king's
council.

They reside constantly at court, as being the king's privy council, to advise him on all emergencies and affairs of the nation; and any person that wants to apply to the prince, must address himself first to them, and they acquaint the king with the petitioner's business, and return his answer accordingly: but commonly, as in other countries, they will only inform the king with what they please themselves; and so, in his name, act very arbitrarily over the subjects. Whence it may well be inferred, that the government is entirely in their hands; for it is very seldom they will favour a person so far, as to admit him to the king's presence, to represent his own affairs to that prince: and every body knowing their great authority, endeavours on all occasions, to gain their favour as much as possible, by large gratifications and presents, in order to succeed in their affairs at court, for which reason their offices and posts are of very great profit to them.

Other ma-
gisbrates.

Besides these four chief ministers of state, there are two other inferior ranks about the king: the first is composed of those they call *Reis de Ruas*, signifying in *Portuguese*, kings of streets, some of whom preside over the commonalty, and others over the slaves; some again, over military affairs; others, over affairs relating to cattle, and the fruits of the earth, &c. there be-

ing supervisors or intendants, over every thing that can be thought of, in order to keep all things in a due regular way.

From among those *Reis de Ruas*, they commonly chuse the governors of provinces and towns; but every one of them is subordinate to, and dependent on, the aforementioned great *Veadors*, as being generally put into those employments, by their recommendation to the king, who usually presents each of them, when so promoted to the government of provinces, towns or districts, with a string of coral, as an ensign or badge of this office; being there equivalent to an order of knighthood in *European* courts.

They are obliged to wear that string continually about their necks, without ever daring to put it off, on any account whatsoever; and in case they lose it by carelessness, or any other accident, or if stolen from them, they forfeit their heads, and are accordingly executed, without remission. And there have been instances of this nature, five men having been put to death for a string of coral so lost, tho' not intrinsically worth two-pence: the officer, to whom the chain or string belonged, because he had suffered it to be stolen from him, the thief who own'd he had stolen it, and three more who were privy to it, and did not timely discover it.

This law is so rigidly observed, that the officers so entrusted with a string of coral by the king, whensoever they happen to lose it, though it be taken from about their necks by main force, immediately say, *I am a dead man*; and therefore regard no perils, though ever so great, if there be hopes of recovering it by force, from those who have stolen it. Therefore, I advise all sea-faring *Europeans*, trading to those parts, never to meddle with the strings of coral belonging to any such officers, not even in jest; because the *Black* that permits it, is immediately sent for to the king, and by his order close imprisoned, and put to death.

The same punishment is inflicted on any person whatsoever, that counterfeits those strings of coral, or has any in his possession, without the king's grant.

That we have here called coral, is made of a pale red coctile earth or stone, and very

Governors.

Ensign of
govern-
ment.

very

BARBOT very well glazed, much resembling red speckled marble, which the king keeps in his own custody, and no body is allowed, as I have said, to wear it, unless honoured by the prince with some post of trust in the nation.

Third sort of officers.

The third rank of publick ministers or officers, is that of the *Mercadors*, or merchants; *Fulladors*, or intercessors; the *Veilbos*, or elders, employed by the king, in affairs relating to trade: all which are also distinguished from the other subjects, not in office or post, by the same badge of a coral-string at their neck, given each of them by the king, as a mark of honour.

All the said officers, from the highest to the lowest, being men that love money, are easily bribed: so that a person sentenc'd to death, may purchase his life, if he is wealthy in *Boejies*, the money of this country; and only poor people are made examples of justice, as we see is no less practised in *Europe*: yet it being the king's intention, that justice should be distributed, without exception of persons, and malefactors rigidly punished according to the laws of the realm, the officers take all possible care to conceal from him, that they have been bribed, for preventing the execution of any person condemn'd.

THE KING'S PREROGATIVE.

THE king of *Benin* is absolute; his will being a law and a bridle to his subjects, which none of them dare oppose; and, as I have hinted before, the greatest men of the nation, as well as the inferior sort, esteem it an honour to be called the king's slave, which title no person dares assume without the king's particular grant; and that he never allows but to those, who, as soon as born, are by their parents presented to him: for which reason, some geographers have thought, that the king of *Benin* was religiously adored by all his subjects, as a deity. But that is a mistake, for the qualification of the king's slaves, is but a bare compliment to majesty; since none of the natives of *Benin*, can by the law of the land, be made slaves, on any account, as has been observed before.

No natives slaves.

King and queen-mother.

The present king is a young man, of an affable behaviour. His mother is still living, to whom he pays very great respect and reverence, and all the people after his example honour her. She lives a-part from her son in her own palace out of the city *Oedo*, where she keeps her court, waited on, and served by her proper officers, women and maids. The king, her son, uses to take her advice on many important affairs of state, by the ministry of his statesmen and counsellors: for the king there is not to see his own mother, without danger

of an insurrection of the people against him, according to their constitutions. The palace of that dowager is very large and spacious, built much after the manner, and of the same materials, as the king's, and those of other great persons.

The king's household is compos'd of a *Great court.* great number of officers of sundry sorts, and slaves of both sexes, whose business is to furnish all the several apartments with all manner of necessaries for life and convenience, as well as the country affords. The men officers, being to take care of all that concerns the king's tables and stables; and the women, for that which regards his wives and concubines: which all together makes the concourse of people so great at court, with the strangers resorting continually to it every day about business, that there is always a vast croud, running to and fro, from one quarter to another. It appears by ancient history, that it was the custom of the eastern nations, to have only women, to serve them within doors, as officers in the king's houses. *David* being forced to fly before *Abshalom* his son, and to leave *Jerusalem* his capital, to shelter himself in some of his strong cities beyond *Jordan*, left ten of his concubines for the guard of his palace.

The king being very charitable, as well *Charity.* as his subjects, has peculiar officers about him, whose chief employment is, on certain days, to carry a great quantity of provisions, ready dressed, which the king sends into the town for the use of the poor. Those men make a sort of procession, marching two and two with those provisions in great order, preceded by the head officer, with a long white staff in his hand, like the prime court-officers in *England*; and every body is obliged to make way for him, tho' of never so great quality.

Besides this good quality of being charitable, the king might be reckoned just and equitable, as desiring continually his officers to administer justice exactly, and to discharge their duties conscientiously: besides that, he is a great lover of *Europeans*, whom he will have to be well treated and honoured, more especially the *Dutch* nation, as I have before observed. But his extortions from such of his subjects as are wealthy, on one unjust pretence or other, which has so much impoverished many of them, will not allow him to be look'd upon as very just.

He seldom passes one day, without holding a cabinet council with his chief ministers, for dispatching of the many affairs brought before him, with all possible expedition; besides, the appeals from inferior courts of judicature in all the parts of the kingdom, and audiences to strangers,

or

or concerning the affairs of war, or other emergencies of state.

R E V E N U E.

Several
duties.

THE king's Income is very great, his dominions being so large, and having such a number of governors, and other inferior officers, each of whom is obliged, according to his post, to pay into the king's treasury so many bags of *Boejies*, some more, some less, which all together amount to a prodigious sum; and other officers of inferior rank are to pay in their taxes in cattle, chicken, fruits, roots and cloths, or any other things that can be useful to the king's household: which is so great a quantity, that it doth not cost the king a penny throughout the year to maintain and subsist his family; so that there is yearly a considerable increase of money in his treasury. Add to all this, the duties and tolls on imported or exported goods, paid in all trading places, to the respective *Veadors*, and other officers, which are also partly conveyed to the treasury; and were the collectors thereof just and honest, so as not to defraud the prince of a considerable part, these would amount to an incredible sum.

W A R S.

THIS prince is perpetually at war, with one nation or other, that borders on the northern part of his dominions, and sometimes with another north-west of his kingdom, which are all potent people, but little or not at all known to *Euro-peans*, over whom he obtains from time to time considerable advantages; subduing large portions of those unknown countries, and raising great contributions, which are partly paid him in jasper, and other valuable goods of the product of those countries. Wherewith, together with his own plentiful revenue, he is able upon occasion to maintain an army of an hundred thousand horse and foot; but, for the most part, he doth not keep above thirty thousand men, which renders him more formidable to his neighbours, than any other *Guinea* king: nor is there any other throughout all *Guinea*, that has so many vassals and tributary kings under him; as for instance, those of *Istanna*, *Forcado*, *Faboe*, *Iffabo* and *Oedoba*, from whom he receives considerable yearly tributes, except from him of *Iffabo*, who tho' much more potent than all the others, yet pays the least.

A R M Y.

Tributary
princes.

Garb and
weapons.

TO speak now something of the soldiery in the king's pay. They generally wear no other clothes but a narrow silk clout about their middle, all the other parts of their body being naked; and are armed

with pikes, javelins, bows, and poisoned *BARBOT*. arrows, cutlances and bucklers or shields; but so slight, and made of small *Bamboes*, that they cannot ward off any thing that is forcible, and so are rather for show than for defence. Some, besides all these weapons, have also a kind of hooked bill, much of the form of those we use in *Europe*, for cutting of small wood, whereof bavins and faggots are made, and some others have small poniards.

These soldiers are commonly distributed *officers*. into companies and bands, each band commanded by its respective officer, with others of lower rank under him: but what is pretty singular there, those officers do not post themselves in the front of their troops, but in the very centre, and generally wear a cymiter hanging at their side, by a leather girdle fastened under their arm-pits, instead of a belt, and march with a grave resolute mien, which has something of stateliness.

The king's armies are composed of a certain number of those bands, which is greater or smaller according to circumstances; and they always march like the ancient *Salij*, dancing and skipping into measure and merrily, and yet keep their ranks, being in this particular better disciplined than any other *Guinea* nation; however, they are no braver than the *Fida* and *Ardra* men, their neighbours westward, so that nothing but absolute necessity can oblige them to fight: and even then, they had *Want of* rather suffer the greatest losses than defend *courage*. themselves. When their flight is prevented, they return upon the enemy, but with so little courage and order, that they soon fling down their arms, either to run the lighter, or to surrender themselves prisoners of war. In short, they have so little conduct, that many of them are ashamed of it; their officers being no braver than the soldiers, every man takes his own course, without any regard to the rest.

The great officers appear very richly habited in the field, every one rather endeavouring to outdo another in that particular, than to surpass him in valour and conduct. Their common garment is a short jacket or frock of scarlet cloth over their fine clothes, and some hang over that an ivory quiver, lined with a tyger's-skin, or a civet-cat's, and a long wide cap on their heads, like the dragons caps in *France*, with a horse-tail pretty long hanging at the tip of it. Thus equip'd, they mount their horses, to whose necks they commonly tie a tinkling bell, which rings as the horse moves. Thus they ride with an air of fierceness, attended by a slave on foot, on each side, and followed by many others, one carrying the large *Bamboe* shield, another leading the horse,

BARBOT horse, and others playing on their usual musical instruments; that is, drums, horns, flutes; an iron hollow pipe, on which they beat, with a wooden stick; and another instrument, the most esteemed among them, being a sort of large dry bladder, well swelled with air, cover'd with a net, fill'd with peas and brass bells, and hung or tied at the end of a wooden handle, to hold it by.

Musical instruments.

When returned home from a warlike expedition, every man delivers back to the king's stores, the quivers, and arrows he has left. That store-house or arsenal, is divided into many chambers; and immediately the priests are set to work to poison new arrows, that there may be always a sufficient stock for the next occasion.

Having observed what little courage there is in this nation, we shall not have much to say of their wars; nor is it easy to account for their becoming so formidable among their neighbours to the north, and north-west, but by concluding those nations to be as bad soldiers as themselves, and not so populous; for there are other nations south and east of them, who value not their power; amongst whom are the pirates of *Usa*, who give them no little disturbance, as has been hinted before.

The KING appearing abroad.

THE king of *Benin*, at a certain time of the year, rides out to be seen by his people. That day he rides one of his best horses, which, as has been observed, are but ordinary at best, richly equipped and habited, followed by three or four hundred of his principal ministers, and officers of state, some on horseback, and some on foot, armed with their shields and javelins, preceded and followed by a great number of musicians, playing on all sorts of their instruments, sounding at the same time something rude and pleasant. At the head of this royal procession, are led some tame leopards or tygers, in chains, attended by some dwarfs, and mutes.

Magnificent train.

Barbarous sacrifice.

This procession commonly ends with the death of ten or twelve slaves, sacrificed in honour of the king, and paid by the people, who very grossly imagine, those wretched victims will in a little time after, return to life again, in remote fertile countries, and there live happily.

There is another royal feast, at a fixed time of the year, call'd the coral-feast, during which, the king causes his treasure to be expos'd to publick view in the palace, to show his grandeur.

Great festival.

On that day the king appears in publick again, magnificently dressed, in the second court or plain of his palace, where he sits under a very fine canopy, encompassed by

all his wives, and a vast croud of his principal ministers, and officers of state, all in their richest apparel, who range themselves about him, and soon after begin a procession; at which time the king rising from his place, goes to offer sacrifices to his idols in the open air, and there begins the feast, which is attended with the universal loud acclamations of his subjects. Having spent about a quarter of an hour in that ceremony, he returns to his former place under the canopy, where he stays two hours, to give the people time to perform their devotions to their idols; which done, he goes home in the same manner he came thither, and the remaining part of that day is spent in splendid treating and feasting; the king causing all sorts of provisions and pardon-wine to be distributed among the people; which is also done by every great lord, in imitation of the prince. So that nothing is seen throughout the whole city, but all possible marks of rejoicings and mirth.

The king on that day also uses to distribute men and women slaves among such persons as have done the nation some service; and to confer greater offices on them; but for his jasper-stone and corals, which, with the *Boejies*, make the greatest part of his treasure, he keeps them to himself.

AUDIENCE to EUROPEANS.

AT the audiences the king gives to some *European* factors, or commanders of ships, who are seldom denied that favour when they ask it; he sits in the room appointed for that purpose, before a fine tapestry, having on his left hand seven very clean bright elephant's teeth, on pedestals of ivory, as his idols, plac'd against the tapestry. The person is, according to custom, to stand about twenty five or thirty paces from that prince at his first coming in. If the king has a particular kindness for the nation such person belongs to, he perhaps will allow him to come within ten paces of him; and whatever the *European* has to propose, must be first told to the three chief ministers of state before mentioned, who constantly wait, and are present at those audiences. They report it to him, and bring answer; going thus continually to and from him: but no body being permitted, besides them, to approach the prince, we do not know whether they deliver the proposals or petitions of foreigners fairly, nor whether they return his true answer. Next, the *European's* presents, consisting of some silk garment or night-gown, are presented to him, covered with mats, according to their custom; and behind and before the presents, several men march with white staves, denoting their office, in their hands, to make way for them; and if any person should

should not stand out of their way when ordered, he would be very well beaten; which they say is practised, to prevent poisoning of the king's idols or murdering him.

The presents are never showed to the king, till after the foreigner is withdrawn; so that we do not know, whether he liked them or not, but by the report of the great officers.

BURIAL of KINGS.

THEY say, that as soon as a king of *Benin* expires, the custom is to dig a very large pit in the ground at the palace, and so deep, that sometimes the workmen are in danger of being drowned, by the great quantity of water. This pit is wide at the bottom, and very narrow above. They let down the royal corps, and then his most beloved domesticks, of both sexes, earnestly beg to be allowed the favour of going into it, to wait and attend on their master in the other life; but this honour is granted only to the best qualified among them, and those the deceased king seemed to be most fond of, which often occasions great murmurings and dissensions among them. The persons allowed the preference of accompanying their royal master in his grave, being let down into the pit, they shut up the mouth with a large stone, in the presence of a multitude of people, waiting there day and night. The next morning they remove the stone, and some proper officers ask those persons who were put in the day before, whether they have found the king. If they answer, the pit is again shut up, and open'd a-new the day following, to put the same question; which is answered by such as are still living in the pit, who also name such of their companions as are already dead. In short, this strange fantastical ceremony lasts sometimes five or six days; and every day they put the same question to the men let down into the pit, till they being all dead with hunger and cold, no answer is returned. When that is made publick, the people spend all their rhetoric in the praises and encomiums of those persons, who have been so happily distinguished from all others, as to wait for ever on the deceased prince. This inhuman practice of depositing living persons in the graves or sepulchres of the deceased, was formerly in use at *St. Domingo*, near *Jamaica*; where, when any of their *Caciques*, that is, chiefs or governors died, they put down into his grave several living women, to serve and wait on him in the other world. *Alexander ab Alexandro* reports, that before the laws of the twelve tables were brought to *Rome*, the *Romans* buried their dead in their houses, in large casks, and other vessels, which gave birth to the gods *Lares*.

After this, the chief ministers take care to ^{BARBOT.} inform the person, who is by right to succeed in the royal dignity; who immediately repairs to the burial-place of the late king, and causing the pit to be well shut up with the stone, orders abundance of all sorts of meat to be roasted on it, to feast all the people, and to express his satisfaction for their readiness to receive him to sit on the throne of the deceased.

The people having thus eaten and drank plentifully, run all about the city in the night-time, committing abundance of outrages, and even killing some persons they meet with, chopping off their heads, and bringing their corps to the late king's burial-place, for a present to him, to be thrown into the pit, with the garments, household goods, and *Boejies* of the persons so kill'd.

ENTHRONING of a KING.

THE usual manner of enthroning a new king is as follows.

When the reigning king finds himself dy- ^{Interreg-} ^{num.} ing, he sends for the *Onegwa*, one of his chief ministers, whom he commands, upon pain of death, to keep his last will and testament secret, till after his decease; the purport of it being to acquaint him, which of his sons he will have to succeed him in the government. When the king expires, that minister immediately takes into his custody all his treasure and effects, and receives the homage of all his sons, they being on their knees, each of them studying how to honour him, being uncertain which of them he is order'd, by their deceased father, to set on the throne; but it is commonly the method of that minister, so to behave himself with them all during the interregnum, as to show no more favour and regard to the one than to the other.

The time approaching to proclaim the new king, the *Onegwa* sends for the great ^{Great mar-} ^{shal keeps} ^{the secret.} marshal of the crown, who, as soon as he comes into his presence, asks what he desires of him; and being told by the *Onegwa*, what the late king commanded him to observe concerning his successor, the great marshal causes the *Onegwa* to repeat the same five or six times; after which he returns home, and there confines himself, without declaring to any person, what the *Onegwa* has revealed to him of the late king's intentions.

During that time the *Onegwa* sends for the late king's son, who was proposed by him to succeed in the throne, orders him immediately to wait on the great marshal, at his house, and desire he would be pleased to give a king to the state; after which, the prince returns to the palace, as the great marshal orders. Five or six days after, the marshal comes to the palace to confer farther

Living buried with the dead.

BARBOT. ther with the *Onegwa*, about proclaiming the new king; and after having caused him again to repeat, which of the late king's sons is appointed by him, to be inaugurated; at last, asking him, if he does not mistake the name of that son, and the other persisting in his saying, they both send for the young prince, whom they bid to kneel down, and in that posture declare to him the will of his father. The young prince returning thanks to them for their fidelity in the discharge of their trust, rises up, and immediately is dressed in the proper habit for the ceremony of his inauguration; proclaimed king of *Benin* accordingly, and invested with all the prerogatives of royal authority: after which, all the ministers of state, and persons of quality, come and pay their homages, and after them all the people, every one wishing him a prosperous reign.

The king enthron'd.

When thus inaugurated, the new king usually retires to the village *Ooseboe*, not far from *Oedo*, the metropolis, there to keep his court, till he be of age to govern; the queen-mother, the *Onegwa*, and great marshal, being regents in *Oedo* till that time.

The new king being at age, the great marshal fetches him from *Ooseboe*; he takes possession of the government, settles his residence in the palace; and after the manner of the *Ottomans*, causes all his brothers, and such other persons as are suspicious to him, to be put to death: or if any escapes it at that time, by absconding, or otherwise, he will sooner or later be sacrificed, to the jealousy of the new king: and the very children of those unfortunate persons are used as their fathers; but all of them buried with great pomp. The manner of sacrificing such state victims, is to fill their mouth and ears with rags, and suffocate them, because the law forbids spilling the royal blood.

Destroys his brothers.

The kings of *Benin* celebrate anniversaries, in honour of their predecessors, and then commonly sacrifice a great number of beasts, and men to them; but those men are commonly malefactors sentenced to death, and kept for those solemnities. When it happens that there are not five and twenty of them, which is the fix'd number ordained to be slaughter'd on such an occasion, the king orders his officers to go in the night-time about the streets of *Oedo*, to seize on all such persons indifferently, as they chance to meet carrying no light, and to secure them.

If the persons so seized are rich in *Boejies*, they are commonly allowed to redeem their lives; but if they are too poor, they are made a sacrifice on the day of the solemnity. The slaves of considerable men and officers, thus seized, may also be redeem'd

by their masters putting other slaves of less value in their place.

This strange way of seizing on men indifferently in the night-time, turns to a considerable advantage to the priests, it being their proper province to redeem from death the persons thus taken; and they make the people believe, that those who are so redeem'd have been sacrificed privately.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

THEIR musical instruments chiefly consist in large and small drums, not very different from those made use of at the *Gold-Coast*, being shaped like them, and cover'd with skins of beasts, and beaten in the same manner. They have besides, a sort of iron bells, on which they play: as also calabashes hung round with *Boejies*, which serve them instead of castagnets; all which together afford a disagreeable and jarring sound.

They have another instrument, which, by its form, may be called a sort of harp; being strung with six or seven extended reeds, on which they play very artfully, sing finely, and dance so justly to the tune, that it is agreeably diverting to see it; and really the *Benin Blacks* are the best dancers of all the *Guineans*; or if any of those can be accounted to come somewhat near them, in point of dancing, it must be the people of *Axim*, when they celebrate the annual feast, of driving out the devil; but still they are much short of the natives of *Benin*.

Here few or none are addicted to gaming, for they know no other games than those play'd with beans, only for diversion and pastime, but never for money.

PUNISHMENT.

AS for adultery, if a man and a woman of any quality be surpriz'd in the act, they kill both, on the very spot, their dead bodies are thrown on the dunghil, and left there for prey to wild beasts.

Adultery how punished.

Sometimes the woman's relations, to prevent the dishonour of their family, prevail with the injur'd husband, by means of a large sum of *Boejies*, to keep her still as his wife; and then she passes for a virtuous woman, as before the crime committed, both with her husband, and amongst all her neighbours.

Among the commonalty, if a man is suspicious of the levity of any of his wives, he seeks all opportunities to surprize her in the fact; and if he succeeds, by the laws of the country, he is entitled to all the goods and effects of the gallant, which he seizes immediately, and uses as his own. The adulterous wife is either stoutly beaten, or turned out of his house, destitute of all things

things to maintain her; and seldom or never any man offers to marry women so divorced: but they commonly retire to another place, remote from their husbands, and there pass for widows, and thus may chance to get husbands again; or if they miss of their aim that way, they commonly set up for publick harlots, to get a livelihood.

The severity of the law in *Benin* against adultery, among all the orders of people, deters them from venturing; so that it is but very seldom any persons are punished for that crime.

Execution of criminals.

The most usual way of executing persons judicially sentenced to death for some capital crime, as murder, &c. is to bind the criminal's hands to his back, to cover his eyes with a piece of stuff or linen, and so put him into the hands of the publick executioner, who causes him to lift up his arms as high, and to stoop down his head as low as he can possible; and thus, chops off his head very dexterously: which done, he quarters the body, and throws it on the dunghill, exposed to the ravenous beasts, and especially to a sort of large birds of prey, which love carrion, and are so much regarded by the natives of *Benin*, that they not only carefully avoid hurting them, but on the contrary, constantly lay down provisions for them in places appointed for that purpose.

King's son not spared.

If the king's son murders a man wilfully, they lead him under a strong guard to the frontiers, and there put the sentence in execution, in the same manner as above recited; for there being no more heard of him, it is more probable, that they put him there to death, than to think, as the commonalty of the *Blacks* do, that he is convey'd into foreign countries in perpetual exile.

Man-slaughter.

If a man accidentally kills another, so as the dead has not bled, the offender may redeem himself from the punishment of the law, by being at all the expences of the burial of the murder'd person, and giving a slave to be put to death in his place, after he has touched, on his knees, with his forehead, the doom'd slave, just as he is executed; and to pay a large sum of money to the governors: all this thus perform'd, the offender is free, and the relations of the person kill'd must rest contented with this atonement for the crime, whether they like it or not.

Theft.

As to theft, which is seldom heard of there, the natives, as I have hinted before, not being addicted to it; if the thief be taken in the fact, stealing any private person's effects or goods, he is not only obliged to the total restitution of whatever he has stolen, but likewise to pay a fine in money, if he is able; and if not, he is well beaten. But a robbery committed on any one who

is entrusted with government, is punished with death, and therefore is very rare.

BARBOT.

All other crimes are atonable by fines, proportionable to the ability of persons; but he who has no money, is liable to corporal punishment.

SEVERAL TRIALS.

Persons accused of crimes which are not clearly proved by evidences, are obliged to purge themselves by four several sorts of trials for slight offences, or in civil causes.

The first trial is to carry the accused person to the priest, who greases a cock's feather, and therewith pierces his tongue. If it passes easily, they account him innocent, and the wound will soon close and heal up, without pain: but, if, on the contrary, the quill remains sticking in the tongue, they conclude him guilty of the accusation.

First trial.

The second trial is, that the priest takes an oblong clod of earth, in which he sticks either nine or seven cock's quills, which the accused person is to draw out successively; if the quills come out easily, he is acquitted, if on the contrary they stick fast, he is reputed guilty of the indictment.

The second.

The third trial is made by spurting the juice of certain green herbs into the eyes of the accused person: if it doth not hurt him, he is absolved; but if it causes the eyes to turn red, and enflames them, he is dealt with as convicted.

The third.

The fourth trial is, that the priest strokes the accused three times over the tongue with a red-hot copper arm-ring; if it does not burn him, he is discharged; if it does, he is reputed guilty.

The fourth.

It is easy enough to infer from the nature of such trials, left to the discretion of covetous priests, greedy of money, how few can well avoid being found guilty, and consequently being liable to be fined at discretion.

The trial for high crimes is only allowed to persons of distinction, and by special order from the king; but it happens very seldom, and is reported to be managed after this manner.

The person accused having petitioned the prince to be allowed to clear himself of his indictment, and it being granted, is conducted to a certain river, to which the natives of *Benin* ascribe the ridiculous property of gently wafting innocent persons plunged in it safe ashore, tho' never so unskill'd in swimming; and of sinking guilty persons to the bottom, tho' never so good swimmers, and using all possible means, by that art, to gain the land, it all proves vain, and only renders their death the more painful: for the water of the river, say they, upon casting in of a criminal, tho' before very still, immediately rises, and continues as turbulent

Trial of great persons.

BARBOT. as a whirl-pool, till the malefactor is drowned and gone to the bottom; and then returns to its former calmness. What can be more absurd than this?

The fines imposed for the above-mention'd offences, either civil or criminal, are commonly divided among the justices, governors and priests, who take care the king shall receive as little of them as is possible, he being seldom informed of any causes or trials; and his three chief ministers of state either content themselves with what share the others are pleased to send them, or if they think it not competent to the nature of the offences, send it back to those inferior justices and governors, telling them, in the king's name, the fines are too small, and fixing what they must be; whereupon they will perhaps send up again to the three ministers of state double the former value, for fear of falling under their lash, who would not fail to do them some ill office.

As for fines on account of robberies, the person injured is first satisfied out of them, and then the governors, and the chief ministers have their shares.

RELIGION.

TO come to the religion in *Benin*, it is so absurd and perplexed, that it will be a very difficult task to give a just idea thereof.

It might seem rational to believe, that this nation being so near neighbour to *Ardra* and *Fida*, should have much the same tenets and worship with them; however, they differ very much in several particulars, tho' not in the main, being no less gross, absurd and superstitious pagans; as will appear by what follows.

Notion of God.

They form to themselves a notion of an invisible supreme deity, called *Oriffa*, which they own created heaven and earth, and maintains and governs them absolutely; and being invisible, cannot be represented, under any form or figure whatsoever; nor is it to be worshipped or served directly, because it is a being always doing good innumerable ways. Whereas, on the contrary, the devil, whom they also look upon as a deity of great authority, but naturally very hurtful to human race, is to be appeased and rendered less mischievous by continual offerings, and other religious practices, and therefore they think they must sacrifice to him, not only beasts, but human creatures, to satiate the thirst he has for blood. So that it may well be said of the people of *Benin* in general, that they worship both God and devil.

Multitude of idols.

From these absurd erroneous notions of the supreme true God, is sprung another, no less injurious to the deity; which is, to imagine an innumerable number of other divine be-

ings, which they set up in human and brutal images, as elephant's teeth, claws, dead men's heads, skeletons, and every other thing that seems extraordinary in nature, for idol gods, and so worship and offer sacrifices to them according to their deluded fancies, every man there being his own spiritual guide, and even sacrificer: and thence it is they have such multitudes of idols, notwithstanding they have also established priests, as has been observed before, to perform the religious services upon some publick national occasions.

The devil is not represented among them by any particular figure, or distinguished from their idol-gods, any otherwise than in their intention only; for thro' the very same idols they sometimes make offerings to God, and sometimes to the devil, with whom they think their priests have a frequent communication, and that he renders them well skilled in necromancy.

Every man has his peculiar priest, with whom he advises in all religious affairs, how he is to behave himself, and acts accordingly; especially when to undertake a journey, or any other matter of moment, they desire the priest to enquire of the devil what the success thereof will be; and in this case the priest puts the questions much after the same manner, as those of *Ardra* use to do on the like occasions.

Thus the priests gain much credit among the blind deluded people, and lead them, at pleasure, in all vain gross errors, moulding and framing idols to their several uses, as they think suitable to their own interest, either out of pieces of timber or herbs, or other trash worked together; which, when they have formally consecrated, the stupid natives fondly keep as sacred treasure, and attribute to them infinite virtues, to help and assist them upon all emergencies; which every body there firmly believes they are able to do, and therefore their houses are full of such idols. Besides which, there are also several huts erected without doors, which are likewise filled with them, and thither they sometimes repair to sacrifice.

The daily offerings they make to their idols, are only a few boiled yams, mixt with palm-oil, which they lay before them; but when they are advised to offer a cock, the idol has nothing for himself but the blood of the victim, and they eat the flesh of it.

Persons of high rank use to celebrate an annual feast to their idols, which they perform with great state and expence, both for the great number of all sorts of cattle and sheep they cause to be sacrificed, and for entertaining and feasting the people invited to such solemnities, and dismissing them again with presents very honourably, as being all very generous in that respect.

The

The sea hon-
noured.

The natives of *Benin* have all a singular veneration for the sea, and use to swear by it in matters of concern. They celebrate a feast on a certain appointed day in the year, that it may prove a beneficent deity to their country at all times; and they as ridiculously imagine the state of bliss or torment in the other life will be in the sea. We read in the history of the *Yucas* kings of *Peru* in *South America*, written in *Spanish* by the *Yuca Garcilasso de la Vega*, lib. 1. c. 10. that the inhabitants of the coasts of *Peru*, before they came to be governed by the *Yucas*, among that multitude of natural and terrestrial divinities there honoured in general, did pay the greatest veneration to the sea, as the most potent of all their gods; calling it in their idiom *Mamacocha*, i. e. my mother: to signify, that it was their nurse, in affording fish to support them; and did also adore the whale for its monstrous bigness. The people of *Benin*, in great concerns sometimes swear by the king's person.

Most men there, talk much of the apparition of spirits or ghosts, of their deceased ancestors or kindred, which however they say happens only in their sleep, when those ghosts come to charge them to offer this or that sacrifice to the idols; and they are so fond of this vain effect of their deluded fancies, that as soon as the light of day appears, they immediately perform what is enjoined them; and if unable to do it, rather than fail, they borrow of others; firmly believing their neglect would infallibly draw down some judgment upon them: tho' when some of us scoff at their stupidity in this particular, they are very ready to own those are but dreams; but then, at the same time, add, it is a custom introduced by their ancestors, which has been practised from generation to generation, and therefore they are obliged to follow it.

Shadow of
man.

They imagine the shadow of a man, which they call *Passador*, a *Portuguese* word, importing a thing that passes along, shall testify whether he has lived well or ill; if well, they believe that man shall be invested with great dignities in the sea; but if ill, he is to perish there in misery, through hunger and poverty: thus assigning the same place for the state of bliss and torment.

It is also the custom one day in the year, for every wealthy person to celebrate a feast at a very great charge, in remembrance of their deceased ancestors or relations. Besides which, they keep many other festivals, on several accounts, too tedious to be observed; among which is the famous one, of the coral, in the month of *May*, at which the king assists in person, and is so expensive to him, as has been already observed.

They divide time into years, months, weeks and days; each of which has its

particular name, but they reckon four-^{BARBOT.} teen months to a year.

To conclude this account of the religion in *Benin*, it is an inviolable law, that no priest shall ever go out of the country under very high fines, and even pain of death, unless he has first obtained leave of the king: and they are more particularly obliged by that law not to go to *Oedo*, the capital city of the kingdom: which seems very strange, considering the great respect both king and subjects pay to their priests.

The priest of *Loebo*, a town near the ^{Priest} mouth of the river *Fermosa*, or *Benin* <sup>much hon-
noured.</sup> river, is esteemed, and very famous among them, for his intimate familiarity with the devil, and for being an eminent magician; whose prerogatives are such, that he can at his will, cause the sea either to advance or draw back, and foretel the most remote events; in regard whereof, the king has bestowed on him and his heirs for ever, all the lands of the territory of *Loebo*, with all the slaves that were therein: and from his name the town was called *Loebo*. This priest is counted in the rank of their chief sacrificers, and so dreaded by all the people, that none dares come near him, much less to touch his hand, the king's envoys not excepted.

I have observed before, that those people use the ceremony of circumcision in men and women, as rendering them much better qualified to serve their idols, and far more acceptable to the deity; and thus conclude the description of the kingdom of *Benin*.

It remains now, to give a short account of the adjacent kingdoms of *Iffabo*, *Jaboe* and *Oedoba*, and of the neighbouring territories, which all are subject and tributary to the government of *Benin*.

ISSABO KINGDOM,

BOrders at the west on *Benin*; but the natives can tell us no more of it than this, that it abounds in horses, which the natives use much in war. And not many years ago, they made an incursion into *Benin* with an army of horse, thinking to <sup>Strata-
gem.</sup> have gained some considerable advantage, by so sudden a surprize; but the king of *Benin* having had timely notice of their design, ordered abundance of pits to be made in that part of the plain, through which they were of necessity to march, and to cover them over slightly with earth; and when the *Iffabo* cavalry approached the plain, the *Benin* men feigning to give ground, drew them easily into the snare, which caused a terrible slaughter among them; the *Benin* army giving no quarter but only to some of the prime men, who engaged, that their country should for the future be obliged to pay an annual tribute.

BARBOT.

JABOE and OEDOBA.

THESE kingdoms join to *Benin* on the north-east, but there is so little intercourse between the people, that we can learn nothing of them, but that they are both tributaries to the king of *Benin*; and that there are other kingdoms called *Gabou* and *Isago*, lying about eight days journey above *Oedo*, upon the river *Fermosa*; which to the northward border on the kingdom of *Bito*, a very rich country, extending to the great lake *Sigismes*, where the *Niger* loses its name, and takes that of *Ica*, or white river, *alias* the *Senega*, as has been mention'd before. North by east from *Gabou*, is the kingdom of *Temian*, whose inhabitants are said to be man-eaters, extending to the *Niger*; beyond which river is the kingdom of *Zegzeg*, being a part of the *Blacks* country lying between *Bito* and *Temian* on the south, and *Cassena* on the west, and so called from its metropolis of the same name; on the east of which, is *Zanfara* or *Pharan*. The above-mentioned kingdom of *Gabou*, is said to be rich in jasper and slaves; and beyond *Temian*, is the kingdom of *Ouangara*, extending to the *Niger*, from whence they bring gold, sena and slaves.

We are also told of another kingdom called *Biafra*, lying to the eastward of *Benin*; which, according to some geographers,

runs round the *Bight* of *Guinea*, or gulph of *Ethiopia*, and to four degrees of south latitude, whence has been taken the name of the coast of *Biafra*. This kingdom northward borders on those of *Isago* and *Gabou*; eastward it extends to the kingdom of *Medra*; westward to that of *Benin*, and southward to that of *Gabou*, lying at a good distance from the sea, and receives the name from its metropolis, which *Hues* places in six degrees ten minutes of north latitude.

The inhabitants of *Biafra* are generally addicted to necromancy and witchcraft above any other people of *Guinea*, and fondly believe, their magicians can cause thunder, rain, and high winds, at their pleasure. They are very gross pagans, of a wild temper, and have an extraordinary veneration for the devil, whom they worship and serve religiously, all the ways they can think most acceptable; and sacrifice to him not only an incredible multitude of all sorts of beasts, fruits, &c. but also, abundance of slaves, and even their own children.

This inhuman practice, of sacrificing not only men, but even their own sons and daughters, to the devil, is not peculiar to those *Guineans*; for, some of the *East* and *West-Indians* do the same; as also, the inhabitants of *Lybia*, in *Africk*, as historians relate; and the same we find in holy writ.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the kingdom of Ouwere. The metropolis, climate, trade, product and natives. The king. The religion. The coast described. New Calbary. Trade of slaves. Rings the only money. Canoes. St. Domingo river. Old Calabar river. Goods imported.

IN this chapter, I shall speak of the kingdom of *Ouwere* or *Forcado*, and of the coast from cape *Fermosa*, where the *Ethiopian* gulph, or *bight* of *Guinea*, commences, to the river of new *Calabar* or *Calbary*.

SITUATION.

THE kingdom of *Ouwere* or *Oveiro*, lies along *Rio Forcado*, which falls into the ocean, about eighteen leagues south south-east of *Rio Fermosa* or *Benin* river; the inhabitants were by the ancients called *Derbici* *Æthiopes*. The river *Forcado* runs down from a great way up the inland to the north north-east, with many windings, and is in most places near two *English* miles over, especially towards the sea-coast, but so shallow, that it is navigable only in small vessels, drawing seven or eight foot water. The banks are adorned with lovely ranges of beautiful trees, which render the prospect very agreeable. Near the mouth of it, on a little river, which is lost in the *Forcado*, is the village *Poloma*, inhabited mostly by fishermen.

Forcado river.

The METROPOLIS.

THE capital town *Ouwere*, which gives its name to the whole country, lies on the river *Forcado*, about thirty six or seven leagues up, from its mouth, and is near two miles about, being encompass'd on the land-side with groves and thickets, the ordinary residence of the king of *Ouwere*. The houses are generally pretty fine and neat, for a country of *Blacks*, particularly those of the persons of rank and wealth; the shells being all of clay, or loam, and painted red or grey, and the roofs cover'd with palm-tree leaves. The king's palace is nothing near so large as that at *Oedo* in *Benin*; but in all other respects much like it in form, materials and disposition.

The CLIMATE.

THE air is extremely bad, by reason of the continual malignant vapours the excessive heat of the scorching sun exhales from the river, which spread over the land, and occasion a great mortality among

among the crews of such *European* vessels as go thither to trade; but more especially among such as frequent the cross rivers that fall into the *Forcado*, or are not very careful to shelter themselves from the evening mildew, or moon-shine; and do not live very temperately in all respects.

The TRADE.

THE *Portuguese*, and next them the *Hollanders*, are the *Europeans* that trade most in the *Forcado*: their cargoes are compos'd much of the same species of *European* commodities, as are proper for the *Benin* trade; and they export from thence in exchange lusty strong slaves, much better shaped than we have them at any other parts of *Guinea*; but this place will not afford at most five hundred such slaves in a whole year. They also purchase some jasper-stones, and some *Accory*; but of the latter very little is got there, and it is very small and extraordinary dear: for which reason, but a small quantity is exported yearly.

Imports and exports.

The *Portuguese* were the first *Europeans* that traded with the natives of *Ouwere*, who not being then accustomed to traffick, and unprovided with goods, those *Portuguese* set up several of them as merchants and brokers, trusting them with their goods, to carry up in the country and to the neighbouring nations, to sell for them: but the *Dutch* in progress of time, with much difficulty have broken the *Blacks* from that custom, and brought them all to trade for ready money, in the *European* factories; and even the women come thither daily to buy and sell with them, and are all very courteous and honest in their dealings, but somewhat irresolute and tedious, spending a long time in considering and resolving on the price of goods; which when once agreed on, becomes general, and fixed for all the people.

The country is not very fertile in general, the night-dew being mostly very thin, which often causes a great scarcity of grafs to feed the cattle; and is the occasion that they breed but few, and that horses are not plenty, as in *Benin*, and the countries west and north of it.

PRODUCT.

Poultry.

Poultry is prodigious plentiful and much larger than in any other part of *Guinea*, which the natives mostly feed on. They have a special way of dressing them; for when they roast a pullet or chicken, they commonly baste it with its own dripping beaten up with the yolk of an egg, which gives it a very good relish, and makes it look agreeable, when taken up from the fire.

They have store of palm-trees, lemons, oranges, and *Guinea* pepper, or maleguetta,

and an infinite number of banana trees, as *BARBOT*, also of magnoc bushes, which they call, *Mandi-boka*, in their language; of which they make the *Cassaba*, or *Farinba de Pao*, that is in *Portuguese*, wood-meal, which is the bread they commonly feed on.

Plants.

NATIVES.

BOTH men and women, are generally well limbed and shaped; especially the latter are very agreeable to look at, and both sexes have three large scars, or cuts in the face, one on the forehead, exactly above the nose; the two others, one at each side of the eyes, near the temples; and wear their hairs, either long or short, as every one pleases.

Scars for beauty.

They are generally more industrious than the *Benin Blacks*, and nothing inferior to them in neatness of dress; their cloths being much finer, about two ells long, which they wind about their breasts and stomach, hanging down. Some of them are made of cotton, and others of bark, flax or weeds, spun as fine as silk, dyed of several colours, and wove in stripes and checkers, the woof hanging out at each end, like a fringe. I have still half a dozen of them by me. Those cloths yield good profit at the *Gold-Coast*.

Cloth.

Every man there, as well as in other parts of *Guinea*, may have as many wives as he pleases; but when he dies, all the widows belong to the king, who disposes of them as at *Benin*.

Polygamy.

The KING,

WHO some say is tributary to him of *Benin*, is very absolute, and governs much after the same manner as the other. He that reigned in 1644, was a *Mulatto*, born of a *Portuguese* woman, married to king *Mingo*; and the said prince was called *Don Antonio Mingo*. He always wore the *Portuguese* habit, and a sword by his side.

RELIGION.

Merolla, in his voyage to *Congo*, informs us, that about the year 1683, two capucin ministers, called *F. Angelo Maria d'Aiaccio*, and *F. Bonaventura di Firenze*, arriving from the island of *St. Thome*, in this country of *Ouwere*, were courteously received by the then king. That prince, says he, was better bred than ordinary, having been educated among the *Portuguese*, whose language he was perfect in; and could read and write, a qualification very rare among *Ethiopian* princes. At their first interview, *Aiaccio* address'd himself to the king thus: If your majesty desires I should continue in your dominions, you must oblige your subjects to embrace the

Introduction of christianity.

BARBOT. holy state of matrimony, according to our rites and ceremonies; and whereas, the young men and women go naked till marriageable, I desire your majesty will command them all to be cover'd. The king answered, he would take care that his subjects should comply with his request; but for himself, he would never be brought to it, unless he was married to a *White*, as some of his predecessors had been. The difficulty was to get a *White* to marry a *Black*, tho' he were a king; especially among the *Portuguese*, who naturally despise them. *Aiaccio* seemed to approve of the condition, and in order to bring it to effect, returned to *St. Thome*, where he enquired after some *White* woman, that would marry the *Black* king; and being told of one, who, though poor, was virtuously educated, and a comely person, under the care of an uncle; one day after mass, he turned about at the altar to the people, and in the name of God, and for his sake, intreated the uncle to let his niece marry the king of *Ouwere*, which might contribute towards the conversion of all that nation. The uncle being prevailed on by those pious motives, gave his consent, and the young lady set out for the said kingdom with the missionary, and some few *Portuguese*. When come upon the frontiers, she was met and joyfully saluted by the people as their queen, and all the honours they were capable of paid her. The king received her at his palace with all tokens of affection, and much magnificence after their manner, and married her after the christian manner; setting a good example to his subjects, who soon left their licentious way of living, and submitted to be restrained by the rules of the gospel, being all married after the christian way. Thus far *Merolla*.

Idolatry.

The religion of the country differs little from that of *Benin*, except in the point of sacrificing men and children to their idols, which these people are averse to; alledging, that to shed human blood, properly belongs to the devil, who is a murderer from the beginning. Nor are they all fond of idol-worship, or pagan priests, nor addicted to poisoning, as is practised among other people of *Guinea*.

Remains of christianity.

The *Portuguese* missions above-mention'd seem to have made deeper impression on the people of *Ouwere*, than in other parts of *Guinea*: for many of them still seem to retain some principles of christianity; and to this day, they have a chapel in the town of *Ouwere*, in which is a crucifix, or an altar, and on the sides of it the figures of the blessed virgin *Mary*, and of all the apostles, with two candlesticks by them; to which the natives resort from all parts, and there

mutter some words in their language before the crucifix, every one of them carrying beads in their hands, as is used by the *Portuguese*. They say, several of those *Blacks* have been taught to read and write; the *Portuguese* of *St. Thome* and *Punie's* island, who are their neighbours in the *Ethiopic* gulph, supplying them with paper, ink and books. From what has been here said, may be inferred, that the people of *Ouwere* are the most likely of any in *Guinea* to be converted to the christian faith.

The COAST of OUWERE describ'd.

THE coast of this kingdom from the mouth of *Rio Forcado* to cape *Fermosa* extends about forty six leagues, north-west by north, and south-east by south, all along low, flat and woody land, and is scarce to be seen till in twenty five fathom water out at sea.

It is parted by several rivers, which run across it into the ocean; the most considerable of which are those of *Lamos* and *Dodo*, all of them little frequented by *Europeans*, *Rio Forcado* having all the trade of the country: and I do not find that the *Portuguese* or *Dutch*, who have frequented those parts more than other *Europeans*, have made any great advantage by their voyages thither; all they get, is some few slaves in *Sangama* river, and cape *Fermosa*, and so along the same river, which are to be seen from the sea, betwixt that cape and *New Calabar*, or *Rio Real*: but it is not worth while for a ship of any considerable burden to stop for them, as I shall farther show hereafter.

Cape *Fermosa* lies in four degrees ten minutes of north latitude, and, like the adjacent lands, is low, flat and woody. The *Portuguese* give it this name of *Fermosa*, or beautiful, from the fine prospect it affords at a distance, being all covered with beautiful trees. North north-west of it is a little river, before which is a shoal that is dry at low-water. The village *Sangama* is on the north side of that river, somewhat within the mouth. At this cape *Fermosa* most sea-faring men begin the bight of *Guinea*; though some take it from *Rio das Lagoas* near *Ardra*. Modern geographers call it the *Ethiopic* gulph, and it ends at cape *Lope Gonzalves*; the land betwixt both capes forming a large semicircle. Cape *Fermosa* may be seen from the westward, being upon twenty three or twenty four fathom water; but is not easily discerned farther off at sea, the coast running from south-east to north-west. The charts make it angular.

From cape *Fermosa* to *New Calbar* river, or *Rio Real*, the coast runs east about five and thirty leagues, being cut through at distances

distances, by seven rivers, which all lose themselves in the *Bight*; and is all along very practicable for all sorts of ships, and very good anchorage, in seven, six and five fathom, sandy ground: the breakers along that coast being very near the shore, and the coast from one end to the other low and flat.

The true coast from cape *Fermosa* to *Rio-Real*, is to keep in ten fathom water, where is also the best anchorage there, and all round the bight, and not nearer, because of the several loose sands between ten fathoms and the shore.

Non river. The first of the seven rivers that show themselves in this tract of land, is *Rio Non*, four leagues east of cape *Fermosa*.

Oddy river. The second river, farther east, is *Rio Oddy*, or *Malsonsa*, or *Fonfoady*, or *S. Bento*, remarkable, being south of it, in seven fathom water, from two tall capes or heads it has on both sides of its mouth; the land within the heads being flat and low: there are also two thickets of trees, high and lofty, on the east side of the river, not far from each other; the coast low and level.

Juan Dias river. The third is that of *Filana* or *Juan Dias*.

Lempta river. The fourth is that of *S. Nicholas* or *Lempta*.

Meas river. The fifth is *Rio de S. Barbara*, or *Rio Meas*, before whose mouth are great breakers, as well as to the east of it.

Tres Irmaos river. The sixth is *S. Bartolomeo*, or *Rio dos Tres Irmaos*, remarkable by a steepy head at the shore, about two leagues off it; and by the breakers, out at sea, to the east. Thereabout, a league and a half from the shore, is but four fathom deep, but uneven ground, the land low, running east south-east.

Sombreiro river. The seventh is *Rio Sombreiro*, which small ships may get into and pass through land, into *New Calabar* river, by cross ones.

At all the above mentioned rivers small ships may anchor, and try their fortune, for getting some slaves, and elephant's teeth; but the most probable is *Rio Sombreiro*.

From this last river to *Foko* point, being the west head of *Rio Real*, or *Calabar* river, and by others *Calbarine* river, is but leagues eastward; and from *Foko* point, to *Bandy* point east, four leagues, which is the breadth of the entrance or mouth of *Rio-Real*, or *New Calabar* river, which is navigable, without much trouble, for ships of three hundred tons, or more, if they be large flyboats; as I shall farther demonstrate in the Supplement to this volume, and give a true chart thereof, setting down the anchorage and passages as exactly as possible.

Of NEW CALBARY.

Directions for sailing. THE road before this river, which is the eighth river from cape *Fermosa*, is a hard sandy ground, with five, six, seven and eight fathoms water, without the break-

ers, which lie athwart the mouth of that *BARBOT* river, before the two small islands; and the true channel is at *Bandy* point, north and south at four and three fathom and a half deep, at slack-water; and being come within the breakers, you must steer to the westward almost to *Foko* point, and afterwards to the north, to the road of *Foko* town, between the main and little island before it, about two *English* miles distance.

This island is pretty high, and serves as *Foko* a mark from the sea, to know the river. *town.* Very few ships go as high up as *New Calabar* town: for it is much better to ride at *Foko*, which is not so much molested with the mosquitoes, as *New Calabar* town.

A small ship may very well venture upon the channel at *Foko* point, with the tide, and sail so near the shore, as to speak with the *Blacks* on the land. But, as has been observed, *Bandy* point is the deepest channel at slack water.

The town of *Foko* is some leagues up the river, on the west side of it, and that of *Bandy*, on the east side opposite to *Foko*; and there being several other villages and hamlets, dispersed along the river on the east or west, all inhabited by a very good civilized sort *Civil* of *Blacks*, any man may safely venture to *Blacks.* trade, either for slaves, elephant's teeth, or provisions.

Those of *Foko* will supply us with fresh *Good wa-* water and wood. The water is there taken *tering.* out of a pond near the town, which keeps well at sea; whereas that which can be had at *New Calabar*, is nothing near so good.

They will also supply us with yams and *Provisions.* bananas, at reasonable rates, at the proper times of the year; but in *August* and *September*, and so on to *March*, those eatables grow very scarce, and dear among them: insomuch, that some ships have been forced to fall down to *Amboses*, and *Camarones* river, in *May* and *June*, to buy plantains, which is a sort of banana dried, yet somewhat green, and is a food well liked by the natives; thus spending a month or five weeks in that voyage, and afterwards turning up again to the westward, to *New Calabar*, to purchase their cargo of slaves. To avoid this long delay, at that time of the year, it is much better for a ship, bound to this place from *Europe*, to stop in his way at cape *Tres Pontas*, at the *Gold-Coast*; or at *Anamabou*, on the same coast, to buy *Indian* wheat or corn there: the *Calabar* slaves being generally better pleased with food of their own country, than with any of *Europe*, except horse-beans, which many like pretty well, boiled with pork, or oil; but especially those we purchase at the *Gold-Coast*, as shall be hereafter observed.

The

BARBOT. The yams, which are the chief of their subsistence, are not fit to be taken out of the ground before the months of *July* and *August*; and therefore most *European* travellers account those two months, as also *June* and *May*, for the best season of the year, in *Calabar* river; because of the continual rains which refresh and cool the air, and give the natives an opportunity to apply themselves wholly to commerce, up the land, for getting of slaves and elephant's teeth; and are consequently the fittest time for us to purchase slaves with expedition, and less hindrance and fatigue: but more especially in *August* and *September*, tho' the months of *June* and *July* are somewhat troublesome, because of the lightning and thunder, then very frequent and terrible; but the daily great rains do abate the heats very much.

Worst season. We reckon the months of *October*, *November*, and *December*, the worst season, because of the dry scorching heat of the sun, and the thick fogs, which are there frequent; so that it is not possible to see from one end of the ship to the other.

Calbary river. It is also to be observed, that yams, at *Bandy* point, are nothing near so good, nor so lasting as those we have from *Foko*, or *New Calabar* town, where the soil seems more proper for their production.

The territory of *Calabar* or *Calbary* lies on and about the river, called by the *Portuguese* *Rio-Real*; by the *English*, *Calabar*; and by the *Dutch*, *Calbary*; from the town of *New Calbary* or *Calabar*, situated on that river; who there drive their trade with the natives. This river runs up the land to north-west, a great way, and can be navigated only by sloops and yachts, the bottom being very uneven.

Calabar town. *New Calabar* town lies on an island close to the main, on the north side of a little rivulet, coming into *Rio-Real*, and is the chief place for the trade of the *Hollanders*; and containing three hundred and nine houses, is palissaded about after their fashion, having on the north side a large swampy or marshy ground, which the tide often overflows. The little rivulet above mentioned, forms at its head or spring, a large island, all over woody, but so close to the main, that it is hardly discernable to be an island; the river at that place being very narrow.

Fokotown. The town of *Foko*, already mention'd, is call'd by the *Dutch* *Wyn-Dorp*, because of the great quantity of palm-wine the country about it affords; and in the language of the inhabitants *Foko* signifies wine, is seated on the second point of the west side of *Rio-Real*, or *Calbary*, as we enter into it; having two small rivers, one to the west, the other to the east of it; both which fall into the great river, and that from them runs up north-west, and has good anchorage in the

mouth of the western rivulet, which is practicable enough for sloops to sail three leagues up to trade. About ten leagues up the country, and west of *New Calabar* town, lies that of *Belli*, govern'd by a captain; but affords little trade to *Europeans*, in some few slaves.

Sixteen or seventeen leagues above *New Calabar*, the river receives another little one, which comes from the inland country, at east north-east; on the banks whereof are several villages and hamlets.

The territory of *Cricke* lies some leagues north north-west of *Rio-Real*, and borders towards the south on that of *Moko*, which lies near the sea, as well as that of *Bany*, another territory, where is a large village, call'd *Culebo*, and eight or ten other smaller villages, in the compass of about four leagues, all of them under the government of a captain; as are also the other territories above mentioned: tho' such chiefs or captains are now generally allow'd the title of kings, by the *Europeans*, all over *Guinea*, as has been before observ'd; but are at best such kings, as the two and thirty that *Joshua* defeated at once, mentioned in holy writ. The money of *Moko* is of iron, in the shape and figure of a thornback, flat and as broad as the palm of the hand, having a tail of the same metal, of the length of the hand.

As to *Bandy* point, which is the eastern head, or cape of the mouth of *Rio-Real*; it is discernable enough from sea, by a tuft of high trees, overtopping the wood which covers all the coast about it. That tuft of trees the *Portuguese* call the lanthorn, or fanal: which must be well observed steering into the river, as well as the islands lying at the entrance of it; the true channel being near this *Bandy* point, north and south, in four and three fathom and a half at slack water. It is usual there, when the *Blacks* of *Bandy* town spy a sail coming in, to send aboard a canoe with pilots, who speak a little either *English*, *Portuguese*, or *Dutch*, to convey it safe into the river of *Bandy*; which when open'd, or in view on the larboard side, is to steer north-east, with the tide, which is very swift, and thus come to an anchor before the town of *Bandy*, or *Great Bandy*, lying two leagues east with *Bandy* point. Ships that come to an anchor in the road before the town, in fourteen or twelve fathom water, usually give a salute of three, five or seven guns, according to the bigness of the ship, to the king of *Bandy*; the *Blacks* being very fond of such civilities, and it contributes much to facilitate the trade.

The town of *Great Bandy*, consisting of about three hundred houses, divided into parcels, stands in a marshy ground, made an island by some arms of the river from the main: it is well peopled with *Blacks*, who

who employ themselves in trade, and some at fishing, like those of *New Calabar* town, in the inland country, by means of long and large canoes; some sixty foot long and seven broad; rowed by sixteen, eighteen or twenty paddlers, carrying *European* goods and fish to the upland *Blacks*; and bring down to their respective towns, in exchange, a vast number of slaves, of all sexes and ages, and some large elephant's teeth, to supply the *Europeans* trading in that river. Several of those *Blacks* act therein as factors, or brokers, either for their own countrymen, or for the *Europeans*; who are often obliged to trust them with their goods, to attend the upper markets, and purchase slaves for them: for all that vast number of slaves, which the *Calabar Blacks* sell to all *European* nations, but more especially to the *Hollanders*, who have there the greatest trade, are not their prisoners at war, the greatest part being bought by those people of their inland neighbours, and they also buy them of other nations yet more remote from them.

There is also a market for slaves at *Belli*, a large town at west of *Old Calabar* inland, but the trade is not so brisk as at the east of the river *Calabar*.

Of all *European* trading nations that frequent this river, and the adjacent parts, the *Dutch* have the greatest share in the trade; the *English* next, and after them the *Portuguese*, from *Brazil*, *St. Thome* and *Prince's* islands; and all altogether export thence a great number of slaves yearly to *America*, besides a considerable quantity of good elephant's teeth, and abundance of provisions.

This would be a proper place to enter upon the description of the slaves, and trade of elephant's teeth, with the natives, and of the *European* goods, that are used commonly to purchase them, as well as provisions, together with the methods to carry it on successfully; as also, to speak of the customs, tolls, manners and religion of the *Blacks* of *Foko*, *New Calabar*, *Fougue*, *Bandy*, and *Dony*, this last being about ten leagues up in *Bandy* river, towards the east, and the conveniencies of driving the trade, by the several rivers, having a communication with *Rio-Real*, &c. But I will follow the plan proposed to my self in writing this description of *North* and *South Guinea*, and give as good an account of those vast countries, as I could gather from the year 1678, to 1682, during which time I made two voyages thither; after which, by way of supplement, I will add, the most remarkable changes and alterations that have happened there till the year 1706, as collected from credible travellers, who have been there from time to time: and shall therefore refer the particular description of the trade, in *Rio-Real*, to that place

where I design to insert an abstract of the journal kept by my brother *James*, in his voyage to that river, in the year 1699, aboard the *Albion* frigate; a ship formerly belonging to the *British* government, then called the *Dover-Prize*, which some merchants of *London* and I bought of the commissioners of the navy, in 1698, and fitted out, for *New Calabar*, with twenty four guns, sixty men, and a cargo of two thousand six hundred pounds sterling: my said brother, and one *Grazilbier* going joint supercargoes, and purchasing five hundred and eighty three slaves, in two months time, which they carried to *Jamaica*.

The journals of those two persons, which are in my hands, being exact and curious, I thought more proper to refer them to the Supplement I promise, as being transactions of a much fresher date than my own voyages; and later instances of the trade of that river, and of the manners of the inhabitants, &c.

TRADE OF SLAVES.

THE natives on the east side of *Rio-Man-eaters*, *Real*, and those who dwell thereon, much farther up the inland to the northwest, are reported to eat the flesh of their enemies slain in battle, and sell all the prisoners of war they take to the *Calabar* and *Bandy* factors for slaves; sometimes bringing them down to *New Calabar* market, where they are publicly exposed to sale on certain fixed days, to the highest bidder.

The same account is given of the *Blacks* dwelling on and about a river, called by the *English*, *Cross* river, those people being also neighbours to the former; but with this difference, that they never kill their prisoners to eat them, unless they perceive them to be sick: for then, instead of contriving to cure them, as they do their own people, they commonly kill them, and make a publick feast.

We are also told there of a certain nation inhabiting a small state, about ten leagues in circumference, which lies still farther inland; whose chief town is called *Calanach*, and their king *Mancha*, who once asking an *English* man, that was taken by the *Blacks* of the coast, and sent up to *Calanach* as a prisoner, whether the *British* empire was as large as his kingdom; and the *European* replying, that his state was but one half of the least shire of *England*: the *Black* king was ever after very melancholy, as long as he lived, to find himself so little in the world.

Some *Portuguese* geographers place a city several leagues inland west of *New Calabar* town, which they call *Ofoco*; and ancient geography names the several nations that inhabit the large tract of land from *Benin*, to the *Camarones* river, the *Xyliuces Æthiopes*.

BARBOT. The slaves generally purchased at *New Calabar*, are conveyed down thither from *Biafra*, and other countries farther inland, whither the *Blacks* report they are sent by other nations, living more towards the north and north-east, and quite unknown to them.

RINGS for MONEY.

THE principal thing that passes in *Calabar*, as current money among the natives, is brass-rings, for the arms or legs, which they call *Bochie*; and they are so nice in the choice of them, that they will often turn over a whole cask before they find two to please their fancy.

*Good work-
esset.* The *English* and *Dutch* import there a great deal of copper in small bars, round and equal, about three foot long, weighing about a pound and a quarter; which the *Blacks* of *Calabary* work, with much art, splitting the bar into three parts, from one end to the other; which they polish as fine as gold, and twist the three pieces together very ingeniously, like cords, to make what sorts of arm-rings they please.

C A N O E S.

I Have already hinted somewhat of their large canoes, made of the trunks or bodies of lofty big trees, and framed much after the manner of the canoes at the *Gold-Coast*, for bars, but much longer, some being seventy feet in length, and seven or eight broad; very sharp pointed at each end, fitted with benches athwart, for the conveniency of the rowers, with paddles, who sit as near the sides of the canoes as is possible. They commonly hang at the head of the canoe two shields, and on the sides some bundles of javelins, as defensive arms, in a readiness to repulse any attempt that may be made on them in their voyages along the rivers, being generally at variance with some neighbouring nation or other.

*Canoes
with decks.* Every canoe has also a hearth, in the head of it, to dress their victuals, and they have a contrivance to set up a sort of awning, made of mats, to shelter the principal persons in the boat at night, or in extreme bad weather: and others have a sort of quarter-deck, made of strong reeds; but the rest of the crew, and the slaves, when they carry any, lie exposed to all weather.

*Canoes for
war.* They navigate such canoes with eighteen or twenty hands, and those arm'd for war, commonly carry seventy or eighty men, with all necessary provisions to subsist them, being generally yams, bananas, chickens, hogs, goats or sheep, palm-wine and palm-oil; which two last sorts are plentiful enough at *New Calabar*, and pretty cheap, as are all other sorts of eatables, for themselves and the slaves.

With such canoes, thus equipp'd, they carry on their traffick very far on rivers, or their wars, as occasion requires.

S. DOMINGO RIVER,

SO called by the *Portuguese*, and by others *Laitomba*, falls into the *Æthiopian* gulph, about five leagues east of *Bandy* point, which is at the mouth of *Rio-Real*. The town *Dony* or *Bony*, stands on the east side of it, *Donytown.* is large, well peopled, and trades in slaves and teeth with the *Europeans*, by means of *Bandy* river, which has a communication with it, and by means of those rivers, the *Dony* people drive their trade up the land, to purchase slaves and teeth.

I might here enlarge upon the description of this town and country, and of the manners and religion of its inhabitants; but my brother's journal mentioning several particulars thereof, I refer that to the Supplement.

OLD CALABAR RIVER.

FROM *Rio de S. Domingo*, to that of *Old Calabar* or *Calbarine*, the coast stretches eastward, all over level and woody, and betwixt them both is another river that falls into the gulph, called by the *Hollanders*, *Rio de Conde*; but I have not heard any body say it is a place of any trade. The *Dutch* call this river *Oude Calborgb*, and the *English*, *Old Calbary*. The true channel for large ships is on the east side, in three fathom and a half water; and the right road in it is near another river, call'd *Cross* river, coming from the north-west into it, above the place called *Sandy-point*; below which, at the mouth of *Old Calabar* river are two villages at a distance from each other, call'd *Fish-town*, and *Salt-town*; the *Blacks* of the former being fishermen, and of the latter salt-boilers.

On the east side of *Old Calabar* river, just at the mouth of it, is another little river running up north, and then east to *Rio del Rey*, thro' which ships may pass safely, and so makes an island of the coast that lies betwixt it and *Old Calabar*. In the midst of the entrance of *Old Calabar* river lies a small oval island, flat and low, call'd *parrot's* island, which makes two channels to enter it; the best being, as I have said before, on the side of *Bennel's* river: the other channel is between that little island and the salt-town, on the main; but it has a bar almost athwart it, extending from *Salt-town*, to very near the west point of *Parrot's* island, leaving only a narrow passage close to that island, six or seven fathom deep.

Thus by all the before mentioned remarks this river is easily known from sea, and as easy to be navigated by large ships. It is well furnished with villages and hamlets all about, where *Europeans* drive their trade with the *Blacks*,

Blacks, who are good civiliz'd people, and where we get, in their proper seasons, as at *New Calabar*, all sorts of eatables, yams, bananas, corn, and other provisions for the slaves which we barter there, as well as elephant's teeth, and I believe have the greatest share of, of any *Europeans*.

It is to be observed, that the trade goes on there very slowly, several ships being obliged to stay eight or ten months, according to the circumstances of the natives, making fast their ships to large trees on the bank of the river, to save their cables.

Bad air. The air in this river is very malignant, and occasions a great mortality among our sailors, that make any long stay. I remember, that at my first voyage into *Guinea*, being in the frigate call'd the *Sun of Africa*, I met at sea, in crossing the line, an *English* flyboat, bound for *Nevis*, but first for *Prince's island*, which had but five men of all the crew able to hand the sails, having been ten months in *Old Calabar*, to purchase about three hundred slaves, of which one third part, or better, were then dead, tho' they had been but three weeks from that river.

Other inconveniencies. The *Hollanders*, of all the other *European Guinea* traders, can least bear with the intemperature of the air, in *Old Calabar*; and for that reason, as well as for the tediousness of their traffick there, in all probability, they seldom send their ships thither: besides its being so situated in the gulph, that the tide almost continually runs with great violence towards *Camarones river*, in the circular part of the bight, north from all the coast round it; which gives a great fatigue to sailors that come out of *Old Calabar*, to turn up a ship for three weeks or a month in the gulph to gain *Prince's island*, *St. Thome*, or *cape de Lope Gonzalves*, to take in fresh water, wood and provisions; which is also very prejudicial to the slaves aboard.

Goods imported.

THE most current goods of *Europe* for the river of *Old Calabar* to purchase slaves and elephant's teeth, are iron bars, in quantity, and chiefly; copper bars, blue rags, cloth, and striped *Guinea* clouts of many colours, horse-bells, hawks-bells, rangoes; pewter basons of one, two, three and four pound weight; tankards of ditto, of one, two and three pound weight; beads, very small, and glazed, yellow, green, purple and blue; purple copper armlets, or arm-rings, of *Angola* make; but this last sort of goods is peculiar to the *Portuguese*.

The *Blacks* there reckon by copper bars, reducing all sorts of goods to such bars; for example, one bar of iron, four copper bars; a man-slave for thirty eight; and a woman-slave for thirty seven or thirty six copper bars.

The monkeys of *Old Calabar* are very handsome, and much valued in *Europe*.  *BARBOT. Monkeys.*

It may perhaps not be altogether useless to insert here a few words of the *Old Calabar* language.

<i>Yo,</i>	<i>Give me.</i>
<i>Tata, bobob,</i>	<i>Speak.</i>
<i>Singome,</i>	<i>Shew me.</i>
<i>Fai-fay,</i>	<i>To truck.</i>
<i>Yong-yong,</i>	<i>Good and fair.</i>
<i>Qua-qua,</i>	<i>Linen.</i>
<i>Basin,</i>	<i>Basons.</i>
<i>Yallo,</i>	<i>Beads.</i>
<i>Labouche,</i>	<i>A woman.</i>
<i>Negro,</i>	<i>A black.</i>
<i>Cokeriko,</i>	<i>Chickens.</i>
<i>Cakedeko,</i>	<i>To-morrow.</i>
<i>Cakedeko singo,</i>	<i>After to-morrow.</i>
<i>Macinche,</i>	<i>Yesterday.</i>
<i>Singo me Crizake,</i>	<i>Shew me the like.</i>
<i>Singo me miombo,</i>	<i>Give me some strong liquor.</i>
<i>Kindenongue-nongue,</i>	<i>Go sleep.</i>
<i>Chap-chap,</i>	<i>Eat.</i>
<i>Foretap,</i>	<i>All.</i>
<i>Meraba,</i>	<i>Water.</i>

To conclude this chapter, I would advise such as are to carry ships of considerable burthen into the rivers of *New and Old Calabar*, besides observing the before mentioned directions, to sound the proper channels and depths with boats, before sailing in the ship; and to make all due remarks, as prudence requires: as also to take the advice of some of the natives for the channels; and afterward to examine if it be so, with the boat or pinnace; also to observe the tides, winds and depths, and the situation of the lands and banks; and, if possible, to be even so curious, as to make particular charts or draughts thereof; and of the rivers for present and future uses, for themselves and posterity. The neglect of this, in most sea-faring men, even those who have had education, is much to be lamented among us; very many spending their whole life in travelling from one part of the universe to another, and very often to and from the same places; who nevertheless are not able to show what use they have made of their time, in any observations of this sort, that may be serviceable to posterity, as well as to themselves. Had this been practised in former generations, and even in this present, since navigation is become so familiar to the meanest capacities; and such multitudes of men have visited, more than once, the best parts of the known world, several of them having been at many coasts, harbours and rivers; we should be now better furnished with exact maps and charts thereof, and many ships and men had been saved who have perished, in all parts of the world, thro' the ignorance of the commanders, or thro' their own neglect: an instance whereof,

BARBOT. whereof, I have, at my own cost, in the *Griffin* frigate, which some adventurers of *London* and myself had fitted out in 1697, for *New Calabar* river; and after a very prosperous voyage and trade, in three months exactly from the *Downs* to that river, having in that space taken in three hundred and fifty slaves, was miserably cast away on that bar, coming out to proceed to *Jamaica*, in the best weather that could be wished; through the neglect of the officers, and for want of taking due observations of the channel, and not having sense enough, when the ship had but gently touch'd undamaged on the skirt of the bar, to cast anchor there, and knock out the heads of all the water-casks to lighten her. But all the crew got into the long-boat, and run ashore at *Bandy*; leaving the ship with all her sails out, and all the slaves in her,

to be tossed to and fro for three days in the channel, till at last it was split in pieces, after the king of *Bandy* had sent several canoes aboard her, which took out all the slaves, and the best part of her rigging and utensils for himself: being amazed and much surpris'd at the conduct of our people; most of whom died there, and some few, after threemonths stay in misery among the *Blacks*, got their passage in a *Portuguese* ship over to *St. Thome*, and thence afterwards to *England*. It was a great surpris'e to the adventurers, to hear of their arrival here, when we expected letters from *Jamaica*, with an account of the ship's arrival there with a good cargo of *Blacks*; which was no less expected there by many of the planters, then in great want of *Blacks*, who at that time yielded forty pounds a man.

C H A P. IX.

Rio del Rey. Calbonges nation. Ambozes country. Camarones river. The coast to Rio Gabon. Angra river. Corisco island. Moucheron islands. Cape St. Clare. Gabon river. Pongo islands. Government. Wild beasts. Religion.

R I O D E L R E Y.

FROM the east point of *Old Calabar* river, to the west-head or cape, of the mouth of *Rio del Rey*, the coast extends about ten leagues east and west.

Marks to know the river.

This river *del Rey* is very easily known coming from the westward, by the extreme high lands of *Ambozes*, situated betwixt it and *Rio Camarones*, which appear at south-east, as we go into *Rio del Rey*, so that it is impossible to miss it; the mouth looking like a deep large bay, running to the northward seven or eight leagues wide in the entrance, from the west point to the opposite side out and in. Somewhat out to sea are two ridges or rows of poles fixed in the sea, called a fishery, the *Blacks* probably fastning nets there to catch fish. About them is eight fathom water.

Depth of the river.

The depth of the river's mouth three and a half and three fathom, ouzy ground, and every where free from shoals and sands, except near the east-shore, where it is somewhat foul within. The channel is exactly in the middle.

Its course.

The shore is flat, low and swampy on both sides; and the river comes down from the north very wide for a great way up, with many villages on the east and west banks, and it receives many others that fall into it on both sides; on which are also several villages and hamlets.

Trading village.

The trading place on the west point of the mouth of the river, is a village com-

monly well inhabited, being seated on a small river that loses itself in *Rio del Rey*, somewhat within the mouth, the little one being navigable for sloops. The *Dutch* have the greatest share of trade there in yachts sent from *Mina*, on the *Gold-Coast*; whose cargo consists mostly of small copper-bars, of the same sort as mentioned at *Old Calabar*, iron-bars, coral, brass-basons, of the refuse goods of the *Gold-Coast*; bloom-colour beads or bugles, and purple copper armlets or rings, made at *Loanda* in *Angola*, and presses for lemons and oranges. In exchange for which, they yearly export from thence four or five hundred slaves, and about ten or twelve tun weight of fine large teeth, two or three of which commonly weigh above an hundred weight; besides *Accory*, javelins, and some sorts of knives, which the *Blacks* there make to perfection, and are proper for the trade of the *Gold-Coast*. The *Accory* is to be found no where but at *Rio del Rey*, and thence along to *Camarones* river.

The inconveniency there is, that the air *Bad air.* in the river is always thick and very foggy, and the country affords no other fresh water, but what the *Blacks* gather from the tops of their houses when it rains. So that the yachts, or other vessels which go to trade there, must take in their provision of water elsewhere; for what they could get there, will cost very dear.

CALBONGES NATION.

THE nation of the *Calbonges* inhabiting about the upper end of *Rio del Rey*, and being a part of the people in the ancient geography call'd *Xyliuces Æthiopes*, which possess the tract of land from this river to cape *Fermosa* westward, are a very strong robust people, but very poor and knavish, always ready to cheat *Europeans*, upon every opportunity that offers; so that it behoves those who deal with them to be continually upon their guard.

Both men and women wear only a bare single clout, made of herbs or flax, about their waist. They are generally a wild brutish race, very cruel and unnatural; inasmuch, that among them it is common for a father to sell his children, a husband his wives, and a brother his sisters, or other relations.

They are also very nasty, both in their houses and persons; and many of the males carry their privy-members in a sort of case they fasten to their middle; those cases being no other than a narrow long calabash. Others have yet a stranger fashion; which is, to tie up with a thread the end of the foreskin, and so enclose the member: and both these sort of men go stark-naked, as they came from their mother's womb, smearing their bodies all over with a red sort of stuff; and having several scars on their foreheads, made with a red-hot iron or pincers; plaiting their hair many different ways, and filing their teeth as sharp as needles, like the *Quaqua Blacks*.

Their way of clearing themselves of crimes laid to their charge, is to make an incision in their arm, and suck out their own blood. Which is likewise practised by the people of *Ambozes*, *Ambo* and *Boetery*, bearing irreconcilable hatred to the *Calbonges*, because these are very wicked deceitful enemies to them and other neighbours.

These wicked *Calbonges* have the kingdom of *Gabon* on the north, from whence comes jasper and slaves, as has been observed. Their principal employment is fishing in the rivers, which are richly stored with various kinds of fish.

AMBOZES COUNTRY.

THE territory of *Ambozes*, which, I said before, is situated between *Rio del Rey*, and *Rio Camarones*, is very remarkable for the immense height of the mountains it has near the sea-shore, which the *Spaniards* call *Alta-Tierra de Ambozi*, and reckon some of them as high as the pike of *Teneriffe*. The coast runs from *Rio del Rey* to south-east; the little river *Camarones Pequeno*, lies about five leagues from *Rio del Rey*; from it to cape *Camarones*, the northern point of *Rio Camarones*

V O L. V.

Grande, the coast is low and woody, much *BARBOT*. more than it is from *Little Camarones* to *Rio del Rey*.

This *Little Camarones* river is properly a branch of *Great Camarones* river, and divides it self coming out from the latter into three branches; all three running thro' the lands of the *Ambozes*, into the great *Ethiopick* ocean: the principal of which being the third river, south-east of *Rio del Rey*, is called *Old Camarones* by the *English*.

This third branch divides it self again into two other branches, at a distance from each other, running to south-east and south south-east into the *Great Camarones* river. And thus, with the ocean, form three islands in the territory of *Ambozes*, wherein are the highest mountains, which extend near to the north point or head of *Great Camarones*. And at west and south-west of *Old Camarones* river, are three round islands off at sea, two or three leagues from the main, as lofty and high land, as the opposite *Ambozes* hills.

These islands are called by the *Portuguese*, *Three Ibas Ambozes*: the channel betwixt them and the main is seven fathom deep; tho' from some distance off at sea they seem to touch the opposite continent, which is properly the effect of the immense altitude of the hills, on either side the channel, so that the biggest first-rate may sail through it with safety; the tide there running as the wind sits. The most northern island of the three, lies four leagues from the *Pescaria* or fishery of *Rio del Rey*, and the most southern of them five leagues to the north of cape *Camarones*, being the highest land of them all and the largest; the other, which is the smallest, lies betwixt the two former.

Though these little islands look but like large lofty rocks at a distance; yet they swarm with people, and are so fertile, especially in palm-wine and oil, that the soil produces enough to subsist the inhabitants. It is surprising to find there such abundance of palm-trees, when there is not one to be seen on the opposite continent. The sea about the islands abounds in many sorts of good fish; which is of great advantage to the islanders.

The road for trading-ships, is east of the most southern island. The inhabitants for the most part understand *Portuguese* pretty well, but are the worst *Blacks* of all *Guinea*. They form a sort of common-wealth of the three islands, making continual descents with their canoes, on the territory of *Ambozes* on the main, and get from thence in their incursions a vast quantity of provisions; and have no other commerce with those people.

The territory of *Ambozes*, comprehends several villages on the west of cape *Camarones*.

Naked men.

High lands.

Blacks that live by robbing.

villages.

BARBOT rones, amongst which are those of *Cesges*, *Bodi* and *Bodiwa*, where there is a little trade for slaves, and for *Accory*. The *Hollanders* trade there most of all *Europeans*, and export slaves for the same sorts of goods, they use to import at *Rio del Rey*.

Names of numbers.

The *Blacks* there have the same names for numbers as those of *Camarones*: one is *mo*; two *ba*; three *melella*; four *meley*; and five *matan*, &c.

The country of *Ambozes* is very fertile in all the sorts of plants and fruits of *Guinea*, except palm-trees, of which not one is to be seen, as I have already hinted; and to supply the defect of palm-wine, they make a liquor for their usual drink, of a certain root call'd *Gajanlas*, boiled in water, which is not disagreeable; and is besides a remedy for the cholick.

They have great stores of poultry, and other eatable animals: for which reason many *European* ships take provisions and refreshments there.

CAMARONES RIVER.

RIO *Camarones*, by some called *Jamoer*, at which ends *Guinea*, and commences the lower or western *Ethiopia*, in the kingdom of *Biafara*; being part of the nation called in ancient geography *Achalinces Æthiopes*. This river falls into the *Ethiopick* ocean, through a wide spacious mouth; yet is it only navigable for yachts and brigantines, and that with much difficulty.

The channel.

On the south side of the mouth lies the little buffers-island, from which stretches out south south-west a shelf of small rocks so steep, that ships may sail safe close by it, in six fathom water, and so by the other rocks that appear within the mouth of this river, on the starboard and larboard sides of the channel, which is exactly in the middle, where it is three fathom deep. For some leagues up, the tides of flood and ebb go in and out constantly very swiftly.

Two small rivers.

The proper anchoring-place is before the mouth of a little river, coming from the country at east into *Camarones*, on which lies a village. This little river is called by the *Blacks* *Monoca*, and by the *Hollanders* *Tande-gatt*. And farther up in *Camarones*, and on the same side is another little river falling also into it, called by the *Dutch* *Monambascha-gatt*; on the banks of which, is the town where *Europeans* trade.

On the northern sides of *Camarones*, for a good way up, lie the lands of *Ambozes*, having a long ridge of mountains extending far inland, at north north-east, which ancient geographers call *Aranga-Mons*; and is properly the separation of the coast of *Guinea* proper, from that of the western *Ethiopia*, or the *Hesperii Æthiopes*, of the an-

cients. This territory of *Ambozes*, as I have hinted before, is cut thro' by branches of rivers coming from *Great* and *Little Camarones* rivers into several large islands; the farthest whereof in *Camarones*, is call'd *Negrey*, in which is *Whitebay*, and the next to it at west *Negary*. Near to which, and at its west-side, is the head called by the *English*, the high-point, opposite to *Rio de Bore*, at the south-east side of *Camarones*, where is a small village of fishermen, being some leagues distant from *Swaleba* point, that lies on the same continent south-west of it.

Above *Monambascha-gatt* before-mentioned, being the third small river entring from the east into *Rio Camarones*, is a village called *Beteba*; and farther to the north-east of it, on the river *Camarones*, another great town called *Biafara*, the capital city of all those lands; that of *Medra*, is near the *Niger*, the metropolis of the kingdom of *Medra*, and another named *Tebeldera*.

The lands opposite to the latter places, on the north of *Rio Camarones*, are inhabited by the *Calbonges*, and, as I have said before, extend to the upper part of *Rio del Rey*, and are a strong lusty people, very knavish and treacherous dealers, and miserably poor, continually at war with the *Camarones Blacks*, living higher on that river, governed by a chief of their own tribe, called by them *Moneba*; who is esteemed the most considerable person of all that country, and commonly resides high at a seat of his, on a rising ground, which is by nature the most sweet and pleasant dwelling-place of all the coast of the gulph of *Guinea*, both for a delightful prospect and wholesome air: as also the fertility of the soil about it, plentifully supplying him with yams, bananas, palm and *Bordon*-wine, besides other provisions of the country.

The houses there are square. The people drive some trade with *Europeans*, having store of teeth, *Accory* and slaves, which they afford us at very reasonable rates. Besides iron and copper-bars, brass-pots and kettles, hammer'd; bugles, or beads, bloom-colour, purple, orange and lemon colour; ox-horns, steel files, &c. are the choicest goods to get slaves for. The *Accory* is commonly purchas'd for *Haerlem* cloths, and some other stuffs of *Europe*, of the sorts imported at *Rio del Rey*, and all other trading places in the gulph.

The *Blacks* of *Camarones* are generally tall, lusty, well-shaped men; of a fine smooth skin, but very long-legg'd. Ancient geography calls them *Achalinces Æthiopes*, being the greatest nation of the western *Ethiopia*, now properly so call'd, and formerly *Hesperii Æthiopes*.

The

The COAST to RIO GABON, FROM *Swaleba* point, on the south side of the mouth of *Camarones* river; the coast, as far as *Rio Gabon*, being about seventy leagues south by west; affords nothing considerable in trade; which is the chief subject of this description of *Guinea*: and consequently being little frequented by *Europeans*, I cannot say much of it. However, take the following general observations.

Boroa and Borba rivers. The coast from the mouth of the river *Camarones* runs south by east to *Rio de Boroa* or *Borro* about ten leagues, in which space the river *Borba* cuts it through, falling into the gulph, much nearer to *Camarones* than to *Boroa*: not far from which, is the island *Branca* or *Baracombo*, about two leagues and a half distant from the continent, opposite westward to the island of *Fernando Poo*, and ten leagues from it.

Branca island. The island *Branca* has several sorts of fruit and birds; among which is that particular species before-mentioned in the description of *Sefiro*.

Leud women. The female sex there are accounted the most intemperately brutish of any in *Guinea*, as openly and impudently prostituting themselves in the fight of all men.

Some years ago, a *Dutch* ship happening to anchor there, a sloop soon came aboard with twenty eight *Blacks*, one of whom had a drum and a hollow stick, like a flute; and another, whose face, arms and breast were white, held in one hand a green branch and a bell, and in the other a little bird, about as big as a sparrow, which he now and then let fly off upon the deck, and whilst discoursing with them he often rung the bell, as it were to express his surprise at what the *Dutch* gave them to understand, by signs and gestures. Some of the *Dutch* going ashore afterwards, observed in the village of those people, a small hut about three foot high, wherein was an earthen pitcher covered with a net, which the natives would never permit them to take off; and just by the pitcher they saw the figure of a child cut in a piece of wood very oddly, with some small fish-bones thrust into and round about one eye, supposed to be the idol of those people. They also took notice, that those *Blacks* observ'd circumcision, but did not discover they had any notion of a deity, or any religious service.

From *Rio de Boroa* to *Rio do Campo* is fifteen leagues, in which space the *Portuguese* maps I have by me, made by the king of *Portugal's* command, set down four ports or villages, which no other *European* nation takes any notice of. They are south of *Rio de Boroa*, and call'd *Serra Guerreira*, *Angra do Ilheo*, *Pao da Nao* and *Porto de Garapo*.

This last is there represented as a large deep bay. Only one modern *English* chart of the gulph hints something of this last port, calling it point *Pan*, where it notes good anchoring, near the southermost point of the bay, between the cape and a small island, on the south-west of which is fifteen fathom water.

The same *English* map also mentions thereby, two round hills at some little distance of the coast, and calls them *Navia*; making the hills to extend inland from the point of *Pan*, to the northern banks of *Rio-Campo*, and noting good anchorage in fifteen fathom water, near the north head or point of the mouth of the said river. But the *Dutch* charts mention no places at all betwixt the rivers.

From *Rio do Campo* to *Rio de S. Bento*, *S. Bento* is ten leagues south by west, in which space the same *Portuguese* charts set down several rocks along the shore, called *Baixos de Pedra*, south of which is a port call'd *Duas Pontas*; and according to the *English* chart, some few leagues south of the river *Campo* is a bay pretty deep, inland and wide, called *Bay de Bato*, where is good anchorage in sixteen fathom water, over against the north head of the bay, and twenty off the southern head of the same. It likewise takes notice of a long ridge of little hills inland, that extends from *Rio do Campo*, five or six leagues southward, and marks a very high promontory at the north point of the mouth of *Rio de S. Bento*, in the form of a semicircle, extending from west to east along the river's entrance; before which is a bank or shoal, of three leagues, along the north side of it, near which the channel is six, five, and four fathom going in. It also supposes another river, coming into *S. Bento*, from the east north-east, call'd *Rio Toza*, and another less, call'd *Rio Moda*, falling into the same on the south side.

From *Rio de S. Bento*, to the north point of the bay of *Angra*, is fifteen leagues, a direct south-west course; the coast forming a great bulging at east, being twelve, fourteen or fifteen fathom deep along shore; the two capes thereof, according to the *Portuguese* charts, being to the northward that of *das Serras*, and southward that of *S. Joao*. The *English* map representing the best part of this bulging to be low land, rising gradually as it runs south, to a great promontory, forming the cape *S. Joao*, and placing a ridge of hills beyond that low land, call'd *Los-Mitos*, and the coast cover'd with high trees at distances, from the south end of the inland hills, half way to cape *S. Joao*, and eight fathom deep, round about that cape, to turn into the bay of *Angra*.

BARBOT.

 River of
 Angra.

The coast from cape *S. Joao* turns on a sudden from north to east, in a direct course, for about ten leagues; and there receiving a little river into the bay, turns again short to south, in a direct line, for near seven leagues to the north-east head of *Rio de Angra*, which is distant from the other western cape of the same river, about three leagues, the utmost wideness of its entrance into the bay aforesaid: the mouth thus looking full north-west, with five fathom depth betwixt those two heads.

Estyras
 bay.

From the west head of the said river's mouth, which is called cape *Corisco*, the coast runs circle-wise, five leagues south-west to cape *de Estyras*, which forms the bay of that name, near three leagues wide from north to south, and near as much in length to the bottom of it. The little island *Corisco*, lying just in the middle of the bay, is so low land, that at a distance the multitude of trees there seem planted in the water, and afford a very fine prospect.

Corisco
 island.

The island *Great Corisco* lies off at sea, about the middle of the mouth of the large bay of *Angra*; and a great way up from it east north-east in that bay, are the three little islands, call'd by the *Hollanders*, isles of *Moucheron*; of which, as well as of *Great Corisco*, I shall speak more at large presently; being obliged in this place to observe, as to the situation of the entrance of *Rio de Angra*, that the *Dutch* charts are different therein from the *English*; for the *Hollanders* do not only suppose the river to flow into the sea of the bay, full south-west, and thence to run easterly in the land, in a wide channel, receiving another river near to its mouth, on the north side; but also place the mouth of it, quite on the north side of the great bay, where the *English* place a little unknown river, that I said before, according to them, falls into the angular north part of that bay, about ten leagues directly east of cape *S. Joao*.

Difference
 about An-
 gra river.

Another observation, which occurs naturally on the same subject, is, that the *Portuguese* map, I have already often made mention of, places the mouth of *Rio de Angra* in the same latitude as the *English* do; that is, in the south angle of the bay, but makes it look full west; and lays down the island *Great Corisco* almost opposite to cape *Corisco*, by the *English* cape *de Estyras* above mention'd; but 'tis very probable the *Dutch* charts, being very ancient, are either ignorantly or wilfully mistaken, and rather the latter than the former; for we find by a multitude of instances, that they, for fear other *European* nations may rival them in the trade of the gulph, have thought fit to conceal from publick view, the true exact map of that coast, which they have so long frequented; and to expose only such

as are very deficient in the position of places. I return to the description of the island

GREAT CORISCO.

THE north point of it lies about four leagues from cape *S. Joao*, having a rock of a long, rather than round form, making two little heads, one at each end of it, and a cavity betwixt each head, on which are three or four trees; which is a fit mark to know *Corisco*, being exactly west of the island, which is about three leagues in length to the southward, and about a league broad, encompassed from north-east to south-west, with shoals, rocks and sands, but is much cleaner on the east side, where the strand is of a white sand, and the right anchoring for ships; its north point is in about forty five minutes north latitude. It is rather low land than otherwise, only towards the north part the coast rises a little.

This island had the name of *Ilha do Corisco*, from the *Portuguese*, because of the violent horrid lightnings, and claps of thunder, the first discoverers thereof saw and heard there at the time of their discovery. It is all wooded within, most of the trees being tall, and among them is a quantity of red wood, fit for dyers, which the natives call *Tacoel*, and the *English* *Camwood*, being hard and ponderous wood, but a better red than *Brazil* or *Braziletto*. Most part of the land of *Great* as well as *Little Corisco* is so low, that the trees therein seem from a distance to be planted in the sea, which makes it look very pleasant.

The sea round this island is commonly very calm and still, and is a very proper place to careen any ships in three or four fathom of water, good ground, and very near the shore. The road is on the north-east side of the island, and near a spring of fresh water, which runs down from the hills within, into the sea, facing the bay of *Angra*. This water at the ebb is very sweet, but brackish at high water, the flood then entering the rivulet.

It is inhabited only by thirty or forty *Blacks*, dwelling near the north-east point, about a league from the wooding and watering places. That handful of *Blacks* has much ado to live healthy, the air being very intemperate and unwholesome: they are govern'd by a chief, who is lord of the island, and they all live very poorly, but have plenty enough of cucumbers, which grow there in perfection, and many sorts of fowl.

The *Dutch* general of *Mina* sent thither about forty *Hollanders* in 1679, in order to settle a colony of that nation, to grub the soil, and make it arable; being persuaded that it would very well produce *Indian* wheat, and other sorts of corn and plants of *Guinea*, which would have been of great advantage

tage

rage and conveniency, for supplying the *Dutch West-India* company's ships with all sorts of provisions and refreshments, to prosecute their voyages either home directly, or to *America*, instead of making for the *Portuguese* islands, of the *Bight* or *cape de Lope*, to furnish themselves therewith, at a great expence, and even loss of time; many of the *Dutch* trading ships in *Guinea*, having mis'd of those places, as being set off by the strong tides and winds.

Dutch on
Corisco.

The *Hollanders* being accordingly set on shore in the island, first of all erected a turf-redoubt, to lodge themselves, and planted some iron guns on it, the better to secure themselves from any surprise or assault of the few natives, who are a sort of wild mischievous *Blacks*; and then proceeded to cultivate the soil, and had pretty well succeeded, having in some time gathered good store of corn, and other eatables. But the bad air of *Corisco*, and the great hardships they underwent in tilling and grubbing the island, brought such malignant distempers upon the little colony, that seventeen men being dead, and those that remained sickly, they resolved to raze their habitation and redoubt, and retired to *Mina*: and the trading factory that was at the same time set up in *Corisco*, not turning to any great account, they left it, and have not been there since.

MOUCHERON ISLANDS.

THE three small islands of *Moucheron*, had their name from an *Hollander* of that name, who in his voyage to the *East-Indies* in 1600, was drove into the gulph of *Guinea* by the tides: whether he lost his ship on some of those little islands, or whether it was found incapable of proceeding on the intended voyage, I know not. But *Moucheron* caus'd a fort to be built on the largest island, in hopes to drive an advantageous trade with the *Blacks* of the opposite continent; and having thus staid there himself for some time, left the settlement to the conduct of one *Hesins*, who had hardly been in it four months after *Moucheron's* departure, before the *Gabon Blacks*, fearing the *Dutch* would draw thither all the trade of teeth from their river, and the neighbouring ports of the *Bight*, after some other fruitless attempts made to ruin it, at last found means to surprise the fort, and inhumanly massacred the *Dutch*, with all the neighbouring *Angra Blacks* that happened to be there to traffick; the natives of the river *Angra*, not daring to oppose the attempt of those of *Gabon*, as fearing to incense or provoke them. However, their resentment for the murder of their countrymen in *Moucheron* island, stuck so much to their hearts, that at last

Dutch de-
stroyed.

a war broke out betwixt them and the *BARBOT. Gabon* and *Pongo* people, on that account, which still continues.

ANGRA RIVER.

RIO de *Angra*, or *Angex*, is a place of trade, and much resorted to by the *Dutch*, and sometimes by the *English* trading ships, which export elephants-teeth, bees-wax, and some slaves. They anchor in great *Corisco* road, and send their sloops or long-boats well manned and armed to the river, carrying their goods in trunks.

Way of
trading
there.

The *Blacks* of *Angra* say, their river comes from a great way up the land, which is probable by the largeness of its mouth, as has been already observed. It lies exactly in two degrees north latitude. The trade of this river would be much greater than it is, if the *Blacks* that inhabit the country about it, were not at war among themselves, as they are; tho' they live all under the government of one and the same king, which hinders them from attending trade, as is requisite to procure plenty of teeth and bees-wax; which might easily be had, if there were full liberty and open passages to the neighbouring countries, to gather those commodities, and convey them down their river for commerce with *Europeans*. For as the trade is at present, by reason of their perpetual distractions at home, and the war with those of *Gabon* and *Pongo*, a sloop trading there has in three days exhausted all their stock of teeth and bees-wax; as is very commonly done also in many parts of *Guinea*, where teeth are purchased: for at the most abounding ports or rivers, whither *Europeans* resort for teeth, the stock is carried off in eight or ten days; and though the *Blacks* promise more, it is often better to go off than to stay any longer.

Little com-
merce.

As to the other before-mentioned ports and rivers, which lie from the *Camarones* to this *Rio de Angra*, we are given to understand by the natives, that they scarce afford any teeth, bees-wax or slaves, and that they have barely provisions enough to subsist themselves, as being but thinly inhabited towards the sea-side; perhaps because of the unfitness of the soil, which obliges the natives to settle farther up inland.

Poor coun-
try.

CAPE ST. CLARA.

FROM *Little Corisco* island to *cape St. Clara*, we reckon about ten leagues south by east, a direct course in fifteen fathom water all along to near the said cape, where it lowers to twelve fathom. The coast betwixt them is cut by a river without a name, according to the *English* chart.

Cape St. Clara forms a high head, and shews a double land very high coming from

BARBOT the northward; and is the northern head of the mouth of *Rio Gabon*, so famous that few *Europeans* who ever sailed to that part of *Guinea*, can be unacquainted with it. The land from the said cape *St. Clara*, turns off short to full east for six leagues into the bay of that river, being a high shore planted at distances with lofty high trees, and then winds towards the south south-east; being cut in that distance by two little rivers, which run into the bay or mouth of *Gabon* river, according to the *English* chart. But the *Portuguese* map taken by order of the former kings of *Portugal*, sets down the river's mouth and channel up the inland directly east; as does also very near the *Dutch* chart.

GABON RIVER.

FROM cape *St. Clara*, the north head of it to the south cape, call'd the *Round Hill* by the *English*, because it shows so from the sea, is three leagues, being the breadth of the mouth into the *Ethiopic* ocean; the middle channel whereof, betwixt the two aforementioned capes, is directly under the equinoctial line.

This *Rio de Gabon* has its name from the *Portuguese*, who call it *Rio de Gabaon*, and others *Gaba*, *Gabona*, or *Gabam*. The depth of the water betwixt the before-mentioned capes at the entrance into the sea, is eight, and then six fathom water. Cape *St. Clara* on the north-side shews off at sea much like that of *St. Joao*; on the north entrance of *Rio de Angra* before-mentioned, except that of *St. Clara*: the hill that forms it, has a particular mark to know it, which is a white spot in the hill, appearing at a distance like the sail of a ship; it has also some shoals stretching out, on which the sea breaks.

Marks to know the river.

The south point of the mouth of *Rio de Gabon*, is low land, with a little round hill on it, and all over woody: it has also a shoal off the point at sea, betwixt which and the land is a passage for a sloop of thirty tons to enter the river's mouth without danger. And some leagues to southward of the point, appear the white downs called *Los Sernissas*; which are also a good mark in coming from the northward into *Gabon* river, with the others before-mentioned, to avoid over-shooting it.

The bottom of *Rio de Gabon*, is so very uneven in sailing in, that it is surprising to those who are not used to it: for in one place there is ten, immediately fifteen, then five or six, and presently twelve or more fathom water; as if the bottom of the mouth were full of rocks: and the ebb is there so strong, that it is scarce possible to sail into it with a westerly wind, and ships are often forced to stay till the flood; some ships with their sails full losing more ground in

Strongside.

bearing up against the ebb, than they can gain. It is observable, that the best channel to sail up the river, is along the southern shore, taking heed of a rock that appears above water, near the second point within the river. When past that rock, you steer south a little way, which puts you in the proper channel to the islands of *Pongo*; and you may sail a ship five or six leagues up above them. Some authors, as *du Pleffis*, mention a town situated up in this river called *Maceira*.

PONGO ISLANDS.

THE islands of *Pongo*, lie against the point called by the *Hollanders* *Sandboeck*, or sand-point, and by others *Zuidboeck* or south-point, a place whence foreign ships usually fetch fresh water, as being better than that taken at cape *Lope Gonzalves*, and is about five leagues within the river's mouth. That point extends from north to south, and the *Pongo* islands lie near the north-shore. Those islands are also distinguished from each other by different names; one of them, which is about two leagues in compass, having a high hill in its centre, is called *Prince's* island by the *English*, and by the *Hollanders* *Coning* island, and is very well peopled; the king of the country generally residing in it. The other is called *Papegay's-Eyland*, from the multitude of parrots that harbour in it; and is very fertile in many sorts of *Guinea* fruits, and serves for a place of refuge to the inhabitants of *Prince's* island, in time of war with the neighbouring nations, as being strong by nature. They have there, since the year 1601, some pieces of cannon and muskets, which they took out of a *Dutch* vessel, that had put into the river, after having massacred the crew, and eat them. The same they did afterwards by some *Spaniards*. Those people are not now altogether so savage as formerly, by reason of the frequent resort of *European* nations to the river *Gabon*, though they still preserve much of their antient rudeness.

Their names.

The king of *Pongo* is by the natives called *Mani-Pongo*, that is, lord of *Pongo*, as the king of *Congo* is stiled *Mani-Congo*, *Mani* in their language signifying a lord; which title they pretend imports a greater dignity than that of king; as was practised by the ancient *Romans*.

The king.

That prince's palace is of a great extent, but very mean; all the shells of the buildings, being of reeds interwoven, and the roofs of banana-leaves. The natives call that palace *Goli-patta*, or royal house, in imitation of the people at cape *Lope*, who give that name to their king's house.

His palace.

There are above *Pongo* islands, and further within land, two other kings; the one who resides on the north-side of *Gabon* river,

ver,

ver, called *Amajomba* or *Cajombo*; the other at *Gabon*, on the south-side, supposed to be the king of *Capon*, situate on a river of that name, which runs into *Camarones*: both nations hold of *Mani-Pongo*, being in all respects very much inferior to him in power. The king of *Cajombo* was formerly in league and confederate with *Mani-Pongo* against those of *Gabon*, and cape *Lope*, his neighbour on the south.

The river of *Gabon* spreads into many branches on both sides, and is navigable in small ships a great way up; but how far it reaches up the country, and how wide it is there, I could not learn.

Many *European* ships visit this river, as well on account of trade, as for its convenient situation, for the cleaning and refitting of vessels: those who go on the last account, unlade their anchors, guns, water-casks, and other like heavy or bulky carriage, on the *Prince's* island of *Pongo*, and by the help of the flood, get their ships as far on land as is possible, that by means of the strong ebb, they may be on a sort of dry ground, and thus more easily repair their vessel. However, this must not be understood as proper for great ships, for fear of coming to some damage by lying dry; some ships, such as galleys, or cruisers, being very crank, and consequently not to be laid dry. But such vessels, if any other ship is there at the same time, may careen on it, as mariners know best how to do, by which means they can come at the very keel to clean her.

This river breeds abundance of crocodiles and sea-horses, and is bordered on each side with shady trees; being also prodigiously stocked with all sorts of good fish, which is a great refreshment for sailors, and can be easily caught with nets or hooks, so abundantly, as to store a ship for a considerable time. The *Blacks* catch 'em very dextrously; for passing along the river-side in a canoe, and spying a fish, they dart a javelin at it, and very seldom miss it, which is diverting to see. Before the mouth of the river somewhat off at sea, we daily observe great shoals of those sort of small whales, which the *French* call *Souffleurs*, the *Hollanders* *Noord-Kapers*, and the *English* *Grampusses* being commonly about forty foot long, and some of them more, of which sort of whales I shall hereafter take farther notice. This coast, as far as cape *Lope*, abounds in that sort of fish called the sucking-fish, or remora.

The trade there consists in elephants teeth, wax and honey, which at some times is indifferent quick, especially if no ships have been there lately, which seldom happens; for the *Zealand* interlopers visit it the whole year round, to cleanse their ships and store them with water, wood, &c. during which time they trade with the inhabitants: the

other ships of their nation belonging to the *BARBOT'S* *West-India* company, do the same, but not so frequently as the former; and sometimes *English* ships put in there on the same account; but the *French* very rarely, unless they have over-shot the island of *St. Tome*, or *Prince's Island*, their usual rendezvous.

The *Hollanders* sometimes sell a few slaves taken in at *Ambozes* or *Camarones*, to the *Blacks* there, for elephants teeth of thirty to forty pounds weight each, and get a hundred and fifty or two hundred pounds weight of such teeth for a male slave. They also buy of the natives, elephants, tails and skins of thornbacks, and sea-wolves or dog-fish, which they sell afterwards to good profit at the *Gold-Coast*. The wax purchased there is in cakes, and commonly bartered for knives.

The *Gabon Blacks* in general, are barbarous, wild, bloody, and treacherous, very thievish and crafty, especially towards strangers. The women, on the contrary, are as civil and courteous to them, and will use all possible means to enjoy their company; but both sexes are the most wretchedly poor and miserable of any in *Guinea*; and yet so very haughty, that they are perfectly ridiculous: they are very proud of taking *Dutch* names, and never come aboard a ship of that nation, but they immediately let them know it, imagining they will value them the more on that account; and are extremely well pleased when they call them by their borrowed *Dutch* name.

They are all excessively fond of brandy and other strong liquors of *Europe* or *America*, and spend all they can upon them, even to sell an indifferent large elephant's tooth, for strong liquor, which they will drink out before they part, and sometimes before they go out of the ship. If they fancy one has got a mouthful more than another, and they are half drunk, they will soon fall a fighting, even with their own princes or priests, if they are of the club, and are so warm at it, that coats, hats, and perukes, or whatever they have, is thrown over-board: for they take a great vanity in wearing the old hats, perwigs, coats, &c. of our sailors, who sell them for wax, honey, parrots, monkeys, and all sorts of refreshments. Their excessive greediness for strong liquors, renders them so little nice and curious in the choice of them, that tho' mixt with half water, and sometimes a little *Spanish* soap put into it to give it a froth to appear of proof, by the scum it makes, they like it, and praise it as much as the best and purest brandy, and do all they can to have a stock of it.

Tho' the most taking method there, in order to have a good trade with those *Blacks*, is to treat them with strong liquors; yet they expect their *Dassy* or present, like the

Good careening.

Plenty of fish.

Trade.

Natives.

Love of strong waters.

BARBOT. the *Quaqua-Blacks*; and if asked to drink before we give every man his *Dassy*, they will not touch a drop. And if we happen to stay sometimes too long before we give it, they boldly ask whether we imagine they will drink for nothing. Tho' this be impertinent, whosoever will traffick there must humour them, or he shall not see one tooth brought aboard; but must bear patiently with all their ridiculous ways. It is true, 'tis a practice among them also to make us presents at our first arrival, and that perhaps may be the occasion of their asking so boldly for a return from us, and say they will take theirs back again; which they also perform, if what is presented them is not worth more than theirs. Another thing to be observed there, also, is, that those men are so extremely slow in dealing, that they will sometimes haggle a whole day in selling of one tooth, and go away five or six times before they can conclude a bargain.

They are commonly tall, robust, and well-shaped men, very poorly dressed, some few with sailors old coats, shirts, breeches, and all other old clothes, and think themselves very fine in them, and therefore are willing to buy such of our men, for any thing they have; but generally their only clothing is a poor wretched clout tied about their waist, made either of a piece of mat, or of bark flax; which last they call *Matombe*: others wear, instead of it some monkeys-skins, or those of some other wild-beast, fastening to the middle of it a small brass tinkling bell, and all the rest of the body naked.

Habit. Both sexes go always bare-headed, the females twist their hair after a strange manner. Some of the men wear a kind of brimm'd cap, or hat of bark, large flat thread, or rushes; and others, again, adorn their heads with a circle of feathers fastned to a wire, which serves them instead of a bonnet.

A peculiar, but strange fancy in this people, is, to bore their upper lip, and thrust into it a small ivory pin, from the nose down to the mouth: others split the under-lip so wide, as to thrust the tongue through on ceremonial occasions. Most men and women instead of ear-rings, wear long silver rings of three or four ounces a-piece; others in lieu thereof, have pieces of a flat thin wood, as broad as the hand; or goats horns, or ivory rings.

Ornaments

They adorn their skin in most parts of the body, and just round one of their eyes, with scars in many fantastical figures, which they paint with a stuff composed of several ingredients, soak'd in the juice of a sort of wood called there *Tocoel*; and observe nicely to paint a white circle round one eye, and a yellow one about the other, daubing their

faces on each side with two or three long streaks of the same colours, each streak different from the other.

Many of them, besides a mat about their middle, wear a leather girdle of a buffalo's skin in the hair, with a bark thread, and hang to it a broad short knife, as the figures demonstrate; and when they go a walking, or on a journey, every man hangs his sword or ponyard at his side.

Some hang about their necks little round PLATE 21. boxes, wherein are contained their *Grigrys* or charms, which they will never allow any man to touch, nor shew them upon any account.

The women wear over the clout a sort of short apron, hanging down before, and load their arms and legs with large thick iron, copper, or tin-rings, of the country make, which they work pretty handsomly. They besmear their bodies with elephants or buffalo's fat, and a sort of red colour, as the men do likewise; which makes them stink so abominably, especially the women, that there is no coming near them, without turning a man's stomach; and yet they sell their favours at a very cheap rate to any of the meanest *European* sailors, for a sorry knife, or some such trifle, of no value.

Their houses are all built of the same materials as the king's, above mention'd.

As to their subsistence, it is likely they depend chiefly on hunting and fishery, and do not seem much to mind tillage; nor is there any corn or *Indian* wheat, at least that we can see, in the space of ground that is commonly frequented by *Europeans*, neither does that part of the country look to be very fertile, or fit to produce corn, or other fruits.

Their ordinary eatables, are potatoes and yams, either boil'd or roasted, with some other sorts of roots and small beans, but in no great plenty; and instead of bread, bananas roasted. They have a great plenty of Food. those, and some eat them with sugar or honey, mixed and dressed with roasted elephants, buffaloes, or monkeys flesh. They also eat fish, dry'd in the sun, with bananas and sugar.

They lie flat down on the ground at their meals, and save their meat in earthen vessels, or platters; only the principal persons among them have it in pewter basons, bought of us: and none of them drink till some time after they have eaten, when commonly every one swallows a large pot of water, or palm-wine, or of a particular liquor which they call *Melasso*, made of honey and water, which tastes much like our metheglin; and none drink without spilling a little of the liquor on the ground, for his idol. Drink.

If we may credit some of them, they have a custom, quite unknown to or practis'd by any

any other nation of *Guinea*; which is, that a man marries his own mother, daughter or sister, without any scruple, they not accounting it incestuous and monstrous. This barbarous custom was yet more in practice among the antient inhabitants of *Peru*, and other *Indian* nations of *South* and *North-America*, to cohabit with their proper daughters, sisters, nieces, and other near relations; and the *Yncas* of *Peru*, tho' more polite, used to marry their sisters or nearest kin, in order to preserve their pretended noble descent from the sun and moon.

GOVERNMENT.

AS to the government at *Gabon*, it seems by the small respect they shew each other, that every free person lives there for himself, without any regard for king or chiefs, neither have those dignified persons any shew of state or grandeur; for the king follows the trade of a black-smith, to get his living, being like his subjects very poor, and is not ashamed to hire his wives at a very cheap rate to the *Europeans*.

However, on occasion of a foreign war, it seems they are obliged to assist him; and being a turbulent sort of people, have often the opportunity to exert their bravery. For Poor kings. some time since, the king of *Pongo* had a war with him of cape *Lope Gonzalves*, enter'd his country in arms, fought and routed him and his forces, and return'd to *Gabon* loaded with booty, consisting of teeth, slaves, and beeswax, taken at *Olibatta*, the residence of that king.

Puff'd up with this success, he thought of nothing less in a second irruption into *Olibatta*, than to destroy that country, and to make a slave of the king; when the *Hollanders*, always attentive to what may prejudice their affairs in the *Ethiopian* gulph, guessing at the design of *Mani-Pongo*, to waste the country of cape *Lopez*, interposed in time, and made an accommodation betwixt them, so that a peace ensu'd, and both nations ever since have lived in amity.

Having concluded that peace, *Mani-Pongo* led his forces towards the *Camarones*, who had formerly affronted him, and his subjects, and caused fifty or sixty large canoes to be carried by land, the better to prosecute that war; wherein he was so successful, that after having burnt all the habitations, and got a large booty of slaves and teeth, he turned immediately to the lands of the *Ambozes*, who were his enemies also, and made them feel all the cruelties an insolent conqueror can exercise against a weak enemy. After this, he marched against other neighbouring nations, whom he served in the same manner, and returned home, loaded with a considerable booty, leaving a great dread of him amongst all

about him, for his courage and power; BARBOT. which has rendered him so formidable, that none of them will refuse any thing he requires of them.

This *Mani-Pongo* has appointed an official Magi- in each village, or district of his little strates of dominions, whose title is *Chave-Pongo*, or *Ponso*, to administer justice among the inhabitants; and he is therefore somewhat better regarded by the people, who usually wait on him respectfully every morning, to wish him well; being before him on their knees, and clapping their hands, say, *Fino, Fino, Fino*, that is, well be it to you.

WILD BEASTS.

BEFORE I come to their religious worship, I shall observe that the land about this river incredibly abounds in wild beasts, especially elephants, buffaloes and boars.

Elephants are often seen there a mile or Elephants. two within land, or sometimes along the river-side, about *Sandy-Point*, walking gently towards the said point; but if pursued by men, they retire at a full trot to the woods. However, it is not adviseable for us *Europeans* to engage in such a chace with too few hands, tho' provided with good fire-arms, and never so bold and resolute; because it is very rare that two or three shot bring down the monstrous beast: for, as has been observed in the description of the *Gold-Coast*, to which I refer the reader, a great number of men well armed have enough to do to conquer that creature, unless some accidental ball hits betwixt the eye and the ear. I have there also observed, that this animal, when provoked to excess, is very terrible and furious; otherwise it is not much to be dreaded, being of that temper as to let men it meets accidentally in its way pass by, at some little distance without disturbance. Travellers have sometimes found the skeletons of elephants in the midst of woods, some entire with the teeth to their heads, weighing both together sixty or seventy pounds; the fore-legs three, the hind four foot long; and the head four foot or more: which shews how large these creatures are in that part of *Guinea*.

There is another chace of much less danger and of very good sport, which is that of the wild boar. Wild boars. Those creatures go about two or three hundred in a herd, and if met by men that set upon them, run away so swiftly, that they can hardly be overtaken, and so get out of reach among the woods; but one or more may be cut off from the rest, and so more easily be set on and shot down in the thickets, and they are very sweet agreeable food.

There is also a great number of red buffaloes, with strait horns extended backwards, Buffaloes.

ARBOT. about the size of an ox; which when they run, seem to be lame behind, but are very swift, and which, as the natives report, when they are shot and not mortally wounded, fly immediately at the man that has miss'd his shot, and kill him. The flesh of buffaloes is far better and more agreeable than that of elephants, tho' the natives value the latter above it.

These animals also keep in herds of an hundred or more together; and when a parcel of them is set upon by hunters, and half a score bullets fly without hurting any of them, they all stand still, looking angrily on the men, but seldom do any more.

The *Blacks* are very wary in hunting of buffaloes, to prevent mischief. When they have observed where those animals lie in the evening, they place themselves on a high tree, and as soon as a buffalo appears, shoot at him from thence. If they perceive it is kill'd by the shot, they come down from the tree, and with the assistance of other men carry it off. But if the shot has not killed it outright, they sit still, and keep out of

danger. And thus they destroy many, and eat the flesh, which is good and fat, as I have observed before; those beasts commonly feeding in the meadow-ground, which is about the *Sand-Point*, aforesaid.

RELIGION.

AS to the religion of the *Gabons*, they are all most gross and very superstitious pagans, and have, besides their *Grigrys* or charms, as great a number of idols as any other nation before spoken of; to whom they attribute very great power, and accordingly pray to and make offerings, each as his fancy dictates: but how, and in what manner they direct their religious service, or what figure and form their idols are made after, I have not heard, but suppose it to be like what has been already observed of the other *Guineans*, by which it is easy to form an idea of it.

Their language is much the same as at cape *Lope Gonzalves*, of which country I shall now give a short description, as bordering upon *Gabon*.

C H A P. X.

Description of the coast, from Rio de Gabon to cape Lope Gonzalves. An account of that cape. Cam-wood. The king and prince of the cape. Towns and villages. The natives, religion, &c.

DESCRIPTION of the COAST.

THE sea-coast from the south point of *Rio de Gabon's* mouth, is low and woody, as has been observed before, and runs south to the white downs, called *Los Sernissos*; which are distinguished by the *Portuguese* into *Fanais-Pequenos*, the first coming from *Gabon* river, and *Fanais-Grandes*, the farthest which extend southerly to near *Angra de Nazaret*. The *English* call these downs after the *Portuguese*, *Little and great white Cliffs*; and the *Dutch*, *Kleyne and groote Klippen*; and some *Witteboeck*.

There is a bank of sand of a sharp triangular form jutting out to sea, some leagues westward, betwixt both *Fanais*, or downs; on the north-side of which, is four and three, and on the south three and two fathom water, between the bank and a small island south of it, called *French-Bank*, being almost as low as the surface of the water about it, and is, according to our *English* chart, exactly west of the bay of *Nazaret*.

From the south hoeck of *Fanais Grandes*, the coast to *Olibatta* river, in the bottom of the bay of cape *Lope*, extends south by east, and at about a league and half from shore, has thirteen and twelve fathom water; but nearer the land, six, five, and four fathom,

without any danger, which is generally to be found in sailing along the coast of the *Bight*, which is done to get a land-wind in the night, and a sea-wind in the day-time; and the same at cape *Lope*.

The tide coming out of this cape, sets Setting of the tide. south and west; south in *March*, *April*, and *May*, along the coast, which very much facilitates the navigation across the equinoctial, in those parts; for at that time it is very rare for the tide about the cape to set northward, as it happens now and then, in *August* and *September*, which is imputed to the southerly winds, forcing it to the north, the fresh coming constantly out of the great river *Zaire*, tho' distant from this cape near an hundred leagues, south-east by south.

From *Olibatta* river, in the bottom of Olibatta river and bay. the bay of cape *Lope*, the mouth of which river lies in one degree eighteen minutes of south latitude; the land turns short to north-west, for about eight leagues, a direct course, in the nature of a narrow, flat, low peninsula, scarce two leagues broad in its largest part, and growing gradually narrower as it approaches the point or head, at north-west; which is the famous cape *Lope Gonzalves*, of which I am to speak at large presently, and which with the eastern-land opposite to it, called *Angra de Nazaret*, and

Downs.

Depth of water on the coast.

The Prospect of Prince's Island ab^t 3 Leagues distance The Palmist Island, being at E.S.E.



The Sight of PRINCE'S Island at ENE about 6 Leagues distance from Sea

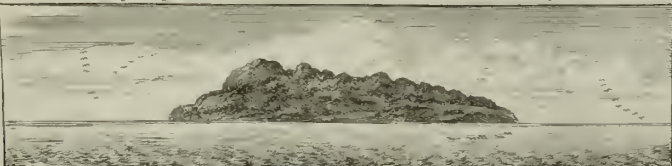
a passage between these Rocks A B



The Prospect of the Island St. TOMÉ from the South about 10 Leagues distance



The Sight of Annoboan at NNW ab^t 7 Leagues



The sight of Cape Lopo Gonsalvez att S.S.W. ab^t 5 Leagues

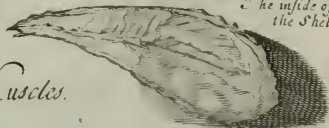


The Outside of the Shell



Large Muscles.

The inside of the Shell



The South Star, call'd The Cruzado, or



Seen from about Annoboan Island

and the adjacent coast at south, and south south-east, makes the bay of *Olibatta*; the principal town of the country of the king of cape *Lope*, commonly so called, by all *European* sea-faring nations.

The coast of this bay from *Angra de Nazaret*, to the north-east point of *Rio de Olibatta*, is covered with a large bank, which as it draws near the river grows broader, till it comes to the channel of its mouth, and beyond the same channel extends again to the shore, north-west of the same river.

The road.

The usual road for ships of burden to anchor in, is in fifty minutes of south latitude, east by south of the cape, just within the point; for though the land of the cape is very low and flat, tall ships may without any danger come close up to the point in deep water, which is contrary to the nature of flat low lands, where generally the water is shallow in proportion to the lowness of the land, except in this place. It is to be observed, that about a league and half east north-east to seaward of the cape, there is a shoal or bank, but so cut off from the point of the cape, that it leaves a very large channel, fifty fathom deep.

Dangers to be avoided.

There are also very uneven grounds about the bay and moving sands, which if a ship should happen to touch upon, may endanger it; and therefore sailors ought to keep continually founding, either as they go in or out of the bay, to prevent accidents: but when they have once brought the cape to bear west, they are past those dangers, and the bottom is found.

The country all round the bay, a great way inland, is swampy ground, scarce passable on foot.

CAPE LOPE GONZALVES

THE cape in sailing by it, at about five leagues distance west, shows like a low flat island, being in reality a long narrow peninsula, stretching out several leagues to sea from the continent; which is, as well as the peninsula, low, flat and swampy, all over wooded, as appears by the prospect thereof in the print here adjoined. It had

PLATE 23.

the name of *Cabo de Lope Gonzalves*, from the *Portuguese*, who first discovered it, and lies in fifty five minutes of south latitude.

Resort of ships.

Near it is a hamlet of about twenty houses or cottages, inhabited by a small number of *Blacks*, only whilst any ship is in the road to attend the trade; but it is very rare to see no ship there, and very often there are several together, a great number resorting thither every year, either to provide necessaries, or to wash or tallow, in order to prosecute their voyage to *America* or *Europe*, or else back to the *Gold Coast* of *Guinea*, as the coast trading vessels use commonly to do: but of all *Europeans*, the *Dutch*

are most frequently there, for the above-^{BARBOT.} mentioned purposes.

All ships that arrive there usually fire ^{What the} some guns, to give notice of their coming ^{cape af-} to the inland people, who immediately re-^{for ds.}

pair to the cape from *Olibatta*, and other inland places to trade, or to sell such necessaries as they have, which are wood for fuel, fresh water and some provisions.

The natives knowing how many ships resort thither yearly, continually keep good store of wood ready cut, near the cape, being billets about two foot long, and sell a boat-load thereof for one bar of iron, or at the dearest time give a fathom of it for the said price. The fresh water is taken out ^{Wood and} of a large muddy pond, lying very near ^{water.} the cape. It keeps sweet and fresh at sea; and is accounted by many sea-faring persons much wholesomer than that at *St. Thome*, or even at the *Prince's* island.

Every ship is to pay a certain duty for ^{Duty paid.} anchorage, and for wooding and watering, but of no great value, to the *Chave-Ponso*, or chief of the little village at the cape. It does not exceed four, five or six knives, and a bottle or two of malt-spirits, or common brandy, and that rather out of civility than any thing else, according to the bigness of the ship; for they might easily furnish themselves with wood and water by force: but besides, that the *Blacks* are satisfied with so little as I have mentioned for the permission of wooding and watering, it may be inconvenient for other ships coming after them on the same account.

Those ship's crews, which are provided ^{Plenty of} with nets, hooks and lines, may there easily ^{fish.} catch a prodigious quantity of good sea-fish, whereof vast shoals are daily seen in the bay; insomuch, that at one single cast of a net, they often take as much as will load a small boat. They may also refresh themselves with oysters hanging at the boughs of long ranges of mangrove trees, bordering the shore of the bay; and in it are great numbers of crocodiles and sea-horses.

The provisions ships may be supplied ^{Provisions.} with there, are fowl, hogs, buffaloes, bananas, potatoes and yams; besides the fish aforesaid, and *Pimento de Rabo*, or long pepper and purslain.

The great number of ships I have said resorts thither yearly, makes a pretty brisk trade for cam-wood, bees-wax, honey and elephant's-teeth; of which last, a ship may sometimes purchase three or four thousand ^{Goods on} weight of good large ones, and sometimes ^{both sides.} more, and there is always abundance of wax: all which *Europeans* purchase for knives called *bofians*, iron-bars, beads, old sheets, brandy, malt-spirits or rum; axes; the shells call'd *Cauris*; annabas, copper-bars, brass-basons, from eighteen-pence

BARBOT. pence to two shillings a-piece; fire-locks, muskets, powder, ball, small-shot, &c.

C A M - W O O D.

THE cam-wood is the king's peculiar trade there, and all sold by him, at about twenty five or thirty shillings *per* tun, according to the prime cost of the goods given for it in *Europe*, and sometimes not above twenty shillings *per* tun; he undertaking to provide by a certain time forty or fifty tun thereof, provided we lend him axes and saws to cut it down, eighteen or twenty leagues up the river of *Olibatta*, whence he conveys it at his own charge to the sea-side: the country thereabouts having large forests of that sort of wood, the best whereof is that which grows on swampy grounds, being very hard, ponderous, and of the best red; whereas, that which grows on high dry grounds is much lighter and paler. The better sort of it, is at *London* esteemed near as good as the *Sberbro* cam-wood.

KING and PRINCE of CAPE LOPE.

FROM the village at the cape to the town of *Olibatta*, where prince *Thomas*, son to the king of cape *Lope* resides, is about six leagues by land, there being several cottages and hamlets of the natives in the space between those two places, on the peninsula; and from that prince's habitation to the king's usual residence, is five or six leagues more up the inland, but gone on the river in canoes.

The prince's dress. That prince is a tall well-shaped *Black*, about thirty eight or forty years of age, by the natives call'd *Save-Pongo*, who in his deportment before strangers affects a comical air of grandeur, commonly dressing himself in a piece of calico striped white and blue, wound several times about his body; his neck, arms and legs, adorned with strings of shells and little bones painted red, and his face often besmear'd with a white sort of composition.

His courtesy to strangers. In honour to such *Europeans* as visit him, he will advance some distance from his house to meet them, leaning on four or five of his wives, and attended by several *Blacks*, armed with javelins and fire-locks, which they fire now and then very confusedly, and preceded by drummers and trumpeters, before whom are several colours and standards of the *Dutch*. In this manner he meets the stranger, takes him by the hand, and returning to his house or palace, sits down there with the visitant by his side, and entertains him the best he is able, in broken *Portuguese*; discoursing about the nation he belongs to in *Europe*, always expressing very great esteem for the king or governors thereof, and offering to drink their

health in palm-wine; which when he does, sometimes in a crystal-glass, or any other vessel, all the natives about him, men and women, being no small number upon such occasions, lift up their right hands, and hold them so long as he is drinking, observing a profound silence; after which, the drummers and trumpeters sound and beat, whilst the soldiers give a volley of their fire-arms: and then, to divert the stranger, both musqueteers and spearmen run about shouting and howling in such a manner, as is frightful to those who are not acquainted with it. This ceremony is practised every time the king drinks a health; and then the king retires into his house, leaving the foreigner with those persons that conducted him from the sea to his palace; which is by those people call'd *Galli-patta*, as is that of the king of *Pongo* at *Gabon*.

TOWNS and VILLAGES.

THE town where the king resides, consists of about three hundred houses, made of bul-rushes, wreathed in the same manner as those of *Gabon*, and like them covered with palm-tree leaves, wherein are lodged the king's wives, his children, his relations, and his slaves; besides some particular families of his subjects, for whom he has the greatest kindness, which all together make as it were a little separate town. We go thither in great canoes up the river, all the country about being low and marshy ground, not fit to travel thither by land.

There are other towns and villages about the country, five or six leagues from each other; the inhabitants whereof living so far from the sea-coast, and seldom seeing any *White* men in those remote parts, when any happen to go thither, they flock from all the neighbouring places to see them, bringing buffaloes and elephant's-flesh to treat them with, as valuing that above any food their country affords, and particularly the elephants. Many of those inland people not being able to conceive how the *Europeans* should happen to be white and they black, fancy we make it so by art: for which reason, some of them rub the faces of such strangers with their hands, and others will scrape their hands with their knives, believing they may by that means take off the artificial white they imagine; but that remaining, contrary to their expectation, they are much surpris'd at the difference of complexion between them and us, till some of the natives, who are used to see and converse frequently with *Europeans*, and who commonly bear us company up the country, tell them, that if they were in *Europe*, they would appear as strange to the people there, who are not used to see black

Notion of Blacks.

black faces, as the *White* men seem astonishing to them.

THE NATIVES.

*Courteous
people.*

THEY are also very courteous and civil to *Europeans*, many of whom having been shipwreck'd there, and obliged to live a considerable time among those people, were all the while very lovingly used and supplied by those *Blacks* with all sorts of provisions, and every thing the country would afford, without demanding any return.

The subjects seem to have a great veneration for their king, but we suppose it to be as with other nations in those parts, more especially before strangers: for at other times, they are said to live all together, as if no rank distinguish'd the sovereign from the slave, and those kings work as well as their meanest subjects; as has been said, speaking of the king of *Gabon*.

This king of cape *Lope*, has some iron guns mounted on carriages before his palace-door at *Olibatta*, bought by his predecessors of the *French*, and he is not a little proud of them; tho' they are seldom used, either for want of skill, or for fear of accidents.

Forces.

I can give no good account of the nature and number of his forces; but considering what I said before, that the king of *Pongo* routed him, and ravaged his country with so small a power, we may conclude his to be inconsiderable. When he speaks of them himself, either in promising assistance to a neighbour, or threatening to make war, he usually says, he will come himself at the head of his lances and fire-locks.

For administering of justice, he has his *Chave-Ponfos*, or magistrates, in every town or district, to see good order kept: by which, and other circumstances it appears, that prince must have more than, as some vainly imagine, a superficial dominion, or command over his people.

Extent.

I have not met with any author or traveller, that could give a just account of the extent of this king's dominions, either eastward or southward; however, since most modern geographers carry the kingdom of *Bramas*, which is the frontier of the lower *Ethiopia*, to the river *Faire*, almost under the line; the kingdom of cape *Lope* must of consequence be suppos'd to reach no farther southward than the said river, or at farthest to that of *Fernan Vaz*, in one degree fifty minutes of south latitude, as set down in some *Dutch* maps, the banks whereof are inhabited by the people called *Comma*. The neighbours of this king's dominions at east south-east, are, according to some, the *Anzikan* people, who are man-eaters, and extend to the south-west skirts

V O L. V.

of *Abissinia*. However it be, this is certain, *BARBOT*. that the king of cape *Lope*'s dominions are not very great.

More might be said concerning this prince, as to his wives, their manners, and other particulars; but these things being so like what has been said of others, it is needless to repeat. I shall therefore only add something of the nature and product of the country, and of the manners and religion of the natives in general.

They are commonly tall and well-shaped, as like those of *Gabon* in feature and deportment, as if they were one and the same nation; but of a more courteous temper, and very affable to *Europeans*, to whom they all, the king not excepted, are very ready to tender the company of their finest wives, if they seem to desire it; looking upon it as an honour to their wives and themselves, as making no account of cuckoldom; and the female sex being generally very free of their bodies.

The common dress both of men and women, is also much like that of the *Gabon Blacks*: but the knives the men usually carry, have three or four very sharp points: they throw them so dexterously, that which way soever they hit, they certainly stick; and scarce any of them walks abroad without one in his hand, as the most ready weapon, for their defence.

Their houses are also like those at *Gabon*, both in shape and materials. Their common food is yams, potatoes, bananas, green or dried fish and flesh; especially that of buffaloes and elephants.

They never drink at meals, and being all subdivided into tribes and families, the heads or chiefs whereof, are distinguish'd among them, by the name or title of *Mavi*; it is a custom for the *Mavi* of a tribe always to eat by himself alone in a pewter-dish, and the rest of his family in wooden vessels. They sit at their meals on mats, and lie on them at night.

These, as well as the *Gabon Blacks*, make no scruple to marry their own mothers, aunts, daughters or sisters, and wear bits of ivory stuck through their ears, or long rings; and split their upper-lip, keeping a little wooden stick in the gash to prevent its closing, because they are subject to a certain distemper very common there, which on a sudden seizes and casts them into fits, of so long a continuance, and closing their mouth so fast, that they would be inevitably suffocated, if by means of the split at their upper-lip, they did not pour into their mouths some of the juice of a certain medicinal herb, which has the virtue of easing and curing the diseased person in a very short time.

BARBOT. Their language differs in nothing, from that of *Gabon*, only strangers have this advantage, that the cape *Lope Blacks* can speak a broken *Portuguese*, as having frequent commerce with many sea-faring men of that nation, who resort thither, from *Brazil*, *Angola*, and the *Portuguese* islands of the *Bight*, to clean, or get provisions, or trade, as being a more convenient place, and of much less expence than at *St. Tome*, or *Prince's* islands, their own colonies. However, because every northern *European* that trades there cannot speak *Portuguese*, I set down here some few of the most necessary words and phrases of their language. *Siomba*, to buy; *Mamimomeeau*, elephant's teeth; *Pelingo*, iron-bar; *Monello*, linen cloth; *Jagna*, a knife; *Petollo*, gun-powder; *Longo*, a ship; *Ensienni*, wrought pewter; *Broquo*, bad; *Fino*, good; *Quero*, to ask; *Jango*, little; *Quendo*, go away; *Mona*, let me see; *Biaka*, let come; *Coria*, to eat; *Mondello*, a *Hollander*; *Mockendo Fino*, a fine woman; *Pellie*, large or great; *Save-pongo*, the king; *Coquelle*, power; *Calicute*, for *Maleguette*, or *Guinea* pepper.

'Tis hardly to be believed what a multitude of blue parrots there is; for sometimes they fly over the country in such numbers, as really seem to darken the air: they soar not extraordinary high, and may be easily shot, being good meat stew'd or boil'd, especially the young ones; which, with the bullocks flesh, so common in those parts, is an extraordinary help to sailors. The latter feed in *Savannas*, and other pasture-grounds about the woods, where they shelter themselves, sometimes above a thousand in a herd. To kill them they get to the windward of the herd, in the night-time, and assault them just at break of day, shooting among them; for if they have the wind, they will run into the woods. This sort of cattle is smaller than at *Cabo-Verde*; their horns no more than round stumps, like the *Alderney* cows, on the coast of *La Hogue*.

The days and nights are generally of an equal length, except at the time the sun comes to the tropicks, when they differ about half an hour.

Extreme heat.

The winter or bad season commences in *April*, and lasts till *September*, during which time, tho' it rains continually, the heat is yet almost intolerable, and so extreme, that the soil is scarce wet, and the stones almost as hot as fire.

The usual weapons for war, are bows and arrows, javelins pointed with iron, and shields of bulrushes, five foot long, or the bark of trees, for the generality; and some few use muskets. When their army takes the field, the women attend their husbands, and carry their weapons, till the time they meet the enemy, and then deliver them to

the soldiers. Their drums are made after the manner of those at the *Gold Coast*, wide at the upper end, and pointed at the other. Thus they make war by land or by water, and to that effect they always keep a certain number of long large canoes ready, which they row like the *Sierra-Leona Blacks*, standing up in them. They use great inhumanities towards their enemies, when they get the upper hand. Formerly they used to eat them, but ever since the *Europeans* buy slaves at *Guinea*, they are satisfied with selling their prisoners of war, instead of destroying them, as finding it for their advantage, tho' they have commonly but few to dispose of; but before they are sold, they make them feel the effects of their hatred, in abuses and blows, after an inhuman manner.

RELIGION.

THOSE *Blacks* seem somewhat more rational in their religious worship than all the others I have seen; for tho' they have all their idols, as well as these, yet they seem to entertain a nearer idea of the deity, in worshipping, as several of them do, the sun, the moon, and the earth, as natural gods; and as to the earth, they account it a profanation to spit on the ground. Some there are, who adore certain high lofty trees, and the reason they give for it is, that they are beholden to the earth and trees for affording them all manner of eatables for their subsistence, by the help and influences of the two glorious luminaries of heaven; which besides, continually light them.

Sun, moon, and earth worshipped.

When first their country was discovered, they took the *Portuguese* ships, appearing at a distance, with their sails abroad, for large birds, with wide spreading wings, and the guns for living creatures.

They call their chief priest *Papa*, after the *Portuguese* manner; when such a one dies, all the people, and the king himself, mourn for seven days successively; during which time, the king keeps retired by himself, and admits of no visits from any person whatever: after the expiration thereof, they bury the dead *Pontif*, a vast croud of people assisting at the funeral, all in confusion about the corps.

High priest.

The said high-priest has always a bell hanging over his shoulder, to show his dignity and office; and upon exercising his conjurations and enchantments, or other religious ceremonies, makes a great noise with it: for he pretends to cause dry or wet weather, fertility or barrenness, to appease the devil, to foretel future events, and many such absurdities, which the gross stupid people believe he can perform at will.

Those

Those Blacks pay a great respect to the Portuguese priests, who happen to come to their port; and will have some of their children baptized by them, with a christian name, which several of them also take. The young prince Thomas's wife is baptiz'd, and her name *Antonia*, as is one of his sons.

The Portuguese had some missionaries there in former times, who instructed them in the principles of the christian religion; but the air being very unhealthy, the said missionaries either soon died, or were forced to return home; for which reason their missions produc'd but little fruit, and the natives remain in their gross superstitious paganism, from which it is almost impossible to withdraw them, unless it were by a continual course of instruction, which might gain some of the most sensible and judicious among them, who might be fit to receive holy orders, and dispersed throughout the country, to teach and convert the people.

Limits of Guinea.

I have before observed, that *Guinea* reaches from *Sierra Leona*, on the north, to *Rio de Camarones* on the south, those being its most certain and natural boundaries; however, some sea-faring men will have it extend southward, to cape *Lope Gonzalves*, and some even to *Rio de Fernan Vaz*, near cape *St. Catherine*, in two degrees and a half of south latitude; which may properly be

reckoned to belong to the kingdom of cape BARBOT. *Lope Gonzalves*. The ports and rivers of *Mixia*, or *Paradia* and *Sarnasias*, or *Santabacias*, places of little trade, and only resorted to by some few small Portuguese ships, lie betwixt the said cape and *Rio de Fernan Vaz*, which is generally allowed to divide the upper, or *North Guinea*, from the lower or *Southern*; the description whereof I shall conclude, after giving an account of the four large islands in the *Bight of Guinea*, which are, *Fernando Po*, *Prince's island*, *St. Tome* and *Annobon*, being the subject of the next chapter.

It is true, there are some authors who include within the extent of *Guinea*, the coasts of *Loango*, *Congo* and *Angola*, which I cannot but condemn as an error. Others there are, who make the country of *Angola* to commence a little south of cape *Lope*, which in reality is almost an hundred leagues from it.

I shall add some general remarks I have made upon the *English*, *French*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch* charts I have by me of the coasts of *Guinea*; besides what I have already made, which may be of use to sea-faring men. The last chapter shall be a Vocabulary of the most familiar words of the four chief languages of the Blacks in *North* and *South Guinea*, being those of the *Jeloffs*, *Foules*, the *Gold Coast*, and *Fida* and *Andra*.

CHAP. XI.

The description of the island of Fernando Po. Of Prince's island. Of St. Thomas's island; and of the island Annobon. The difference between the English, French, Portuguese and Dutch charts.

FERNANDO PO ISLAND.

Situation.

THE island of *Fernando Po*, otherwise called *Ilba Fermosa*, or *Beautiful island*, as also *Ilba de Fernando Lopes*, for the Portuguese give it all these names indifferently, had the first of them from the discoverer of it in the year 1471. It is, as to situation, the most northerly of the four great islands in the gulph of *Guinea*, and thirty five or thirty six leagues distant in a line, from *Bandy point*, at *Rio-Real*, or *New Calabar river*; the north point thereof lying in three degrees of north latitude, or but some few minutes over. The length of it is about twelve leagues from north to south, and it bears west south-west from *Camarones river*, leaving a spacious safe channel between them.

Beauty.

It is the largest of the four islands in the gulph, or at least as large as *St. Tome*, affording a delightful prospect at a distance, and being all very high land, is easily seen at a great distance at sea.

The land produces plenty of *Mandioca* ^{Product.} roots, rice, tobacco, and many other fruits, plants and roots of the usual growth of *Guinea*. The Portuguese formerly had sugar plantations there, and I cannot learn why that work was given over; but the ruins of some of their mills are still to be seen.

The natives are a cruel sort of savage ^{Natives.} people, and seem to be frighted at the sight of any *Europeans*, that either by chance or necessity happen to make the island; for few or none ever come to it otherwise, as being a place of no trade. They are naturally rude and treacherous towards any such strangers, who ought therefore to be cautious how they trust them; being very wild, and divided into seven tribes, each under its respective king or governor, who are always at war among themselves.

PRINCE'S ISLAND,

OR, as the Portuguese call it, *Ilba do Principe*, ^{Its name.} had its name from the Portuguese prince

BARBOT. prince *Henry*, who, as I have taken notice, in the introductory discourse to this work, was the chief promoter of the discoveries on the coast of *Guinea*; tho' some would deduce it from its revenue having been given to a *Portuguese* prince, without naming which of them: but the first is the true derivation.

Position. It was discover'd about the year 1471, either by *Santarem* and *John de Escobar*; or by *Fernando Po*, and is seated in one degree fifty minutes of north latitude, about thirty four or thirty five leagues west of cape *St. John*, which is opposite to it, on the continent of the gulph of *Guinea*, and about thirty leagues north of *St. Tome*, being about nine leagues in length, and five in breadth, high and mountainous, as here represented in the cut, which I have drawn as exact as possible, both the times I was there; and may be seen pretty plainly at twenty leagues distance west, some of the mountains appearing like tables, and others pecked, like pyramids or steeples.

PLATE 23.

Palm-island.

The proper road for ships to come to an anchor is on the east side; the right course to it, in coming from the westward, being to make close to the south point of the island, and to pass through the channel there is betwixt it and the high round *Palm-island*, or *Ilba de Caroco*, distant about an *English* mile east south-east from the said south cape, or point. This *Palm-island* being extraordinary high, and all over covered with palm-trees, from which it has the name, may be seen at a great distance west, coping up like a hay-reek. The channel is there so deep, that any ship whatsoever may boldly sail within pistol-shot of either shore, without apprehending any thing, for there is no bottom found there with the lead; but when past to the eastward of the *Palm-island*, and then standing northward, we find in coasting of *Prince's-island*, from twenty to thirty fathom water, sandy ground, mix'd with small pebbles and shells, till we come to the right road of the island, which is somewhat within the mouth of a bay, facing eastward, in just one degree thirty minutes of north latitude, where is only four or five fathom water, oozy ground.

St. Antony town.

That bay extends from the south point, which has a rock near it at east, within the land, about five *English* miles west south-west in depth, and is about two *English* miles in breadth, at the mouth. Small vessels, yachts and sloops may run in to the bottom of it, without any danger, and anchor within half gun-shot of the town *St. Antonio*, the chief port of the island. The shores are generally covered with large pebble stones, and in some places rocky; only at the bottom of the bay, facing the town, is a spacious beach, which at low water is a muddy sand.

The town lies along the beach, opposite to the mouth of the bay, and at the very bottom of it, between two rivulets, which run down from the adjacent hills, at the foot whereof is the town, and consists of about four hundred houses, built with clap-boards, after the *Portuguese* manner, forming two long streets in a strait line, from one rivulet to the other, which affords a pleasant prospect, each street being wide, and looking upon woody hills. Most of them have long balconies, and lattice windows; so that tho' the structure be but mean, all together looks well. Some of the houses are built after the *Dutch* fashion; those people about the latter end of the last century having possessed themselves of the island, and planted there a colony of their own, belonging to a considerable merchant of *Amsterdam*, under the direction, if I mistake not, of one *Claer Hagen*, who, for its greater security, had begun to erect a fort on the south point of the bay; but discord prevailing among themselves, and the *Portuguese*, who had been first masters of it, being assisted by their countrymen of *St. Tome*, they were forc'd to quit it, and ever since it has remained in the hands of the *Portuguese*, who the better to defend it, have at the north side of the town, and by the rivulet at the end of it, built a little fort of turf and planks, with convenient cazerns for the governor and the garrison of about forty men kept there, being most of them *Portuguese* mulattos, with some few iron guns, to scour the beach and landing-place; but the fort, guns and garrison are at present in a sorry condition.

There are two parishes in the town, with *Churches.* their respective churches, which are pretty handsome, for such a place. The first and best in the west part of the town, dedicated to *St. Antony*, from which it derives its name; the other is of the invocation of the blessed virgin, called *Madre de Deus*, or the mother of God, at the east end. Tho' at some distance, they are both in sight of each other, and decently adorned, with handsome altars and good church-stuff, as used by roman catholicks. Each of them is served by a black priest, the one ordained by the archbishop of *Lisbon*, the other by the bishop of *St. Tome*. Besides the two parish churches, there are two chapels in the town.

The country behind, and on the sides of the town, is very mountainous, and almost all over woody, as may be seen by the draught of the town of *St. Antony*, taken from the middle of the bay in the cut here inserted. That position renders it subject to heavy rains, and dreadful thunder, those mountains being often covered with clouds, and consequently it is a very unhealthy habitation, tho' the air in other parts of the island

PLATE 24.

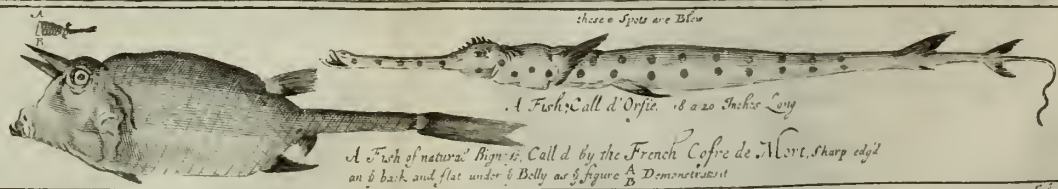
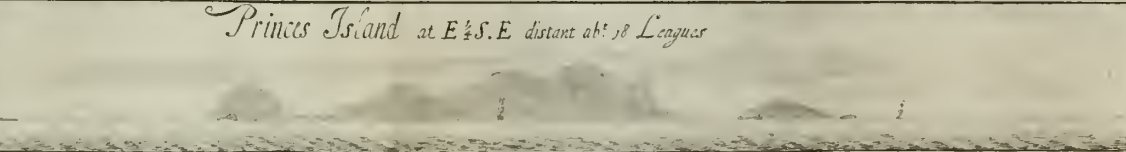
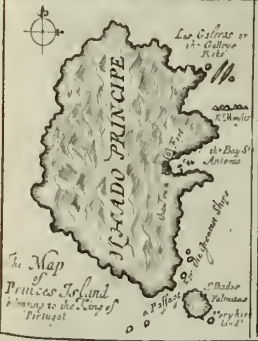
is

The Prospect of the Bay and Town S.^o Antonio, in Princes Island, as seen from the Road in the Bay.

- A. The Town or Povacaen
- B. The Church Maître de Dior
- C. The Church S.^o Antonio
- D. The Fort
- E. a Small Rowlet
- F. all Mudd at Low Water



Princes Island at E 1/2 S.E distant abt: 38 Leagues



these 6 Spots are Blue

A Fish call d'Orfia. 18 a 20 Inches Long

A Fish of nature call d by the French Cofre de Mort, sharp edg'd on it back and flat under it Belly as in figure B Demonstretment



is generally reckoned more wholesome than at *St. Tome*, or any other parts of the *Bight*; for which reason the *Portuguese* inhabitants of *St. Tome* and *Annobon*, send over their sick people thither to recover their health, as they generally do, and soon find the Benefit.

Great echo.

The thunder there is the more dreadful, because of the repeated echoes from the many dens and large cavities in the mountains, each of them so very loud and distinct, that were it not attended with horror, there might be a diversion in it, being much like what I have before mentioned, to be returned by the mountains at *Sierra Leona*. There are so many several echoes all over the island, that one gun fired returns so many reports from cavern to cavern, so distinctly, and with such intervals, that any person who is not acquainted with the nature of the place, will certainly conclude, that ten or twelve guns have been fired successively.

Fertility.

This island is very fertile in oranges, of two sorts, sweet and sour, lemons, bananas, coco-nuts, sugar-canes, rice, *Mandioca*, all sorts of herbs for salleting, and *European* grain; as also cabbage, papas, tobacco, much better than that of *Brazil*, *Indian* wheat, millet, cotton, of which they make cloth, water-melons, pompions, purslain, some grapes, which are seldom all ripe together, and a prodigious quantity of palm-wine, which is there very excellent; but the least of any sort above mentioned, is of the *Indian* wheat.

The sugar made there, and they have five or six mills, is very ordinary and brown. They commonly dry the bananas before they are quite ripe, or bake them in ovens, being mostly eaten by the inhabitants instead of bread; tho' many also make it of the meal of the *Mandioca* root, which is only the tender part of the stumps or stalk of *Mandioca*, a sort of bush, bearing long sharp-pointed leaves, five together in a cluster, at each end of the stalks, or small

PLATE 16. branches, as is represented in the print, of which there grow infinite quantities, if well cultivated. Those stalks they beat very well, and then dry them in ovens, so that with a little more pounding they are reduced to a sort of coarse meal, very crumbly. When reduced to that, the *Portuguese* call it *Farinha de Pao*, that is, flower, or meal of wood. It is by many eaten by itself, dry, carrying of it so in their pockets; but the more general way is to soak and knead it, with fresh water, into dough, and afterwards bake it on large iron, or copper plates into thin round cakes, and so it serves instead of bread; which when new, is tolerably nourishing and agreeable, tho' somewhat insipid; but when stale, is sorry food. The meal will keep good a long time, and

Mandioca-root for bread.

is proper for long voyages. At *Brazil* the *Portuguese* store their ships with it to serve them to *Portugal*, and it will serve back again, if they are overstocked with it. It is better for this use than *Cassabi*, because it keeps longer, tho' at last it grows very insipid; but so does our best bread, when too stale. Besides, the older it is, the worse it bakes into bread. The *Yorimaus Indians*, a nation dwelling on the south-side of the great river of the *Amazons*, in *America*, about the mid-way up towards its source, that is, in about three hundred and twelve degrees of longitude, bake it in great earthen basons over the fire, almost as confectioners do their sweet-meats; after which, they again dry it in the sun, when designed to keep long. *Cassabi* bread is made of the meal of this same *Mandioca*, before it is baked. There is also a particular way of preparing it, to make it keep long, but not so well as the baked meal.

BARBOT. 

Cassabi.

Its poisonous juice.

With this sort of food the *French* planters of the *Caribbee* islands of *America* keep their servants and slaves, and call it *Cassabi*, as the *Portuguese* do at *Brazil*. The *Mandioca* meal was very dear at the time of my being there, no great quantity of it having been planted that year.

This is very remarkable in the *Mandioca*, that the sap or juice of the stumps is a cold and quick poison; and therefore all those who commonly use the meal of it, are very careful to press out that malignant juice, when they first prepare it, beating the plant quite flat, and then drying it in hot ovens.

Of this sort of plant every inhabitant of the island always takes care to have a sufficient stock in his plantation, not only to serve his own family at home, but to sell to the ships of their own nation and foreigners, which resort thither from the coast of *Guinea* in their return to *Europe*, or to *America*, either to careen, or to take in refreshments and provisions, as also for water and wood, of which more hereafter.

The inhabitants have also on their plantations, sheep, hogs, goats, and a prodigious quantity of poultry of several sorts, the greatest number being of hens, and larger than they are at the coast of *Guinea*, yet well fed are pretty good and sweet; and sell abundance to sea-faring men, especially to the *French*, who above all other *Europeans*, touch there very often with slaves: the *English* and *Dutch* generally furnishing themselves at cape *Lope*, or *St. Tome* or *Annobon*, according as the strong tides of the gulph, which commonly set eastward, do drive them. Formerly the *Dutch* company's vessels did mostly resort thither for the same purpose, which it is supposed they are now forbid by their principals, out of a jealousy, that their commanders coming to

Cattel.

BARBOT. that island, may drive a clandestine trade to their prejudice.

Every ship pays the governor of the island usually residing at the fort, forty pieces of eight, for the privilege of anchoring, wooding and watering there; either in silver or in *European* goods, or slaves, at the rate agreed on: which done, he allows them the liberty of wooding and watering on either side of the bay, as is most handy to the ships-crews.

The proper place to water, is on the north-side of the bay, about two *English* miles from the fort, where several torrents descend continually from the hills almost to the beach. This water is extremely sweet, but so very cold, that till kept six or eight days, it is apt to breed the cholick or pains in the stomach; especially among the slaves, if they drink much of it at a time, as I found by experience in the *Emerillon*. There is also good watering on the south-side of the bay; and working on both sides at once, we have filled sixty hogheads in a day.

The wood is hewed conveniently at most places within the bay, just near the beach, the trees covering all the land, very thick together down to the sea-side. At my last voyage in the *Emerillon* man of war, I wooded on the south-side of the bay, about three miles from the town; but there our people that were set to work, were plagued with scorpions: and among them, one of the sailors was so stung by that little animal, in the heel, that his foot, and even the leg, were already much swelled; when, by good fortune for him, a slave of the town, who happened to call that way, at the very moment, took up the scorpion, and crushed it alive, on the wound, which in a few hours after, quite healed it, as well as if it had never happened.

Scorpions.

Fish.

The bay is plentifully stored with fish, of those sorts which are commonly caught in *Guinea*; only I observed among them two different and extraordinary species, which are seldom seen at any other of those parts, that I know of: for which reason, I drew them as near the life as my skill would permit, and caused them to be inserted in the cut which

PLATE 24. gives the prospect of the town *St. Antonio*.

The one is a little fish, broad and quit flat under the stomach, and as sharp as the edge of a knife, on the back; with two short, thick, sharp, hard-pointed horns, on the head, just over the eyes, which are pretty large, and very round; and of that sort many are brought over into *Europe*, dried, and are called by the *French Coffre de Mort*. The other is a long fish like an eel, with a long snout, looking at a distance like a flute, the skin of its body of a darkish brown, spotted all over on each side, with two long rows of fine blue round specks, which is very good to eat. Among the variety of

shells, our people found there in the bay, as they fished every day with drag-nets, they presented me with an extraordinary large one, near eighteen inches long, much resembling a muscle, being all over garnish'd on the upper-side with a sort of hollow prickles, as the figure represents it in the print; the meat whereof is very good and sweet, two or three being enough for any man at a meal.

PLATE 23.

The bay swarms with huge monstrous sharks, which are very dangerous: for I several times observed how quick they ran at any of the dead slaves we threw over-board, and made but one mouthful of a young boy, that was so cast over-board.

The woods also swarm with apes and monkeys, but of a disagreeable figure, and nauseous smell, having long, brown, reddish hair, which are commonly sold there, to foreigners, at a piece of eight each, in exchange for haberdashery-wares, or old linen rags, or sailors clothes, especially old hats, which the natives much covet. The only good in that sort of monkeys, is, that they are full of tricks, and pleasant gestures and motions.

PLATE 23.

Blue Parrots, with fine scarlet tails, are innumerable in the woods, where they continually make an intolerable noise; of which, as well as of the monkeys, the natives catch great numbers with snares, or ginns, set on the trees, for that purpose. Those parrots, when well taught, will learn to talk and whistle distinctly, sooner than any others, and are very good to eat.

Beasts and birds.

There is also a multitude of ring-doves, and turtle-doves, in the woods, which are very sweet food; and an incredible quantity of several other sorts of birds, unknown to us. All about the woods, grows great plenty of that sort of fine purple flowers, which in *France* are called *Belles de Nuit*, because they have a charming freshness in the morning, and seem almost withered in the day-time.

The inhabitants are, for the generality, *Blacks*, either freemen or slaves; there being hardly twenty right *Portuguese* families in the island, with about sixty of *Mulattos*, tho' it is reckoned there are above three thousand persons on the island, in the several parts thereof. Most of the *Blacks* are a sort of malignant treacherous race; nor are the *Mulattos* much better-natured: and if I may be allowed to speak the truth, the few right *Portuguese* are not very commendable, either for honesty or good temper, at least the greatest number of them. For they will watch, as most of the *Mulattos* and *Blacks* do, the opportunity of stealing a foreigner's hat off his head, as he goes along the street, not only in the dusk of the evening, but in the day-time, if they meet him in some by-place, and are not seen by other people, and run away with the hat to the wood or home.

Inhabitants.

Base people.

It

It behoves every one that goes thither, to be always on his guard; for the natives are, as I have hinted already, a savage ill-natur'd people, and have been very rude and inhuman to strangers, as, has been said, they were to the *Dutch* colony, settled there by a considerable merchant of *Amsterdam*, at the latter end of the last century: as they also, some time after, proved to *Olivier van Noort's* people in 1598; when that admiral, being bound from *Holland* for the *East-Indies*, and driven thither by the strong tide of the gulf, the islanders invited several of his men ashore, with all possible demonstrations of friendship, to see their fort and town; and having prevailed, and got them into it, they barbarously fell on, and massacred them most inhumanly.

French
batter the
fort.

At my last voyage to this island, I came thither in a yacht, from *Fida*, to join our little squadron of three frigats, which were gone before me; I found our people at open hostilities with the town, on account of our serjeant-major, who had been assaulted by a *Black*, at the beach, and was very dangerously wounded in the back with a knife; which so incensed the commander in my absence, that he very rashly and inconsiderately moor'd two of the frigats, within reach of the town and fort, and fired so briskly for two hours together on both, that all the inhabitants and garrison fled to the hills, and had I not come in good time, he would have done them much more mischief. But I set all things to rights, by an excuse to the *Portuguese* governour, *Don Sebastian Vaz*, my old acquaintance, promising that the directors of the *French* company should punish that officer, when returned to *France*, for his rashness in doing himself justice for the *Black's* having assaulted our serjeant-major so treacherously, before he had required it of him.

That governour is a gentleman of good fashion, and very courteous to strangers: besides him, I knew the major of the garrison, who is a good-natur'd man; all the rest are not to be regarded or trusted.

The *Portuguese* there, always wear long swords, and the *Blacks* long knives stuck in their girdles, like those of the *Gold Coast*; and have only a clout, at their middle, to cover them. Several of the *Mulattos* are not much better dress'd, and bare-foot; being generally very poor, as well as most of the *Portuguese* inhabitants.

Women.

The *Portuguese* women are very civil to foreigners, that can approach them; and much kinder are the *Mulatto* women, who commonly dress themselves in the *Portuguese* fashion. They seldom go abroad but to church, and then covered with a long veil, and attended by an old woman slave, on whose shoulder they lean, as they walk along.

They eat after the *Portuguese* fashion, and have in the middle of their rooms, even above stairs, a large square hearth, to boil and dress their victuals, and scarce a chair or stool to sit upon, but only a few pewter or wooden utensils, and earthen-pots, with sorry poor beds, for all the furniture of their houses.

BARBOT.
Furniture.

The *Blacks*, both freemen and slaves, call themselves *Christianos Novos*, that is, new christians, or converts; and many of them, as well as of the *Mulattos*, are brought over from *Brazil* and *Angola*, besides the natives of the island, who all speak *Portuguese*, and two or three sorts of languages of their own. They are all extremely ignorant, and rather superstitious than religious, above all in respect to their patron *St. Antony*.

One thing there, is somewhat diverting, which is, when on some solemnity in the night-time, they illuminate their streets with abundance of lamps, made of orange hollow peels, filled with palm-oil, and a cotton-wick, set on the balconies of their houses, ten, fifteen, or twenty, on every balcony, with which every house is adorned; and the streets being built in a strait line, the sight is very pleasant.

The major of the fort is the properest person to apply to, and whom I employed to buy all our provisions; which he performed with a great deal of honesty and good husbandry, and I paid him for his trouble, and the cost, in brandy, coarse and middling hats, shirts, old and new shoes, all sorts of made linnen; narrow and broad ribbands of sundry colours; several sorts of striped and plain coloured silk, taffety and brocade, out of fashion in *Europe*; gloves, white linnen, silk-stockings, old perukes, spices, and thread of sundry gay colours, the islanders being fond of all that is gaudy, and of pieces of eight. A small cargo well sorted, to the value of four hundred crowns, in all the above-mentioned goods, and of the cheapest sorts, will sell very well there, in exchange for provisions, of the product of the island; but not for money, that being generally little known among the inhabitants, or at best, but little of it in the hands of a few of the principal men, who drive a little coasting trade about the gulf, and *Gold Coast* of *Guinea*, making up the cargo of their sloops, of tobacco, sugar, some eatables, &c. of the growth of their plantations, and of some remaining goods of *Europe*, fit for that trade, which they sometimes get of *Europeans*, touching there in their return home, in exchange for necessaries for their voyage.

We paid a crown for an *Alqueire* of *Mandioca* flower, which is very dear, the *Alqueire* being but a little above a bushel *Winchester* measure; and a crown and a half for one of rice; a crown

BARBOT. crown for an hundred of coco-nuts: oranges, lemmons, bananas, and all other fruits, plants, or poultry, are very cheap; and all of them useful and necessary in slave-ships especially, because they cure and preserve the slaves, as well as the ships crew, at sea, when duly administred to them, during their tedious passage to *America*. I would advise all persons trading to *Guinea*, not to neglect taking such refreshments, either there, or at *St. Tome*: for cape *Lope* and *Annobon* cannot afford them so good, the water of *St. Tome* not agreeing so well with the slaves, as I shall observe in the description of that island. For tho' it seems to be a great expence to get it in a sufficient quantity, for so many men as are generally on board a slave-ship, yet the good it does them all, countervails the charge; it saves the lives of many slaves, and keeps them healthy, in a much better condition, and fitter for a good advantageous market in *America*: for this reason, few of the *French* ships trading to *Guinea*, miss touching, in their return from that coast, at one of those *Portuguese* islands, unless they only want to wood and water; both which they may do at cape *Lope*, with as much ease, and cheaper than at any of those islands.

ST. THOMAS'S ISLAND.

Signes,
position,
&c.

THE island of *St. Thomas*, or *St. Tome*, is oval, about fifteen leagues in length, from north to south, and twelve in breadth from east to west; the chief port-town in it lying directly under the equinoctial, and in the northerly part of the island.

The *Portuguese*, who discovered it, in the year 1482, under the direction of prince *Henry* of *Portugal*, gave it that name, because they found it upon the feast of that apostle, and it is by the *Portuguese* reckoned one of the nine countries, by them conquered in *Africa*. The *Blacks* of the opposite continent call it *Poncos*. It appears at about ten leagues distance at sea, as here represented in the cut.

PLATE 23.

Rosas
island.

South south-west of it, is the little island *das Rosas*, or *de Rolles*, or *Rolletias*, as the *Dutch* call it, separated by a channel, which has twelve fathom water near either shore, and twenty in the middle; there are some very small islands or rocks, called *de Roles*, but mostly overflowed by the sea. The island *das Rosas* is much larger than that of *Cabras*, on the north; and the channel betwixt it and *St. Tome*, is half a league broad; and there is good anchoring-ground in it.

Cabra
island.

At the north point of *St. Tome*, close by the shore, lies the little island call'd *Ilha de Cabras*, or goat island; the channel between them very deep, and so called, from the vast number of goats there is on it. The island is very high, and full of wild lemmon-trees.

St. Thomas's island is about thirty-five leagues south from the *Prince's*, and forty-five west from the nearest port of the continent of the gulph. It was discovered about the year 1471; the extraordinary fertility of its soil, moved the *Portuguese* to settle a colony of their nation on it, for the conveniency of their people trading to *Guinea*, tho' the climate is very unwholesome, and abundance of men died before it was well settled and cultivated; violent fevers and cholicks snatching them away soon after they were set a-shore.

First colony
at St.
Tome.

The first design of settling there, was in the year 1486; but perceiving how many perish'd in that attempt, by reason of the unwholesomeness of the air, and that they could better agree with that of the continent on the coast of *Guinea*, it was resolv'd in council by king *John* of *Portugal*, that all the *Jews* within his dominions, which were vastly numerous, should be obliged to receive baptism, or upon refusal, be transported to the coast of *Guinea*. Accordingly an edict was set forth, and many of those who would not comply, were shipped off, and set ashore in *Guinea*, where the *Portuguese* had already several considerable settlements, and a good trade, considering the time since the first discovery. A few years after, such of those *Jews* as had escap'd the malignant air, were forced away to this isle of *St. Tome*; there married to *Black* women fetch'd from *Angola*, in great numbers, with near three thousand men of the same country. From those *Jews* married to *Black* women, in process of time proceeded mostly that brood of *Mulattos* at this day inhabiting the island. Most of them boast of being descended from *Portuguese*, and their constitution is by nature much fitter to bear with the malignity of that air. *Faria y Sousa*, in his history of *Portugal*, p. 304. gives an account of the expulsion of the *Jews* from *Spain*, thus:

The *Jews*, who in great numbers lived in *Castile*, seeing themselves condemned to the flames, by the erecting of the inquisition in that country, swarmed into *Portugal*. King *John* the second of the name, surnamed *the perfect*, and *the great*, first entertained them; but afterwards, being sensible of their wicked practices, for that pretending to be christians, they ceased not to judaize, he sent out his officers, who burnt some, chastised others, and filled all the prisons with them. This made many of them fly into *Africa*, where they openly professed themselves *Jews*; whereupon the king forbid any more passing over thither, upon pain of death; giving them liberty, at the same time, to remove to any christian country. But tho' it happened some years later, we will relate what was done in this case. In the

the year 1492, a vast multitude of *Jews* came out of *Castile* into *Portugal*, engaging to pay the king a certain number of ducats a head, and only desiring to be permitted to pass through the kingdom. Eight months were allowed them to stay, and certain ports assigned them to embark. The time expiring, many went over to the coast of *Fez*, where they were plunder'd and abus'd by the *Moors*; having been little better treated by the *Portuguese*, many returned to *Castile*, pretending they were converted, and many staid in *Portugal* under the same colour. The king, the following year, finding them obstinate in their wicked practices, made all that could be found slaves; and taking their children away, caused them to be baptiz'd, and sent them to the island of *St. Thomas*, to be brought up there christians, and inhabit it. Thus the *Jews* came first to mix their race with that of the antient *Portuguese*. To return to my subject.

The ships anchor in the road of the bay, on which the town is situated; the anchoring for small ships is in three fathoms and a half, and for the larger, in five fathoms, sandy ground, keeping the fort at south-west. This road lies north-east and south-west, we moor there, with the best bower at south, because the wind blows mostly from thence; we commonly sail close to the island, to come to the roads, the water being there pretty deep along the shore. About a league and a half from the fort, in the bay, lie two small islands.

The soil of *St. Tome* is generally fat, mix'd with yellow and white earth, which by the dew of the night, is rendered very proper to produce many sorts of plants and fruits, and in swampy grounds, prodigious lofty trees, in a short time.

Sugar. The sugar-canes thrive so well there, that the planters make yearly, above an hundred thousand arrobes of muscovado sugar, the arrobe being thirty-two pounds *Portugal* weight: the plants were carried thither from *Brazil*, but do not yield so much sugar, nor so good as there, tho' cultivated after the same manner; because of the moisture of the soil, which makes the canes to over-shoot, for which reason they often dry it by fire, or burn it as much as they can.

For the same reason our *European* wheat will not come to maturity; but shoots out all into stalks and leaves.

The island is watered in several places, by little rivers, running down from the hills into the ocean, their waters are very sweet, and cold, most of the rivers coming from the great high mountain, which rises in the very center of the island, much above all the other hills about it, and is almost continually covered with snow at the top, and all over wooded; which is very remarkable, confi-

dering how much it is continually expos'd to BARBOT. the scorching heat of the sun.

All the ill fruits and plants of the growth *Product.* of *Guinea*, thrive there to admiration, besides many others transplanted thither from *Brazil*; and even grapes, *Accajou* apples, and many sorts of small beans; as also *Cola*, which formerly occasioned a considerable trade from thence to *Angola*. Ginger is also pretty plentiful, as well as the cabbage-tree, which grows very tall in one year, and is called by the natives *Abellane*: but *European* fruit-trees, as almond, olive, peach, and other sorts, which have stones, or shell, tho' they grow very well, yet they never bear any fruit; and on the contrary, all sorts of our falletting thrive very well.

The natives pretend they have a sort of trees, whose leaves are continually distilling water, like the fabulous tree authors speak of in the island of *Ferro*, one of the *Canaries*.

They have great store of all the tame *Beasts and birds.* creatures, that are usual on the coasts of *Guinea* and *Benin*; and particularly of black cattel, larger and more beautiful than those at the *Gold Coast*, and the swine are also very large: and as for fowl, there are turkeys, geese, ducks, turtle-doves, partridges, black-birds, starlings, and very beautiful parroquets, no bigger than sparrows, with fine scarlet heads, besides many other fine birds not known in *Europe*.

The ocean all round the island swarms *Fish, &c.* with fish, and among them small whales, and north-capers, or grampusses; nor is there less plenty in the rivers: so that the inhabitants have all sorts of provisions in immense quantities; and were not the scorching damp air so pernicious to *Europeans*, who can scarce live there to fifty years of age, it might vie with the isle of *St. Helena*, so famous amongst *East-India* travellers, for its fertility and plenty of all necessaries, and over and above for the wholesomeness of its air, being about four hundred leagues distant from *St. Tome*, south-east by east, and look'd upon as a terrestrial paradise.

As for the natives, they are said to live long and healthy, tho' spare and lean of body, and many of them to attain to an hundred years of age. There is also another notion, for the truth whereof I dare not vouch; which is, that if a foreigner happens to go to reside at *St. Tome*, before he is at his full growth, he will continue at that pitch all the days of his life. They also say the nature of the soil is such, as to consume a dead body in twenty-four hours.

The unwholesomeness of the air, is chiefly attributed to the island's lying under the equinoctial, which renders it intolerably hot the greatest part of the year; and being all hills and dales, which are continually fill'd with a thick stinking fog, even in the hottest

BARBOT time of the day, that condenses and infects the air, and renders it unwholesome. Add to this, the heavy rains, which fall on the low marshy grounds, which being afterwards drawn up by the violent heat, turn into vapours, and fall down mornings and evenings on the bodies of men and beasts, occasioning much sickness, and the death of many at the town, especially at some times of the year; because it is situated in a low bottom, which is not so much about the north and south parts of the island. However, at certain seasons of the year, that malignant air is so universal, that the natives are forced to keep close at home, for a time, to free themselves from it as much as is possible.

The excessive bleeding used by the *Portuguese*, which they have recourse to on the least occasion, some of 'em letting blood fifty times, or more, in a year; is probably what makes them look more like walking ghosts than men. This practice, so repeated for many years successively, must necessarily weaken their constitution; the nature of that climate being such, as cannot supply them with hasty recruits of blood.

There are two rainy and two fair seasons in the year, beginning at each equinox, and ending at the sun's coming to the tropicks. At the time of those equinoxes, they have no manner of shade, the sun being perpendicular over their heads, and then exhales immense quantities of water from the ocean, all about the island, which turn to such heavy violent rains, that they fall all over the land like another flood; and the only comfort at such times, is, that the heat of the sun is nothing near so scorching as at other dry seasons, when it is intolerable, the thick clouds then interposing; however, at that time they suffer as much by the excess of dampness, as they did before by the insupportable heats, in *June, July, and August*, especially *Europeans*; those heats being then so violent, and the soil so burning hot, that 'tis scarce possible to walk on it, at some times, without corksoles to the shoes.

Excessive heat.

Temperate season.

The other three months of good season, viz. *March, April and May*, are more temperate, the continual south-east winds refreshing the air; so that it does as much good to *Europeans*, as damage to the natives, whom it pinches and annoys so very much, that they all look then extremely thin and poor. But it is very rare there to have a north-east wind blow as it doth at the *Gold Coast of Guinea*; and when that happens, 'tis occasioned by the high mountains of the continent of *Africa*, diverting it towards this island.

The town.

The principal town, lies at the bottom of the bay, facing the north-east betwixt two rivers, on a low flat ground, and built in length, containing about eight hundred

houses, most of them two stories high, and flat-roofed. And the *Portuguese* say, there are above five thousand such houses about the country, six miles round the town; which is cover'd on the sea-side, by a rampart built of free-stone, in 1607; defended on the north by fort *St. Sebastian*: consisting of four large bastions, faced with free-stone, standing on a point of land, the courtins being of hard polish'd rock-stone, twenty five foot high; all which renders it a strong place, if well defended. *The castle.*

The fort has also a little harbour or basin, facing the north; the access to which, may be easily obstructed, by thirty-six brass guns, from eight to forty eight pound ball, it is furnish'd with; and supplied with water by a little river that falls into the sea, and is the best fresh water in all the island, and the most proper for ships for long voyages, if taken in the day-time: but being then always full of slaves, and beasts resorting from all parts of the town for water, and to wash themselves, and often ease their bodies there, and throw in all sorts of filth, we are obliged to fill our casks in the night, when it is free from all that nastiness, which makes it less agreeable to our men and slaves, being perhaps too raw, as it comes from the hills, till warmed by the sun: for it appears by experience, that the water at *Prince's island* and cape *Lope*, proves much wholesomer for our slaves and ships crews at sea. Tho' this of *St. Tome* keeps pretty well in casks, after it has once stunk, and is recovered. *Watering.*

I would advise such as resort thither to victual their ships, to water in other places of the island, or in the middle of the town, through which the river runs, tho' it will cost double the labour and charges. For it is so essential a point, that the water taken aboard in slave-ships should be of the very best and cleanly, that it often contributes very much to save or destroy whole cargoes of them, according as it is good or bad; and rather than to run a risque, I would advise them to go to cape *Lope*, *Prince's island*, or *Annobon* for it; because many ships have lost the best part of their compliment of slaves by that water, in their passage from thence to *America*.

All the houses in the town are built with a sort of hard ponderous white timber, growing on the plantations of the island, and covered with planks of the same, only three houses are all of stone; the chiefest whereof, is the governor's, and another is the bishop's palace. *St. Tome* is a bishop's see, whose diocese extends over the adjacent *Portuguese* islands of the gulph of *Guinea*, and it is accounted the mother-church of *Guinea, Congo* and *Angola*; and for that reason, the bishop of *Angola* is suffragan to this see, which claims it by antiquity.

There

There are three churches in the town, one of them the cathedral, dedicated to our lady of the conception, as they term it, which was formerly ruined by the Dutch admiral, *Pieter ver Does* (in 1610) who invaded the island; but afterwards rebuilt and enlarged by the Portuguese, much finer and larger. In it was long after buried the corps of another Dutch admiral *Jol*, who after his conquests of *Loanda de St. Paolo* in *Angola*, being sent there with twenty one men of war, and two thousand two hundred men from *Brazil*, by count *Maurice of Nassau*, captain-general by sea and land for the Dutch in 1641, subdued this island the second time: but soon after the conquest, all his little army was seized with the distempers of the country, which destroyed many; and *Jol* himself, with six of his officers died, and was interred in this church, with all the pomp used at the funerals of the greatest generals of armies. This church is precisely under the equinoctial line.

Churches.

The other churches of the town, are that of *St. Elizabeth*, which is an hospital; and that of *St. Sebastian*, the least of the three, and the nearest to the fortress, of which it bears the name.

There are also some other smaller churches and chapels without the walls of the town; one dedicated to *St. Antony*, at about half a mile distance; another nearer, to *St. John*; another again, to the mother of God, about half a league to the south-east; another to the trinity, two leagues off east; and another, to *St. Anne*, about three leagues south-east, which was rebuilt in 1667, as large as that of *St. Saviour* at *Rochel*, but much handsomer. Two of those churches belong to monasteries of *Augustinians* and fryars. All the inhabitants are romanists, except some few families of pagan negroes of the opposite continent, who reside there on account of trade. The bishop of *St. Tome* is suffragan to the primate of *Portugal*; most of the priests officiating there, and at the other Portuguese islands are *Blacks*. The musick of the cathedral, is partly composed of negro boys, who are trained to it, and sing mostly without book. The king of *Portugal* maintains them, and the whole chapter, out of the revenues of the island.

The inhabitants are obliged to maintain at their charge the garison of fort *St. Sebastian* with fuel, and to keep in due repair the governor's house in the town; as likewise all the bridges within and without it, and to mend the roads about it, which are often damaged by the heavy rains overflowing and breaking them up.

General.

The general extends his jurisdiction over those of the neighbouring Portuguese islands, of the gulph of *Guinea*, but resides at *St. Tome*,

and is assisted by a corregidor in deciding judicially all the contests and differences that happen there; but there lies an appeal to the viceroy of *Guinea* and *Angola*, residing at *Loanda de St. Paolo*, in *Angola*. The Portuguese general that was there, at my first voyage to the gulph, was *Julian do Campo Barreto*, whom I saw since at *Prince's* island, and afterwards at *Acra*, being there kept close prisoner, by the garrison of the fort *Christiaenburgh*, then possessed by the Portuguese; as I have observed in the preceding description of the *Gold Coast* of *Guinea*.

The best governors and generals, sent to the Portuguese islands of the gulph of *Guinea*, are old officers, who having served the king of *Portugal* in his armies, and had the misfortune to waste their estates in that service, are posted there to recover their losses; which they may quickly do, as having the whole trade of that part of *Guinea*, besides the perquisites of their posts, and their share of the duties foreign ships are obliged to pay, which amount to near ten per cent. *ad valorem*, of the provisions exported from the islands, which duties we commonly pay in *European* goods; and for a large slave-ship, come to about one hundred and twenty crowns, or three slaves, valued at forty crowns a-piece; besides which, eight or ten crowns are paid to the corregidor, *Merinho da Mar*, and other officers of the custom-house. All which, considering the great number of foreign ships resorting to the island yearly, being often above an hundred and fifty sail of all nations and sizes, it is easy to infer, that the post of general there, is very beneficial without all the other profits accruing by the administration of justice, and trading in *Guinea*, and the sale of the product of their own plantations, and the fifth part of all the fish caught on the beach, and three-pence per week for every fisherman that fishes out at sea: for there is nothing but what pays some duty to the king or the governor; and even *European* goods carried ashore for purchasing provisions, must all be sent to the custom-house, and pay ten per cent. *ad valorem*.

Those goods in *French* ships particularly consist in *Holland-cloth*, or linen, as well as of *Rouen* and *Britany*; thread of all colours; serges, silk stockings, fustians, Dutch knives, iron, salt, olive-oil, copper in sheets or plates; brass-kettles, pitch, tar, cordage, sugar forms, (from twenty to thirty pounds a-piece) brandy, all kinds of strong liquors and spirits, *Canary-wines*, olives, capers, fine flower, butter, cheese, thin shoes, hats, shirts, and all sorts of silks out of fashion in *Europe*, hooks, &c. of each sort a little in proportion.

The

BARBOT. The islanders are a mungrel people, as I have already hinted; white *Portuguese*, descended from the first inhabitants of the island, when it was settled; *Portuguese Mulatto's*, also descended from the proscribed *Jews*, sent thither at the beginning of the colony, and married to *Black* women sent from *Angola*; both free, besides a vast number of *Blacks* and *Mulatto's* not free; transported also from *Loanda de S. Paolo*, as the island could be cultivated: as also a multitude of other slaves, whotho' they are so, compose whole villages of themselves all over the island.

The most ordinary food of the inhabitants is potatoes, kneaded and mix'd with *Farinba de Pao*, or *Mandioca*, goat's-milk, palm-wine and water. Those of some substance often feast one another in their villages; especially in hot scorching weather, five or six whole families meeting together in dens and caves, dug for that purpose under ground, to keep off the heat, each family bringing a dish to compose the banquet.

The commonalty of all those mungrel people, especially of the *Mulatto's* and *Blacks*, are treacherous villains, very thievish, insolent and quarrelsome, on the least occasion; and some, without any.

Distempers. Having spoken fully of the unwholesomeness of the air at *St. Tome*, it will not be improper to take some notice of the most common diseases, afflicting the inhabitants, *viz.* fevers, small-pox, cholicks, the bloody-flux, the venereal disease; and another called there *Bichos no Cu*, besides several others, affecting men there, and particularly the head-ach.

Fevers. The fever, above all other distempers, destroys the greatest number of people, especially new comers from *Europe*, carrying them off in less than eight days sickness. The first symptoms of it are a cold shivering, attended with an intolerable heat or inflammation in the body for two hours, so as to throw the patient into a violent delirium, which at the fifth or seventh fit, or the fourteenth at most, makes an end of most persons seized with it; the fit returning every other day. If the patient escapes, he may reasonably expect to live there several years in health, provided he is temperate both as to wine and women; and be well dieted after having been purged immediately with *Cassia*, infused in the blood of vipers. They allow the patient to drink water plentifully during the fit.

Small-pox. As to the small-pox, it is there as elsewhere in *Guinea*, some die of it, some not; and the proper medicines for such patients, are known to all nations, and therefore I forbear saying any more on that head.

Cholicks are there so terrible, as to *Cholick.* distract the patient in three or four days. The cause of this sort of cholick is mostly attributed either to the excessive use of women, or to the evening dews; and to catching cold, after a violent sweating: many, especially new comers, being apt to cool and air themselves when very hot, in the night-time a-bed, or drinking to excess of the juice of coco-nuts, which is of a very cooling nature.

This sort of cholick has swept away an incredible number of people of all sorts and nations since that was a colony; and does still continually, the resort to the island being very great from many parts, as I have observed before. It has particularly, together with the bloody-flux, kill'd such a number of *Dutch* men, the two several times they subdued the island, in the years 1610, and 1641, as before mentioned; that the island was then known in *Holland*, by the name of the *Dutch Church-yard*. However, it is observed among our sailors, that those who seldom or never go ashore, are not afflicted with this or any other distemper of the country. The natives use the same medicines for cholicks, as the *Blacks* do on the coast of *Guinea*.

The bloody-flux is as common among the *Bloody-* inhabitants as among foreigners, and *flux.* destroys many of both sorts indifferently. The medicine most used by the natives, is to anoint the patient all over very often with an ointment made of palm-oil, boil'd with certain physical herbs, best known to the *Blacks*, which cures many in a short time: but for our *European* sailors, we find that quinces are the most efficacious remedy against that distemper.

The venereal distemper is very common, *Pox.* the *Blacks* seeming to be little concerned at it, as having a way to cure it with *Mercury*; but few *Europeans* who get it, escape dying miserably. I cannot therefore but seriously recommend it to such as happen to go thither, to forbear having to do with any *Black* women, as they tender their own lives.

The disease call'd *Bichos no Cu*, is also *Dysentery.* very common there, both among *Whites* and *Blacks*; the nature of it is to melt or dissolve mens fat inwardly, and to void it by stool, which 'tis likely is occasion'd by the insupportable heats. The *French* call this distemper *Gras fondu*, that is, melted grease; being in effect a sort of dysentery, the forerunner of which, is an extraordinary melancholy, attended with a violent head-ach, weariness, and sore eyes. As soon as these symptoms appear, they take the fourth part of a lemmon-peel, and thrust it up the patient's fundament, in the nature of a suppository,

pository, as far as they can, which is very painful to him, and he is to keep it there as long as possible. If the disease is not inveterate, this certainly cures him; but if this remedy proves ineffectual, and the disease so malignant, that there comes away a sort of grey matter, they infuse tobacco-leaves in salt and vinegar, for two hours, then pound it in a mortar, and administer a glister of it to the patient: but because the smart of it is violent, they have two men to hold him. They use also in this case another sort of glister, not so sharp, made of the juice of an herb called *Orore de Bichos*, with rose-leaves, two yolks of eggs, a little allom and oil of roses. Some also prevent that dangerous distemper, by applying a suppository made of lint, steep'd in a new-laid egg, beaten with rose-water, sugar and ceruse, or white lead.

Head-ach. Head-aches are also very frequent, and cured as on the coast of *Guinea*.

Product. To return to the description of *St. Tome*; *Indian* wheat grows there to perfection, of which they make bread, baking it with several roots, especially potatoes. Grapes never ripen together upon the same bunch; but there are some at all times of the year. Stone fruits seldom or never come to maturity. *Mandioca*, or *Cassabi*, is cultivated as in *Brazil*, but differs from it: for besides its growing here as big as a man's leg, and very lofty, it has not that poisonous juice as what grows there, and at *Angola*. Many here, as well as at *Prince's* island, make bread of it, first rasping and drying the meal in the air; and it is much better food than that of *Brazil* and *Angola*.

Potatoes. There are four sorts of potatoes of *Benin*, *Auwerre*, *Mani-Congo*, and *Saffrance*, all transplanted thither from the said places. The two first sorts are the best, the one for sweetness, the other, because it will keep long sound and good.

Pefigos. The fruit call'd *Pefigos*, grows on a tree of the same name, and resembles a calabash or gourd, covered with a hairy substance, and is sweet and refreshing.

Cola. The *Cola* is the same as in *Guinea*, and so very plentiful, that they export vast quantities to *Loanda* in *Angola*, all in their husk or rhind, which preserves it a long time, and is much valued there. They also export thither much palm-oil.

Sugar-anes. They manage and cultivate their sugar-canes, as in *Brazil*, and the sugar islands of *America*; but the canes grow much bigger than at any of those places, yet do not afford more juice in proportion. They commonly plant them in *January*, and cut them down in *June*, tho' some planters do not observe that time so exactly; so that it may be said, they make sugar most part of the year, and there are reckoned to be about

sixty sugar-mills on the island; which all together, make every year about fifteen hundred tuns of brown sugar, better than what is made at *Prince's* island, whence they formerly exported seven or eight ships laden to *Portugal*, the *Canary* islands, and *England*, before those parts were so plentifully supply'd from *America*. Some planters refine a small quantity, for the use of the inhabitants; but being much inferior to the *Madera* sugar, it has little vent abroad, having a taste of the clay ground, and will hardly dry in the moulds, unless the parching south-east winds blow, and then will not keep dry two years; for which reason they have some white refin'd sugar from *Madera* imported every year.

There is great plenty of cotton, which the natives and other inhabitants dress, spin and weave, into several sorts of cloth; the small cloths for *B'lacks* made of it, are of the same sort as those of *Benin*, but not near so fine and good. They send yearly great quantities of them to *Angola*, where they yield good profit.

All the aforesaid plants, are often much damag'd by a small sort of green crabs, which swarm all over the country, and breed under ground, like moles. The woods and copices swarm with innumerable multitudes of large flies, which sting: and at some times of the year, there are infinite great ants, which eat the grass, and gnaw the young sugar-canes; but they die when the season is over. The rats also do much harm to the sugar-canes.

I shall now entertain the reader with a brief account of the conquest of this island, at two several times; the states of *Holland* being at war with the crown of *Spain*, and *Portugal*, at that time subject to the said crown.

The first expedition was under admiral *Pieter Verdoes*, or *Vander Does*, in the month of *November* 1610, with seventeen men of war. That admiral having landed his forces on the island, with some artillery, took the two forts. The one surrendered at the first summons; the other he batter'd for some time with seven pieces of heavy cannon, and obliged it to yield: after which, he storm'd the town, and carry'd it; and the inhabitants refusing to pay a ranfome of ten thousand gold ducats, demanded by the said admiral, he took out some thousand chests of sugar, a great quantity of elephants teeth, with some parcels of gold and woollen cloth, and wrought silks, twenty-one pieces of cannon, &c. and set fire to the place. But the *Dutch* did not long enjoy this conquest; for soon after the country distempers seized them in such manner, that above a thousand soldiers died; as did also the admiral *Verdoes*, his vice-admiral *Storm*, and all

BARBOT. officers of the land-forces, except one only, who obliged the rest to ravage and ruin all the towns, sugar-mills, &c. and having embark'd all the booty they could get, they left the island in such disorder, that the *Portuguese* were not, for several years, able to repair the damage, for want of coppers, and other utensils and materials, to set up their sugar-works again; that being then their best revenue.

The second. The second conquest of this island, was made at a time when the crown of *Portugal*, having revolted from the *Spanish* monarchy, had actually concluded a truce with the states-general of the united provinces; but it not being yet made known to count *Maurice*, at that time generalissimo for the *Dutch West-India* company, at *Brazil*, where he had subdu'd seven provinces, or captainships, of fourteen there are in *Brazil*, he only suspecting that the treaty was on foot; and being desirous to augment the *Dutch* conquests, in *Africa*, that what they should gain by force of arms might remain to them, after the conclusion of a peace, or truce; and being sensible of the great importance of the slaves trade the *Portuguese* had at *Angola*, and *Guinea*; sent from *Brazil*, admiral *Jol*, or *Houtebeen*, directly to *Angola*, with a squadron of twenty-one men of war, two thousand two hundred land-men, and nine hundred sea-men, in order to dispossess the *Portuguese* of the city and forts of *Loanda de St. Paolo*, their chief place in the kingdom of *Angola*, south of that of *Congo*; and to put that trade into the hands of the *Dutch West-India* company; and thence to conquer the isle of *St. Tome*, in the gulf of *Guinea*, if it were practicable.

According to these instructions, admiral *Jol* having for his vice-admiral *James Hinderson*, on the thirtieth of *May* 1640, sail'd with his fleet from *Brazil*, to *Loanda de St. Paolo* at *Angola*; being in the same degree of south latitude in *Africa*, as is *Fernambuco* in *Brazil*.

The conquest the *Dutch* made in *Angola*, cost them only an inconsiderable fight: for *Hinderson* had no sooner got footing in the isle of *Loanda*, but he marched with his little army to the city of *St. Paolo*, tho' seated on a long mountain, and defended by six small forts and redoubts; besides the jesuits and capuchins convents, which were capable of resistance. Whereupon the natives came to the assistance of the town; but were totally defeated by *Hinderson*, as were also, afterwards, the *Portuguese* forces, led by *Pedro Cesar de Meneses*, governour of *Loanda*; the *Dutch* cutting most of them in pieces, on the twenty-fourth of *August*: which put the town into such a consternation, that the *Portuguese* quitted it. The *Hollanders* entering the city, found nobody

there, but some soldiers quite drunk, and a few decrepit old men, who had not strength enough to get away with the other inhabitants.

The *Dutch* found a considerable booty, consisting of twenty-nine brass, and sixty-nine iron guns; a vast quantity of warlike ammunition, and provisions; and thirty *Portuguese* ships that were then in the harbour.

Admiral *Jol* immediately ordered the town to be fortify'd, with new regular works; and to erect a new large citadel, with two other forts, for the defence and preservation of the city: which so surpriz'd the former *Portuguese* governour, *Meneses*, who at first thought the *Hollanders* had no other design, than to get a rich booty, and so to withdraw from *Angola*; that he complain'd thereof to *Jol*, allèdging the truce newly consented to by the King of *Portugal*, and the states-general; by which all past contests and differences betwixt the two nations, were ceas'd, and the two nations looked upon one another as allies. To which *Jol* reply'd, he knew of the late revolution in *Portugal*; but that he had not yet heard of any truce betwixt his masters and the new king: besides, that it seem'd to him, the town of *Loanda* still held for the king of *Spain*, since the governour had oppos'd his descent by open force, instead of treating the *Hollanders* as allies.

Thus the city of *St. Paolo*, and the island of *Loanda*, were possess'd by the *Hollanders*, till on the twenty-first of *August* 1648, they were obliged to quit it to the *Portuguese* again, by a special capitulation sign'd the twenty-fourth of the same month.

To return to *Jol*; after he had given the necessary orders for the defence and preservation of the island and city of *Loanda de St. Paolo*, and left there a competent force; he sail'd with the aforesaid squadron, to the expedition against the island *St. Tome*, considering that the reason of war would remain in force till the truce, betwixt the crown of *Portugal* and the states-general, were duly published: and resolved to reduce that island, which had been formerly subdu'd by admiral *Vander Does*, as has been related above, and repossess'd again by the *Portuguese*.

Jol being arrived there, landed his forces, at a place near which is a sugar-mill, and call'd *St. Anna*, about two leagues from the chief town of the island; and at the same time caused the squadron to advance to within shot of the castle of *St. Sebastian*, ordering his men to commit no hostilities unless the enemy began.

The natives could not forbear firing at the *Dutch*; and were immediately followed by

by the *Portuguese*, who made a terrible fire on the *Dutch* ships from the fort; which set one of them in flames in so violent a manner, that all the *Hollanders* aboard perish'd in the conflagration.

Jol having routed the *Blacks* ashore, caused his forces to march towards the fortresses, which was very ill provided both with men and ammunition, and had but eight guns fit for service. He attacked it with much bravery; but the walls being thirty-eight foot high, and the *Dutch* not provided with scaling-ladders, they were forced to retire with a considerable loss of men; and marched to the town, which had no defence, nor people to make any resistance, the inhabitants, and even the garrison being fled into the country at their approach: so that the *Dutch* immediately took possession of it.

Then they returned to attack the great fort, regularly; and by means of a battery of six great guns, fired day and night on it, forced the garrison to capitulate, and to leave them thirty-six pieces of cannon, and a vast quantity of ammunition; but scarce any provisions.

This done, *Jol* summoned all the *Portuguese* inhabitants into the town, to treat with them about the manner, how they should acknowledge the states-general.

Some few days after, the country diseases began to spread among the *Dutch* army, in such a dreadful manner, that a great number of the soldiers being dead, and among them *Jol*, their admiral, with six of the chief officers; he was buried in the cathedral, with all the magnificence and pomp, used at the funerals of the greatest generals. He was a man altogether unpolish'd; but indefatigable, and bold to excess, in the greatest and most dangerous attempts.

Jol's expeditions in *Africa*, were followed by another, which count *Maurice* undertook in the northern part of *Brazil*, at the instance of the directors of the *Dutch West-India* company, to whom the captainships of *Maranbao*, or *Maragnan*, had been represented as a country very healthy, and fertile in sugar, cotton, ginger, tobacco, salt, and gold mines; and very conveniently situated, for annoying from thence the *Leeward* and *Caribbee* islands, and all the other islands of the gulph of *Mexico*.

The count accordingly committed that expedition to admiral *Lieffart*, and colonel *Coine*, both of them very expert men in warlike and marine affairs.

They sailed thither with eight men of war and six transports, in the month of *October*, and immediately seized the isle of *Maragnan*, and the town of *St. Lewis*, and afterwards the whole province, without any

resistance made by the *Portuguese*. And thus *BARBOT.* of fourteen such captainships into which *Braz.* is divided, seven were under the *Dutch* government, about the latter end of the year 1641; but some time after, these three, *Maragnan*, *Siara* and *Seregippe* revolted, and the island *St. Tome* in *Guinea* soon followed their example.

ANNOBON ISLAND.

THE island *Annobon* was so called by *Situation.* the *Portuguese*, on account of its being discovered on the first day of the year 1471. It lies in one degree forty-five minutes of south latitude, and twenty six degrees of longitude east; thirty-five or six leagues north north-east, and south south-west of *St. Tome*; and fifty-eight leagues west south-west of cape *Lope Gonzalves*; and appears off at sea, as is represented in the print. PLATE 23.

It's about five leagues in length from north to south; and about five, and in other places four leagues or less broad; the land full as high as *St. Tome*, round as if it were only one large mountain, and, like it, almost always covered with a thick mist. About it are several rocks and shoals off at sea, which must be well looked to, in making the island. One of those rocks at the north end, is called *Porto Ilbeo*, that is, the port of the isle, being a sandy bay, facing the north-east; the anchoring place at twenty-five fathom water, good ground, about an *English* mile from shore: the tide thereabouts from *March* to *September*, sets swiftly from south, and the winds mostly south-west and west south-west.

There is another road for ships at the north-west part of the island, in thirty two fathom water; but full of shoals and rocks.

Annobon is resorted to by a great number of ships every year, as well those that have been trading at the coast of *Guinea*, as those bound to *Angola*, and even for the *East-Indies*, that have fallen below the gulph of *Guinea*, which put in there for refreshments and provisions; being an island prodigiously stock'd with cattle and fruits, far beyond the other *Portuguese* islands of the gulph for its bigness. In the year 1605, some outward-bound *East-India Dutch* ships were forced thither by the strong tides, in their way to the *East-Indies*, it being then inhabited by only two *Portuguese* families, cultivating the island with about two hundred slaves; but in process of time increased to thirty or forty families of planters, each having a certain number of slaves, more or less, to cultivate their respective plantations: over all whom is a *Portuguese* governor, but such a one, as will make no difficulty to receive an alms of a crown, if tender'd him. The inhabitants are in such

*Inhabi-
tants.*

BARBOT. such awe of him, that they are ready on the least provocation to break his head: for, being only steward to a *Portuguese* gentleman, to whom the island belongs, to collect a third of all the planters cattle, fruit and income; he fleeces them as much as he can, which renders him odious to the inhabitants: who, on the other hand, are generally a parcel of *Black* villains not to be trusted, on any account, tho' they bear the name of christians, their religion being but an empty name; besides, that they are descended from those slaves, the *Portuguese* transplanted thither in the beginning of the colony.

Their women are no better temper'd, and generally very ready to debauch our sea-men; tho' few of them, unless naturally very leud, will be so deprav'd and brutish, as to meddle with those frightful and ill-favour'd jades.

All those people are under the spiritual care of some *Portuguese* capuchin fryars: their churches are very handsome, and large enough for thrice the number of people.

The greatest number of the islanders inhabit a large village, opposite to the road, which is fenced round with an earthen courtin, containing about an hundred or more straw-houses, besides some of wood and planks for the white *Portuguese*.

The *Blacks* there wear only a clout about their middle; and the women nurse their children as they do in *Guinea*, and subsist mostly upon hunting, fishing, rice, and *Mandioca*.

The air at *Annobon* is not so unwholesome as at *St. Tome*; tho' it be, as I have observ'd already, for the most part cover'd with a thick mist, probably proceeding from the same cause, as has been hinted to occasion that which overspreads the former.

The plains are all tilled, and half way up the hills, as far as the ground has proved good, which is really very fertile; tho' to look at from below, it seems very dry and barren.

It is all over planted with cocos, oranges, lemmons, bananas, bakovens, palm-trees, and several others, as commonly seen in *Guinea*; whose fruits are all plentiful, and as cheap or cheaper than at *Prince's* island, viz. an hundred coco-nuts, a crown; a thousand of oranges or lemmons, a crown; and other fruit in proportion.

There are in the woods wild boars, deer, wild and tame goats, herons black and white, and several other sorts of birds; and about the island, the sea furnishes them with abundance of all sorts of good fish, and oysters.

Hogs, sheep, goats, chickens, and pigeons are to be had in great quantities for a

small matter, or for all sorts of old linnen and woollen rags.

Wood and water is easily got, very cheap, and in what quantity we desire; as also plenty of tamarinds, which is an excellent preservative against the scurvy, and a sort of small nuts, call'd by the *French*, *Nois de medicine*.

The hills furnish the island all round with many rivers and torrents of good fresh water running down to the sea. Those hills are so dispos'd, and so well planted and cultivated half way up, as I said above, that they afford a pleasant prospect every way; which, together with the great fertility of the soil, and the variety of animals and fruits found thereon, at all times of the year, do much recommend it to travellers for a fine island.

The inhabitants tell us, that on the highest mountain there is a lake of fresh and sweet water; about which, the air is extremely cold, and some parts continually cover'd with snow.

The *Dutch* possess'd this island for a while during their wars with *Portugal*; but could not keep it long, the *Blacks* having fled to the hilly parts of it, which are almost inaccessible to *Europeans*; and from thence so gall'd them, that they were oblig'd to quit it on that very account.

It is requisite in sailing from *Annobon* to the westward, the winds being the best part of the year at south-west, and south-south-west, to make long trips, till you get into three degrees of south latitude, where infallibly you find the south-east and south-south-east winds, which will carry you a great way to westward: tho' I have heard of some ships, that being bound from *Annobon* for the *Gold-Coast* of *Guinea*, in *September*, sailed continually along under the line, without inclining a degree either towards the south or north; and instead of meeting with a violent heat there, on the contrary found it so cold, that tho' the men were well clad, they could scarce bear it, notwithstanding the sun in that month passes the line, and is exactly perpendicular over-head. The reason whereof, as has been experienced by men who have made many voyages thither at that time of the year, is, that then it is always thick weather, and a stiff gale, which prevents men from feeling the heat of the sun; a truth which I have experienced myself, in the months of *March* and *April*, when four several times I passed the equinoctial line, to and fro, in my return from *Guinea*; and have seen our surgeon-major use a muff in the night-time.

The reason why the air seems so cold, I am apt to believe, is, that having been so many months together under a scorching air

air along the coast of *Guinea*, and coming on a sudden into an open air, where we have continual fresh gales, it is not surprising that our bodies are so pinched with it, as to make us say, it is extremely cold; tho' perhaps, were it possible to transport any person in an instant from *Europe*, into that latitude, he would find the air very hot; when we, coming from *Guinea*, say it is, and really feel it very cold.

I promised some few general remarks on the difference I have observed, between the *English*, *French*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch* charts, of the coast of the gulph of *Guinea*: which are as follow.

DIFFERENCE between CHARTS.

Between the Coast of *Ardra* and *Rio del Rey*, the *Portuguese* chart, made by special order of the former kings of *Portugal*, as I have hinted before, places a large *Archipelago*, of near fifty islands, great and small, mostly in a double range, along the coasts of *Benin*, *Ouwerre*, *Forcado*, and so on more easterly to *New Calabar* river; which is very different from all the other above mention'd *European* maps, who mention only a few islands on all the above mention'd coasts, and lay them down betwixt the coast of *Ardra* and *Rio Fermofo*, in *Benin*; and none at all from the said river *Fermofo* to *New Calabar* river.

However, since we find there are many large or small rivers in this extent of coast, which fall into the ocean, at several distances from each other; and since we are inform'd by the native *Blacks*, at several places, that those several rivers have a communication within the land, by their several branches running from one into the other; in this manner the *Portuguese* may be suppos'd in the right, to represent those coasts all along cut through into many islands as they do. But then allowing it to be so, as I am very apt to believe it; yet those several large or small islands are no farther distant from the main, and from one another, than the ordinary breadth of the inland branches of those rivers, which cannot be well suppos'd to be above a mile or two over at most. It must therefore be a mistake in the *Portuguese*, to represent those several

islands in their maps, separated as they do, BARBOT. some eight, some ten, and some twelve leagues distance from the opposite continent; as, more especially, they represent those set down there, about that part of the angular coast, next cape *Fermofo*, the coast there turning short from north-west to east: where also it takes no sort of notice of that famous promontory's name, and makes that part of the coast which is the cape *Fermofo*, to extend to five degrees of north latitude; whereas by the generality of the observations of modern *European* travellers, this cape lies exactly in four degrees ten minutes north, as was mentioned before, in the description thereof.

Another mistake in the *Portuguese*, is very gross, not only in the shape and form they give to *Rio Real*, which is *New Calabar* river, so very different from the new draught of it, inserted in the supplement to this volume; which was taken with all possible exactness in the year 1699, as is there expressed: but also in this, that from cape *Fermofo* to the said river *Real*, they take notice of four rivers only, *viz.* to begin from the said cape at east, *Rio de S. Bento*, *Rio de S. Ydefonso*, *Rio de S. Barbara*, and *Rio Pequeno*; and this last they represent not properly as a river, but as a little bay or bulging in an island; whereas it is certain there are seven rivers, at a distance from each other, all of them running down from the inland country of the continent into the ocean, through visible channels or mouths, as represented, and particularly named, in the said new draught of *Rio Real*.

Nor does the *Portuguese* map take the least notice of the three high islands of *Ambozes*, situate between *Rio del Rey*, and *Rio de Camarones*, nor of the little island *Branca*, lying close to the continent of the gulph, opposite eastward to *Ilha de Fernando Po*, near the river *Borea*, or *da Borea*. Which gives us ground enough to think, that nation was not thoroughly informed of the true position of the coast of the gulph of *Guinea*, at the time their map was drawn, or that the draughtsmen made it barely on the credit of persons, who were in an error as to those particulars.

CHAP. XII.

Contains a Vocabulary of the principal languages spoken on the coast of Guinea; being those of the Geloffs, the Foulles, the Gold Coast, and of Fida and Ardra.

I Come now to the Vocabulary, of some of the most familiar words and phrases of the languages of the *Geloffs*, the *Foulles*, the *Gold Coast*, *Fida* and *Ardra*.

It commences with the two principal languages, most used in the maritime parts of *North Guinea*; the *Geloffs* and *Foulles* dwelling betwixt the rivers *Senega* and *Gambia*,
5 N pro-

BARBOT proceeds to that which is most used at the *Gold Coast*, and ends with that which is common to *Fida* and *Ardra*.

I would have added, that of the *Quabes-Mounou*, who inhabit the banks of *Rio Sestro*, and the circumjacent territories; but that I have lost that paper: only I fear the pronun-

ciation of the *English* alphabet may cause some difficulty to render the pronunciation as intelligible to the natives of those different countries, as it is, when spoken by a *French-man*; according to whose pronunciation I writ this Vocabulary. — I begin with the numbers.

English.	Geloffs, (or Zanguay.)	Foules.	Gold Coast.	Fida and Ardra, (in common.)
one	ben	goo	biaccou	edde
two	yaare	didy	abbien	ouwe
three	yet	taty	abbiafa	oton
four	yanet	naye	annan	hene
five	guerom	guieve	annou	atons
fix	guerom-ben	guie-goo	affia	trepo
seven	guerom-yaare	guie-didy	affoun	tion-hove
eight	guerom-yet	guie-taty	ock-hue	tioton
nine	guerom-yanet	guie-nay	ackounou	tiene
ten	fouck	fappo	eddou	ahovay
eleven	fouck-ak-ben	fappoe-goo	eddou-biaccou	hove-reppo
twelve	fouck-ak-yaare	fappoe-didy	eddou-abien	hove-ouwe
thirteen	fouck-ak-yet	fappoe-taty	eddou-abiassa	hove-otons
fourteen	fouck-ak-yanet	fappoe-naye	eddou-annan	hove-ene
fifteen	fouck-ak-guerom	fappoe-guieve	eddou-annou	foton
sixteen	fouck-ak-guerom- ben	fappoe-guie-goo	eddou-affia	foton-repo
seventeen	fouck-ac-guerom- yaare	fappoe-guie-didy	eddou-affoun	foton-ove
eighteen	fouck-ak-guerom- yet	fappoe-guie-taty	eddou-ock-hue	foton-oton
nineteen	fouck-ak-guerom- yanet	fappo-guie-nay	eddou-acknounou	foton-ene
twenty	nitte	foppo	addounou	cou
twenty one	nitte-ak-ben	foppoe-goo	addounou-biaccou	cou-non-gui-repo
thirty	fonoair	noggah	addou-naffan	oban 31 oban-quire } &c
forty	yanet-foucke	chapandetaty	addou-annan	cenre 41 cenre-quire }
fifty	guerom-foucke	} this is lost	addou-enou	} They do not reckon higher than 40, and so do tally; and as they reckon all things by boejies, they thread 40 boejies in a string, and that they call toque; and so continue to number by toques, (viz.)
sixty	guerom-bena-foucke		addou-effia	
seventy	guerom-yaare-foucke		addou-affoun	
eighty	guerom-yet-foucke		addou-ockkue	
ninety	guerom-yanet-foucke		addou-ackounou	
an hundred	temer (101 teme- rack-ben, &c	temedere	och-ka	1 toque, cenre
two hundred	yaare-temer	temedere-didy	och-ka-abbien	2 toques, cen-ove
three hundred	yet-temer	temedere-taty	och-ka-abiassa	3 toques, cen-oton
a thousand	gune	temedere-fappo, &c.	appiem	4 toques, cen-hene
one thousand and twenty	gune-ak-nitte, &c.	temedere-foppo, &c.	appiem-adounou, &c	5 toques, fore, which is a galinha, or 200 boejies; and then tally, and continue to reckon.

N. B. So ak is added in joining of any two numbers, as we express it by the monosyllable and.

2 galinhas, fou-hove
3 galinhas, fou-oton
4 galinhas, fou-hene
5 galinhas, fatons, which is 1000 boejies, and tally.
10 galinhas, fa-hoos
15 galinhas, fa-hoos-fatou
20 galinhas, guinbale; this is the highest number of 4000 boejies, and begin again to reckon either by 1 toque, or 1 galinha.
100 galinh. guin-baton, &c

FAMILIAR PHRASES.

English.	Geloffs, (or Zanguay.)	Foules.	Gold Coast.	Fida and Ardra.
<i>hold your tongue</i>	noppil	de-you	moua-no	namoune-bazy
<i>I will</i>	doinaman	bido-hidy	meppe	hann
<i>I will not</i>	bainaman	mi-hyda	mimpe	my-be
<i>come</i>	calay	arga	bera, or braa	ova
<i>come not near</i>	bouldick	da-rothan	mem-maho	oma-ova
<i>go away</i>	dock-hodem	hia	forrecko	ozon
<i>your servant</i>	***	***	medotto	***
<i>to fire a musket</i>	***	***	ova-toutourou	***
<i>I see you</i>	guefnala	medo-hyma	mangh-hou	my-mou
<i>come aboard</i>	***	***	mocko-huenom	***
<i>it blows hard</i>	gallaou-barenna	hendou-hevy	***	quio-honfoufou
<i>how do you do</i>	ogya-meffi	ada-hegiam	ouna-daffin	mamoune ebiou-hain
<i>very well, fir</i>	guamde-bares, famba	medo-hegiam	edde-hie-ohie	ebbyoin-d'aye
<i>good-morrow, fir</i>	quarha-quaihou, famba	} coffe	aquioos-edappa	ofons-d'aye
<i>very early</i>	lelegentel	foubacke-allau	cou-querou-cou	cre-cre
<i>come to eat</i>	calai-caeck-mane	***	braa mincouiridy	***
<i>come up</i>	qui a-quaou	argay	broa-fouron	oua
<i>go down</i>	ova quiequa-fouf	hialleffe	cova-faffly	guiro-dome
<i>go walk</i>	***	***	co	ozo
<i>to-morrow</i>	aileg-ack agiam	foubacko	ack-hena	ezain
<i>good night, fir</i>	fon-angiam-famba	nihallay	marinck-he-edappa	ognoghon
<i>I thank you</i>	fantenala	medo-hietoma	midaffay	aova-non
<i>it rains</i>	data-ou	***	***	***
<i>I got sleep</i>	nangretery	***	***	myle-fion
<i>I would sleep with</i>	pougue-namate,	} medo-lelohy	***	dun-hoinene-ova- }
<i>a girl</i>	acandaofan	} ***	***	domel-codemy }
<i>a sweet-heart</i>	foumack-hiore	medo-dano	***	***
<i>let us go walk</i>	candoch-hane	harque-guehin, } hylojade	***	lova-mizon
<i>I go</i>	***	mede-leho	***	***
<i>I do not remember</i>	bain-amaeck	my-fa-hyacke	***	***
<i>bring me a sheep quickly</i>	iassima-ommgghargh	addou-nambalou	***	din-elein-repon- }
<i>give me some drink</i>	mamanan	loccan-hyardde	***	amya-lacon }
<i>I'm sleepy</i>	***	***	***	namya-haan
<i>'tis hot</i>	***	warn-hiende	***	mydomelo
<i>put him in irons</i>	guinguela-maguuiou	ovarguehyelle caf- } fede	***	***
				mypoty-guenda }
				fogh }

A VOCABULARY of Numbers, and of the Names of the Months of the Year, used at the Gold Coast, at the beginning of this century; which may be useful yet, at some parts of that coast: the above Vocabulary being more peculiar to the Blacks of Axim, and Anta; and this to those, from Anta to Cormentyn.

English.	Negro.	English.	Negro.
one	abiançon	thirteen	eddou-abieffa
two	abiennon	fourteen	eddou-anam
three	abieffa	fifteen	eddou-anom
four	anam	sixteen	eddou-achien
five	anom	seventeen	eddou-ochion
six	achien	eighteen	eddou-oque
seven	ochion	nineteen	eddou-oque-nom
eight	oque	twenty	adenom
nine	oque-nom	twenty-one, and so to thirty	adenom-abiançon
ten	eddou	thirty, &c.	adefsem
eleven	eddou-abiançon	fifty	aha
twelve	eddou-abienon	an hundred	hanon

The Blacks at the Gold Coast, distinguish the Months of the Year by Moons, which they name.

January	Cua-para
February	Sanda
March	Ebbo
April	Ebbo-berc
May	Biraffe
June	Deo-fou
July	Affaroeu
August	Adeffen-sanda
September	Abeffem
October	Ebire
November	Abanamattan
December	Ma-maure

FAMILIAR PHRASES of the same people, from Anta to Cormentyn.

English.	Negro.	English.	Negro.
<i>how do you do, sir</i>	aoro-deje	<i>bring wood for the kitchen</i>	fa-innem-bera
<i>very well</i>	daffene	<i>bring fresh water</i>	afa-taba
<i>come, what do you ask</i>	bera-ebeny	<i>good morrow captain</i>	aque, æne
<i>good morrow, merchant</i>	batafou-akie	<i>I come to tell you something</i>	bera-montheau
<i>what will you buy</i>	ibetto-beney	<i>let us go aboard together</i>	mecon ahenon
<i>I will buy linnen</i>	betto-fou-fou	<i>I will not do it</i>	men-coquie
<i>shew me your bargain</i>	cokive-memame-huit	<i>you speak well</i>	cafar, brette
<i>I will buy considerably</i>	betto-brette	<i>hold your tongue</i>	mohamme
<i>I will pay you well</i>	mettra-cau-hie	<i>give me a handsome wife</i>	mamehiroo-de-appa
<i>will you speak to us</i>	mefoney-bri-bei	<i>woman, will you lie with me</i>	mame-hoque-midy
<i>we have abundance of goods</i>	aqua-edre brette-hoho	<i>friend, give me some gold</i>	meanco-mainc-chika
<i>have you many goods</i>	batafou affafey-brette	<i>take, here is some gold</i>	tou-mon-chika
<i>I will buy four fathoms of</i>	betto-jectam-anam-fou-	<i>a token</i>	beque, guave
<i>linnen for two pieces</i>	fou eggeba	<i>I will give no more</i>	men-konom-aubeau
<i>there is much gold ashore</i>	chika-berette-hoho	<i>in a good hour (or luckily)</i>	main-ke
<i>it costs more in Europe</i>	metuo-chika-cou	<i>give me something</i>	mame-dafche
<i>do well</i>	mamebribey	<i>give me a token</i>	(idem)
<i>give gold</i>	mame-chika	<i>my most dear friend</i>	manco-bre-beau
<i>merchant, do you weigh</i>	batafou-tumon-chika	<i>come, I will be set ashore</i>	meco afafej-bera
<i>the gold</i>		<i>this day</i>	membray
<i>it is too light</i>	chika-engrou	<i>to-morrow</i>	eckenna
<i>it is false</i>	chika-emou	<i>a month</i>	effetan
<i>captain, give me to eat</i>	æne, manje-idey	<i>a moon</i>	(idem)
<i>I will go away</i>	men-cofou	<i>a year</i>	affei
<i>I'll return to-morrow</i>	eriko-nomabe	<i>twelve moons</i>	(idem)
<i>I shall buy basons and cloth</i>	betto-eowa-ytonic-tambre	<i>good be to you</i>	aquio-aquy
<i>go away, and come again</i>	co-fou, co-bera		
<i>bring a pot of palm-wine</i>	fa-enfam, bere-tentem		

The next is a VOCABULARY of words, names, and phrases, in the languages of the Geloffs, Foulles, Gold Coast, Fida and Ardra.

English.	Geloffs. (or Zanguay.)	Foulles.	Gold Coast.	Fida and Ardra.
A				
<i>ananas</i>	ananas	annanas	ananfi	yebode
<i>the arms</i>	fmal-loho	guion-ghe	mei fa	aova
<i>the arse, or bum</i>	tate, (or guir)	rotere	moutenn	n'ituy
<i>to ask</i>	lay	***	mef-rohady	***
<i>an arrow</i>	fmack tonghar	***	agghien	***
B				
<i>blind</i>	bomena	goumdo	nenny affoura	***
<i>a bough</i>	cahlah	baherou	otto	***

English.	Geloffs. (or Zanguay.)	Foules.	Gold Coast.	Fida and Ardra.
<i>banana</i>	***	***	obourady (banana)	***
<i>blind of an eye</i>	patt	***	nenny-abbo	***
<i>I will bathe myself,</i>	mongrefangou	***	maghouary	ovamylefin
<i>the beard</i>	fequiem	ouhare	abboggihe	da
<i>a boat, canoe</i>	galtovap	***	bateera	***
<i>a barrel</i>	pippa	***	pippa	***
<i>a bar of iron</i>	barra (win)	barra	dabban	appatyn
<i>a box</i>	ovach-ande	***	***	appaty-vy
<i>boejies</i>	idem	ditto	ditto	aqua
<i>brandy</i>	fangara	fangara	brandwyn	***
<i>a boy</i>	ovaffy	foukagorco	mononta, etouhay } aoffia }	lonon-vy
<i>breeches</i>	towapp	touhouba	broucou	blaya
<i>a bed</i>	euntodou	leffon	emppa	enfin-no
<i>to blow the nose</i>	nien-douu	n'gieto	achkuendor	***
<i>to bite</i>	matt	n'hadde	ouakanno	hendou
<i>the breasts</i>	wu-haine	en-h'do	ennoufou	ano
<i>a bird</i>	arral	k'hiolly	aunoma	equevy
<i>bread</i>	bourou	bourou	broto	commer
<i>bugles</i>	hyarack	bourelly	***	eque
<i>the blood</i>	deret	hy'-hyam	mod-dgia	hohonton
<i>the belly</i>	fmabir	rhedo	affou	ado
C				
<i>crooked</i>	***	loko	affon	***
<i>canoe</i>	***	lahna	egghen	ohon
<i>citron</i>	***	***	cancaba	ye-bozuin
<i>civet-cat</i>	***	***	canghan	***
<i>crocodile</i>	gua-fick	norova	adinck-fiam	***
<i>a captain</i>	capitan	loamdo	oppare-æne	hontan
<i>copper</i>	prum	hyack-haovale	copri	gan-banfefey
<i>a cravat</i>	fmah, (cravat)	leffoll	boudghia benna	cobla
<i>to cut</i>	doghhol	tay	offofi quandequen	bo
<i>a cannon</i>	bamberta	fetel	outrou-cassi	balila
<i>a cat</i>	guenaapp	oulonde	aggirhaomoa	***
<i>a goat</i>	bay	behova	hougovan	lein
<i>coufcou</i>	arequere	***	***	***
<i>it's cold</i>	luina	ghian-gol	ahove-dimy	bibaut-huoy
<i>cripple, lame</i>	foghe	boffare	effy	***
<i>the cheeks</i>	bekigh	cobe	och-houan	lele
<i>a coat</i>	boubou-tovap	dolanque	attary	aous
<i>the children of princes</i>	domeguaihe	byla-hamde	oddi-courouba	accozou-vy
<i>to cough</i>	focatt	loghiomde	mobbaa	***
<i>the c</i> ***	facere or fare	cotto	aque	***
<i>a cow</i>	***	***	ednam	***
D				
<i>to drink</i>	mangrenam	hyarde	menomenfa	nou
<i>a dog</i>	khaay	rahovandou	ockua	ovon
<i>to dance</i>	faicke	hemde	oreffa	d'ou-my-opon
<i>the devil</i>	guinnay	guine	adoppi or fassan	fou
<i>the day</i>	lelegh	foubacka	adda	onquen
<i>dead</i>	dehaina	mahyje	ovahou	ecou
E				
<i>the elbow</i>	fmah-kuoton	fomdon	fassin	***
<i>an elephant</i>	gnay	ghiova	affoun	***
<i>the ears</i>	fmahnoppe	noppy	affouba	ota
<i>an egg</i>	nen	whochionde	griffiba	eny
<i>the eye-brows</i>	***	hyamhyanko	***	***
<i>the earth</i>	foffi	lehidy	affaffy	***
<i>the eyes</i>	fmabutt	hyterr	agnyba	my-tuy
F				
<i>flesh</i>	yapp	tehau	eddom	lin
<i>the fingers</i>	fmah-baram	fedehendo	enfahure	alovy
<i>to flea, or pluck off</i>	} maugre-faisce	houttode	eckhaurou	d'yn-mipon
<i>the skin.</i>		***	mehiary	***
<i>the fever</i>	guernama			

English.	Geloffs, (or Zanguay.)	Foules.	Gold Coast.	Fida and Ardra.
<i>fire</i>	fasfara	gia-hingol	ahoue-dimy	bibaut-huoy
<i>a fortress</i>	***	***	abban	***
<i>a firelock</i>	***	loffoul fetel	***	fou
<i>fisherman</i>	moll	kiou ballo	opoffo	hovevito
<i>to fart</i>	doch-hott	ride	oattan	n'heon
<i>the feet</i>	fimatanck	coffede	monaintigp	hafo
<i>feather</i>	doungue	donguo	teck-hra	equefon
<i>fish</i>	guenn	linghno	ennam	gambavy
G				
<i>gold</i>	***	***	chika	***
<i>a gun</i>	bumberta	fetel	outrou-cassi	balila
<i>God</i>	I-halla	allah	ian-come	boden
<i>great</i>	maguena	mahodo	offon	zafi
<i>glutton</i>	***	haderoro	***	***
<i>the gums</i>	***	la-koude	***	***
<i>guinea pepper, or malaguette</i>	***	***	chuiffa	***
H				
<i>fishing-books</i>	delika	ouande	aquou-va	***
<i>a hat</i>	***	***	eck-hie	***
<i>the hair</i>	cagho var	foukendo	ehuy	da
<i>the heavens</i>	affaman	hyalla	ahuya	guy-oulean
<i>a horse</i>	farfs	pouckiou	parkoa	fo
<i>a hamock</i>	todeapp	leffo	hamanke	havonfo
<i>herbs</i>	miagh	***	***	***
<i>the hands</i>	loho	youngo	zatiaba	alo
<i>a house</i>	fman-vig	fouddo	ouffy	ofin
<i>a hen</i>	gnaarr	guertogal	oko-ko	couquelou
<i>the head</i>	fmanabb	horde	itery	tacon
I				
K				
<i>a knife</i>	pack-ha	pake	offej-karn	guy-by
<i>a key</i>	donouachande	bidho	faffi	***
<i>a kettle</i>	cranghiare	barma	eouwa	***
<i>the knees</i>	fma-hoom	holbondou	oukonn	***
<i>the king</i>	bourre	lahamde	oddiekourou	accazou
<i>to kill</i>	ruy	ouharde	may-counou	mi-houy
L				
<i>the legs</i>	fmap-paire	covaffongal	menonfoa	afo
<i>a fishing line</i>	fmapou-delingha	ovande	achghama	ocan
<i>the lips</i>	fmatovin	tondo	manno-houma	nou-bien
<i>to lye</i>	narnaa	hadarime	minti	ahovelialou
<i>lice</i>	teings	bandy	egh-huy	gio
<i>lead</i>	bertaigh	ckaye	fombouy	***
<i>little</i>	neouna	choukahiel	kiffouwa	pevy
<i>to laugh</i>	raihal	ghialde	offery	cou-e-de
<i>linnen-cloth</i>	endymon	chomchou	ainhuyra, or fougou	avon
M				
<i>the mouth</i>	gueminin	hendouko	annon	nou-bien
<i>much</i>	barena	heuy	***	fougou
<i>a maid</i>	n'daouch-digin	foucka	katou-meffia	n'hoine-vy
<i>a man</i>	goourgue	gorko-mahodo	eddin	fonnon
<i>the moon</i>	vhaaire	leoure	offeran	founou
<i>mabys, or Indian corn</i>	dough-oub	mackary	abbkahoun	hielrau, or lyhon
<i>a musket</i>	faital	fetel	ottrou	fou
<i>a sheep</i>	ommghargh	balou	***	elein
<i>my, and mine</i>	***	fman	***	***
<i>a monkey or ape</i>	goloch	owandou	ofchovan	ezin
N				
<i>needles</i>	pourfa	meffelael	adrobba	***
<i>a nail</i>	dinguett	pangal	prech-gou	***
<i>no</i>	d'haair	ala	bogho	***
<i>the navel</i>	fmal-loutr	houddo	effrouma	***

English.	Geloffs, (or Zanguay.)	Foules.	Gold Coast.	Fida and Ardra,
<i>the nose</i>	fmack-bockan	hener	och-huen	* * *
<i>the night</i>	goudina	guiema	aoudouffin	zame
<i>the nails</i>	huai	chegguen	enfacougouloty	* * *
O				
<i>ostrich</i>	* * *	nedau	* * *	* * *
<i>an ox or bullock</i>	* * *	nague	* * *	* * *
<i>an oath or curse</i>	fmabock (hanabi)	foldebama or cot- tel youmo	* * *	bodou-hovy
<i>an orange</i>	* * *	canghe	abbroque hancaba	yebo, zuinbo
P				
<i>the p---k or yard</i>	foull	folde	cotty	enhouen
<i>a pig</i>	droai	babalady	procko	hohan
<i>to paddle a canoe</i>	giolle galgue	haodguiou	* * *	mycon connon
<i>potatoes</i>	* * *	* * *	bora-guyo	ha-ovelly
<i>to piss</i>	berouch	haing-huje	aghuen'tho	hova-diddo
<i>a paddle or pagay</i>	watt	* * *	ottabhoun'n	* * *
<i>to pinch</i>	domp	mouchioudé	ovetti'noun'n	henzy
<i>a pipe to smoak tobacco</i>	fmanano	hy'-ardougal	aibiboa	azozein
<i>a pot</i>	kingn	fahando	ettoha	hezein
<i>a pavilion</i>	raya	arhayhillan	franga	fiao'
<i>paper</i>	cahait	barkol	aghouma	hovey
<i>a parrot</i>	inquay	folerou	ahuiry	eguyle
<i>a pigeon</i>	petteck	* * *	abrounama	* * *
<i>painted calicoes</i>	* * *	* * *	ottam	* * *
Q				
<i>a quiver</i>	fmahcallah	* * *	* * *	* * *
<i>a quilt</i>	entedou	leffo	ampa	* * *
<i>a queen</i>	guaihe	guefoulbe	oddickourovay	accozouzy
R				
<i>a rogue</i>	foch-horby	abonde	oghva	* * *
<i>the ribs</i>	uwett	chabiburde	emfi	* * *
<i>a rope</i>	boume	boghol	ahama	ocan or ocar
<i>a book</i>	fmatere guma rajank	torade-allah	* * *	hove-doubazy-boden
<i>the rain</i>	taou	tobbo	effou	guyoccon
<i>a rat</i>	guenach	d'ombrou	ockoura	hofin
<i>red</i>	logh-oveck	bodeghioun'n	enckhiema	fofay
S				
<i>a sheep</i>	* * *	cedre	* * *	elein
<i>to sing</i>	ovayel	hyemdy	cobbinfoum	gian
<i>to shit</i>	mangredouly	boude	ibbin	n'homy
<i>to spit</i>	toffii	thoude	taffou	* * *
<i>a shirt</i>	boughtovap	d'olanke	cameza	ha-hou
<i>to sleep</i>	* * *	dahnady	marccodda	domelo
<i>to stay or stop</i>	gueckiffi	doradan	tranfaffy	note
<i>to sneeze</i>	maugre-teffely	hiffeloude	ouhensti	* * *
<i>a slave</i>	guamon	mockhioudou	ackhouba	alabe
<i>a sword</i>	guaffi	caffé	affenam	gibybo
<i>shackles</i>	guingue	gue-hyelle	* * *	ogen
<i>a scabbard</i>	fmanbarguaify	ovana	affena-boucha	* * *
<i>the sheath of a knife</i>	fmanbar-packha	ovana	enghova	* * *
<i>to scratch</i>	hock-halma	nanhyady	abboggha	* * *
<i>sick</i>	raguena	ognia-huy	ohiarry, nawahou	miguiozon
<i>the sea</i>	fmandai	gueek	eppo	houlguy
<i>a ship</i>	manguena	randy	conghanhie	hohon
<i>to speak</i>	ovache	halle	ora-kaffa	gueffio
<i>a stone</i>	doyg	hayre	obboba	* * *
<i>the skin</i>	fmagh-dayr	goure	ach-houma	bazey
<i>a snake or serpent</i>	qua'nn	body or gorory	ohovo	hohonton
<i>the seat</i>	gangone	ghiodorde	* * *	* * *
<i>salt</i>	fock'matte	lamb-dam	anckin	eque
<i>shoes</i>	dale	pade	fapati	atopa
<i>the sun</i>	ghiante-finkan	nahangue	achovai	hove que
<i>sanglet, or bran of millet boil'd</i>	* * *	changle	* * *	* * *
<i>to fit</i>	fongoane	ghiodo	tranfaffy	hynan

English.	Geloffs, (or Zanguay.)	Foules.	Gold Coast.	Fida and Ardra.
<i>fugar</i> <i>a sail</i>	p'hem wirr	p'hyombry ouhderel-hana	chieri avedda	yebogue honfon
T				
<i>a trunk</i>	ovach-hande	bretewall	adack-ha	apoty
<i>the thighs</i>	loupp	bouhall	annen	***
<i>elephants teeth</i>	gnay negnay	n'hierre-ghiova	effiunffe	***
<i>the teeth</i>	fmabenabin	n'hierre	effin	adou
<i>thread</i>	ovin	guarahie	ach-hema	alotin
<i>tarr</i>	fandol	***	***	***
<i>the throat</i>	fmanpouroch	dandy	och'hovanoggo	croero
<i>to throw</i>	fannir	verlady	fock'huene	ble
<i>the tongue</i>	laming	dheingall	tagui'hama	ede
<i>the toes</i>	fmahua jetanck	peddely	enfa'huere	otouy
<i>tallow or grease</i>	divguneck	bellere	abbroun'hova	giou
<i>to truck or barter</i>	nanvequi	fohode	oweffaffan	***
<i>to tremble or quake</i>	denaloch	chin'houde	meck'houm	bibautoumy
<i>a trumpet</i>	bouffia	***	abourben'n	***
<i>a taster of cocoas</i>	taffa	horde	eck'houly	aguon'qua
<i>tobacco</i>	tmagha	taba	taba	hazo
<i>the thunder</i>	denadeno	d'hirry	***	—zou
<i>it thunders</i>	ditto	ditto	***	omafezou
<i>a table</i>	gangona	gango	oppounu	***
V				
<i>the veins</i>	fed'itte	d'adol	enfin	***
W				
<i>a wrinkle</i>	***	***	ahova	***
<i>wood</i>	mat	leggal	addacka	n'aque
<i>water</i>	m'doch	d'hiam	infou	efin
<i>write</i>	binde	w'hin'doude	ockivahouma	een'ovay
<i>a woman with child</i>	digin'-gob'rr	deborredo	anninfay	n'hoine 'vas-qui-vy
<i>a woman</i>	digin	debo	hobba	n'hoine
<i>writing-book</i>	fmackyet'gumore- biud	deffe terre	brohoumacrata	enhuiove, canhove
<i>to wash the hands</i>	raghen	lahou'yongo	coguo'hary'zatiaba	alo-affy
<i>to walk</i>	doch'oll	medo'hyassa	on'an'ffy	ozon
<i>a whore</i>	guelarbi	fakke	abbrakres or abelekre	heyn'fy
<i>to weep</i>	d'goife	who'hedde	oreffan	via-vy
<i>to whistle</i>	oway'leste	houde	eghuirama	***
<i>the wind</i>	gallaou	hendon	ach'houm'n	guio'hon'n
<i>French wine</i>	m'fango tovabb	chinck	enfan	yebo
<i>palm-wine</i>	m'fango geloffi	chingue	enfappa	mevey'han or attan

The END of the FOURTH BOOK.

A
S U P P L E M E N T
T O T H E
D E S C R I P T I O N
O F T H E

Coasts of North and South-Guinea:

In Two B O O K S.

The Contents of the first Book of this Supplement.

AN abstract of the most remarkable occurrences and transactions, which have happen'd in *North* and *South-Guinea*, since the year 1682, to compleat the account thereof to this present time. A voyage to *New Calabar*, in 1699, by the author's brother. A new brief description of the coasts of the lower *Ethiopia*, vulgarly call'd *Angola*; that is, from cape

St. Catherine, in two degrees and a half of south latitude, to twenty three degrees and a half of the same. An extract of the journal of a voyage from *England* to the river *Zaire*, or *Songo*, thence to *Cabinde-bay*, and thence to *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*, with slaves, in the year 1700, by the author's nephew.

The Contents of the second Book of this Supplement.

NEW observations of the course from *Rochel*, in *France*, to the coast of *North-Guinea*. A short sketch of the islands *Porto-Santo*, *Madera* and the *Canaries*, lying in that passage. An account of the western coasts of *Africa*, from cape *Bojador*, in *Biledulgerid*, to cape *Blanco*, in *Gualata*, inclusive; with a continuation of the same coasts from *Arguim* to *Senega-river*. General observations concerning the desarts of *Zabara*, and of the provinces of *Biledulgerid*, *Gualata*, *Geneboa* and *Tombut*; and the product and trade thereof. The course from *Senega-river* to the southern parts of *Guinea*, properly so call'd. A brief account of the islands of cape *Verde*, opposite to the cape of that name. Of general and particular courses from the several ports or places of *Guinea*, properly so call'd, to *Europe* directly, and to the coast of *Guiana*, on the continent of *South-America*, and thence to the *Leeward* islands. Some remarks about crossing the equinoctial, either to the southward or the northward. Of the course from *Loango* and *Congo*, in the lower *Ethiopia*, to the islands of *America*. A short account of the islands *St. Matibew*, *Ascension* and *Fernando de Noronha*,

lying south of the equator, betwixt *Africa* and *South-America*. General observations on the management of *Black* slaves aboard ships in their passage from *Africa* to *America*, by *French*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch*.

A brief description of the large province of *Guiana*, in *South-America*; and of the two noted rivers that enclose it on the east and west: first of the renowned river of the *Amazons*; and then of the river *Oronoque*. A particular account of the island of *Cayenne* in that province, belonging to the *French*. Curious remarks and observations concerning the suppos'd lake of *Parima*, in *Guiana*, and of the pretended city *Manoa*, or *El Dorado*; formerly accounted by the *Spaniards* wonderful rich in gold. The passage from *Cayenne* to *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*, and thence back to *Rochel* in a first, and to *Havre de Grace* in a second voyage. An account of the dreadful thunder near the *Bermudas* islands, and the terrible effects thereof; with a sketch of those islands. Lastly, an account of hurricanes of three sorts, in the *West-Indies*, viz. north, south and genuine hurricanes.

The whole illustrated with several new maps and cuts.

A
S U P P L E M E N T

T O T H E

New description of the coasts of *Guinea*, &c.

The INTRODUCTION.

THIS new description of *North* and *South-Guinea*, and part of the *Western Ethiopia*, which I have here presented the reader, having been some time since writ by me in *French*, agreeable to the constitution of those parts in the year 1682, and having since undertaken to publish the same, after another method, in *English*; I now design to add an abstract of the most remarkable transactions that have happened on those coasts since my last voyage thither, in the aforesaid year 1682, as far as I have been able to collect, during that interval of time,

either by my correspondence there, or from the accounts given me by persons of repute, who have made several voyages into *Guinea*, since my being there. To which I shall sub-join two new voyages, the one made to *New Calabar*, in 1699, and the other to *Congo* in 1700; the first of them perform'd by my brother *James*, and the latter by my nephew *James Barbot*: which I hope will be the more acceptable, by reason they will render this new description of *Guinea*, and the coasts of the western *Ethiopia*, the most compleat of any yet extant, in any language whatsoever.

B O O K I.

SENEGA and GOEREE.

London Gazette, No. 2922, from *Tuesday*, November 9, to *Monday*, November 13. 1693.

THE royal *African* company of *England* having of late years been molested in their trade, in the north parts of *Guinea*, by the *French*, did, by virtue of their majesties commission, order their agent-general, *John Booker* Esq; at *James-Island*, in the river of *Gamboa*, to attempt the dispossessing them from those parts; which succeeded accordingly, as appears by letters from the said agent of the fourteenth of *March* 1692-3, now received by way of *Jamaica*; an abstract of which follows.

Goeree-
Island
fort taken
by the
English.

Having embarked my self, and above a hundred men of this island, upon the company's ships, the *Anne*, captain *Leech*, and the *America*, captain *Brome*, with several sloops as an addition to the force they sent me; I arrived at *Senega* river the thirtieth of *December* 1692, with great difficulty, and

the loss of six men. I got over the bar, and whilst I was preparing to attack the fort called *Louis de Bourbon*, the first day of *January*, I received a letter from *M. Desmou-lins*, the governor, offering to surrender if he and his men might have civil treatment; which I readily granted, landed, and took possession of the fort the same day, where I found fifteen cannon, &c. The said fort is situated in the mouth of the river *Senega*, and has been in the possession of the *French* above fifty years, where I have now settled a factory, and called it by the name of *William-and-Mary* fort. I continued there until the twenty fifth, when I sailed thence, and having succeeded so well, called a council of war, at sea, the next day, where it was resolved to attack the island of *Goeree*, the only place remaining in the *French* possession

BARBOT. session in *Guinea*; where I arrived with the ships the first of *February*, and continued to alarm the castles until Saturday the fourth, when in the night I landed with a hundred men under the old fort, within two hundred and fifty yards of the new castle, called *St. Michael*, and commanded by Mr. *Felix*, situated on a rising ground, and mounted with twenty eight guns, without any resistance, till about break of day, when they fired furiously upon us with great and small-shot.

About noon I sent them a summons to surrender before our cannon should be landed; when they immediately desired a capitulation, which being granted, and articles agreed on, they marched out the eighth, with their arms, bag and baggage, and colours flying, and were carried to the company's fort at *James-island*, whence they are to be transported on the company's shipping, and at the company's charge, for *Europe*.

I have observed in the description of the river *Senega*, how treacherous and insolent the *Arabian Moors* generally are, who sell gum-arabick to the *French*: I shall give an instance thereof in the relation of what happened there five or six months after my passage that way, which is as follows. One day three *White* men hinder'd four hundred of those wretches, by their continued firing on them, from taking a bark, in which they had but just then been trading for gum-arabick. Afterwards the *French* agent was told, that most of those *Moors* were of a country lying on the side of mount *Atlas*, in the kingdom of *Tarudant*, and that they came down to depose *Cheiratick*, king of the *Foules*, one of the mightiest princes of that part of *Nigritia*, as was observed in the description thereof. Voyage of M. de *Gennes* on the coast of *Africa*, &c. in 1695, pag. 8, and 9.

In *November* 1711, when I was writing this at *Southampton*, a *French* gentleman, brought thither prisoner of war, and who had for several years used the *Guinea* trade, as agent for the company at *Paris*, of the *Assiento*, or contract with *Spain*, for furnishing the *West-Indies* with slaves, assured me, that about eleven or twelve years ago, one *Des Marchais*, who has lived long at *Senega*, as servant to the *Senega* company, had made very considerable discoveries up that river, by means of flat-bottom'd boats; having, notwithstanding the falls that are about *Galama*, penetrated above five hundred leagues up, and settled a very beneficial commerce with the several nations inhabiting the banks of that river, some of which are almost white; the *French* keeping factories among them, and pursuing the trade with such advantage to the new *Senega* company at *Paris*, erected

in the room of the other that was before, that the king of *France*, to encourage his subjects to such useful undertakings, has conferr'd the honour of knighthood of *St. Lazarus* on the said *Des Marchais*, and caused his discovery to be printed in *French*.

The island of *Goeree* is but a league distant from the continent, and four from *Cape Verde*. The *Hollanders* first settled a colony there, and built the forts of *St. Francis* and *St. Michael*, which are still to be seen. Afterwards the count d'*Estrees* made himself master of the place in 1678. The *English* took it from the *French* in 1692, and demolished the forts, which had been erected by the *Dutch*; at last the *Senega* company having retaken it from the *English* in 1693, rebuilt *St. Michael's* fort, and there are at present in the island about a hundred *French*, with some families of *Laptos*, who are free *Blacks*, hir'd by the company to trade from one coast to another.

Some time after, the *French* company, to prevent any farther invasion upon *Goeree*, caused the upper fort *St. Michael* to be rebuilt, fifteen foot high, and furnish'd it with thirty two guns, from eighteen to thirty six pounders, an equal number of each; the latter of which reach a mile beyond the great road of *Goeree*: whereas an eighteen pounder, fir'd from aboard a ship in the road, cannot reach it, which nothing under thirty six pounders will do from thence, as has been experienc'd by the commander of the island.

The *French* have built a tower in that fort, which serves them for a powder-room, but they keep no garrison there, unless upon the approach of an enemy; nor are there any other buildings within it, but barracks for the soldiers, to serve upon occasion.

They have also erected three batteries, or breast-works, one at the west point of the bay, of 12 eight pounders; another at the centre of the bay, looking to the south, from the pigeon-house, towards fort *Vermandois*, or *St. Francis*, of 16 eight pounders; and another on the east point, of 8 eight pounders, all pointing upon the road, and obstructing the landing in the bay; besides fort *St. Francis*, which is in the midst of them all: so that in 1701 there were in the two forts, and the three batteries, ninety iron guns mounted, and about three hundred men of all sorts, soldiers, sea-men and *Black Laptos*, at the *French* company's expense.

The *French* have also settled a factory at cape *Emanuel*, opposite to *Goeree*, and another at *Cane*, a place farther east from the cape, to carry on their trade with the natives on the continent, the more conveniently.

This account was given me by a *French* gentleman, prisoner of war at *Southampton*,

in 1706, who had lived at *Goeree* some time before, and said, that island was then in a very good posture of defence; and another *French* gentleman, prisoner of war also at *Southampton*, and mention'd in the precedent account of the *Senega*, not only confirmed it, but assured me, that but three years before he saw above seven hundred good choice slaves at once, in the booth at *Goeree*, the *French* carrying on the slave-trade very briskly thereabouts, and especially along the *Senega* river, by means of the large discoveries made along it by the *Chevalier des Marchais*, above mentioned. Those slaves are at several times sent over from thence to the booth at *Gocree*, for the better conveniency of shipping them for *America*; the bar of the river *Senega* rendering it too tedious and dangerous for ships, at most times of the year, as I observed in my description of the coasts of *Nigritia*.

PORTO DALI.

Successful
usurper.

IN the year 1686, the king of *Baol*, who holds of the king of *Damel*, revolting from him, obtained a compleat victory over his sovereign, near this port, after a bloody fight, in which abundance of men were kill'd on both sides, and thus wholly delivered himself from subjection to *Damel*; and prevented his two sons, who assisted their father in that battle with their forces, from being established kings in that country, which he secured to himself; tho' before he was only viceroy to *Damel*.

Praying
rebel.

This new usurper, who was of an ambitious temper, and a bold skilful commander, being encamp'd with his army near *Porto Dali*, in order to advance against *Damel*; the night before he moved from thence, caused all the *Marabouts* or priests to make a solemn procession through the town of *Ali*, attended by a great croud of people, to pray for the good success of his arms, singing and shouting. A few days after he defeated *Damel's* army, and returning with abundance of prisoners, struck such a terror into that country, that most of the inhabitants of the villages fled away, to avoid being taken and made slaves; as it was his custom to do with those he could get into his power, on any slight pretence, which made him much dreaded by all the people.

A *French* ship, that happened to be then in the road of *Porto Dali*, on board which was *Caseneuve*, who gave this account, bought eighty slaves of the prisoners of war. The rest of the prisoners the usurper sent towards the country of the *Moors*, to be exchanged for horses, to mount his cavalry.

One *Emanuel*, a *Black* of quality, *Alcaide* or governor of a large town, and captain of a troop of horse in the army, told what has

been here said to *Caseneuve*; and added, that BARBOT. having been for some time surrounded by many men, who shot arrows at him like hail, he preserved himself by his dexterity in managing his shield, so as to cover his body, and receive the arrows on it; and that their troops were all armed with bows and arrows, and javelins, only twenty five or thirty men having muskets.


This *Emanuel* gave *Caseneuve* a short account of his life, which I insert here for the reader's diversion, and to show the ingenuity of the *Black*.

“The king, said he, had formerly sold me for a slave to a *Dutch* captain, who finding me a good servant, in his passage to the *West-Indies*, did not sell me to the planters there, as he did all my countrymen he had aboard, but carried me with him into *Holland*, where I soon learnt to speak good *Dutch*, and after some years he set me free. I went from *Holland* into *France*, where I soon got as much of that language as you hear by me. Thence I proceeded to *Portugal*, which language I made my self master of with more ease than either the *French* or *Dutch*. Having thus spent several years in travelling thro' *Europe*, I resolved to return to my native country, and laid hold of the first opportunity that offered. When I arriv'd here, I immediately waited on the king, who had sold me for a slave, and having related to him my travels in *Europe*, added, I was come back to him, to put my self into his hands, as his slave again, if he thought fit. The king was so far from reducing me to that low condition, that he gave me one of his own sisters in marriage, and constituted me *Alcaide*, or governor of this town, where you see me live, and of that of *Portudal*; for the person who acts as governor there, is only my deputy.”

Notable
story of a
Black.

GAMBOA.

MONSIEUR de Gennes, whom I knew in French ex- *France*, engineer in the king of *France's* expedition service, after the expedition I am now go-fails. ing to speak of, was made governour of part of *St. Christopher's* island, in *America*, and at last taken at sea by the *English*, and carry'd to *Plymouth*, where he died; being sent, by the king of *France's* approbation, with a little squadron of four frigats, one courvette of war, and two pinks, carrying two mortars and six hundred bombs, with all sorts of provisions and ammunition, necessary for a long voyage, to make a full discovery of the streights of *Magellan*, and of the coasts of *New Spain* in the *South-sea*; in order to reap the advantages that one *Marcy* and one *Oury* made out might be expected from such an undertaking; they ha-

BARBOT  wing, among other buccaneers, taken very rich booties from the *Spaniards* in those parts. The king supply'd *de Gennes* with ships, at his own choice; and the project was so well approv'd of, on account of its novelty, that several persons of the greatest quality readily contributed to the equipping of those ships: tho' the design miscarried, the squadron not being able to penetrate any farther through the streights of *Magellan* than to point *Galant*, on the north side of the said streights, and in the country of the *Palagons*; being about the mid-way through, and by reason of the contrary cold sharp winds, with abundance of rain, hail and snow, and their provisions beginning to fail, the men eating rats, and giving fifteen-pence a-piece for them. The season being very far advanc'd, and no hopes remaining of any favourable winds to carry them through into the *South-sea*, they return'd again into the north-sea, on the eleventh of *April* 1696, touch'd at *Brazil* then at *Cayenne*, and lastly at *Martinico*; without being so happy as to see those fortunate coasts of *Pernu*, whence we are supply'd with what is generally esteem'd most precious.

M. de Gennes at Gamboa.

To return to the subject in hand: That squadron sail'd from *Rochel* on the third of *June* 1695, and on the third of *July* following arriv'd at *Goeree*, in *North-Guinea*, to refresh the men. There an *English* deserter, from *James-fort* in *Gamboa-river*, inform'd the *French* governour, that almost all the garrison was sick, and in want of provisions. *De Gennes* resolving to improve that accidental opportunity to molest the *English*, set sail for *Gamboa-river*, on the nineteenth of *July*, taking two *Blacks* and the *English* deserter for his guides. On the twenty second all the ships enter'd the river, under *English* colours; and at five in the afternoon they came to an anchor within a small league of the fort, and immediately invest'd it with the courvette and shallops, to prevent the carrying in of any provisions or other succours, and unmast'd one of the pinks, to convert it into a bomb-veffel.

Summons the English fort.

On the twenty third *M. de Gennes* sent an officer to summon the fort to surrender. Being come to the island, he was conducted blindfold to the governour's house, and receiv'd by the lieutenant; the governour himself being then absent. That commander treated the officer very well at dinner, and drank the healths of the kings of *France* and *England*, with volleys of cannon, and then sent him back with this answer, That he would defend the fort to the last extremity.

Takes their provisions.

The next night, between the twenty third and the twenty fourth, the *French* shallops took a brigantine and several canoes, laden

with provisions for the fort; whilst one of the frigats gave chase to a canoe, in which the governour was passing over thither; but finding no better way to save himself, leap'd into the water, and made his escape to the woods: from whence he found means to retire in the night without being discover'd.

At break of day two *French* shallops sail'd three leagues up the little river *Block*, burnt there two small vessels that were refitting, and carried away thence two pieces of cannon, and several pattareros.

On the twenty fourth, at eight in the morning, the bomb-galley discharg'd two bombs, which did not come near the fort; and therefore *de Gennes* forbid throwing any more, resolving to wait for the tide of flood, that he might bring up the vessels within shot of the place.

In the mean while the commander of the fort, *John Hanbury*, having sent a canoe ^{*The fort capitulates.*} with a white flag, to desire to capitulate, two of his officers were detain'd as hostages, and two of the *French* sent to the fort, to draw up the articles; which were sign'd the same day by all the *English* officers, and the next day by all the captains of the squadron, consisting of nine articles. The second whereof was, that every man shall be permitted to carry along with him his own arms, baggage, chests, attire, ammunition and money, with drums beating, and matches lighted; and that every officer shall be attended by a young *Black*. The eighth, that a vessel with three masts shall be given them, with artillery, ammunition and provisions, to return to *England*, without detaining any thing whatever; and that their departure shall be within thirty days, at ^{*Articles.*} farthest. The ninth, that they shall have a good pass to go in safety, &c. The tenth, that the above-mention'd articles being granted, it was declar'd, that the following goods belong'd to the royal *African* company of *England*, viz. five hundred quintals of elephants teeth, three hundred quintals of wax; one hundred and thirty male and forty female slaves in the island; fifty at *Gilofre*, and above eighty thousand crowns of merchandize, at the usual rate of the country; as also seventy two large pieces of cannon mounted, thirty dismounted, and a considerable quantity of warlike ammunition, &c. and that they should have a truce till the commander in chief return'd an answer.

On the twenty seventh, at break of day, the major of the squadron gave notice to the *English* commander to prepare for his departure, the term granted being expir'd. At six a-clock the shallops and canoes, ready fitted up, attended on the commadore, and then drop'd anchor in a line, within pistol-shot

The sur-
render.

shot of the fort. The *French* officer, that was chosen for governour, went first ashore ; where the *English* commander gave him the keys, and embark'd at the same time to go aboard the *Felicity*. Afterwards all the forces landed ; centinels were plac'd at all the necessary posts ; the *French* standard was fet up ; *Te Deum* was sung by the chaplains of the squadron ; and thirty seven guns fir'd.

French re-
solve to pu-
nish the
Blacks.

On the twenty eighth a *French* officer went to desire the king of *Bar*, to give them leave to take possession of the slaves and oxen, which the *English* had in his dominions ; to which the king reply'd, that the fort being surrender'd, every thing that was left on the land, of very good right belong'd to him. The officer told him, that the commander of the squadron would not be so satisfy'd ; and that if he refus'd to grant his demands willingly, he would certainly do himself justice by force of arms. And indeed a council was held about that answer ; and for as much as it was well known, that at the breaking out of the war, he had seiz'd on merchandize to the value of above forty thousand crowns belonging to the *French*, who traded on that river, it was determin'd to make a descent, to take the king prisoner, with as many of his people as could be found, and to burn all their huts.

Black king
submits.

This decree was ready to be put in execution, when an *Alcaide* came to pass a compliment on *de Gennes*, and to assure him, that the king was unwilling to engage in a war against him ; but, on the contrary, very desirous to entertain a friendly correspondence with him ; and that he might freely take whatever he should think fit : and accordingly the next day *de Gennes* went to give the king a visit, &c.

On the thirtieth a council was held, to determine whether the fort should be kept, or slighted. The latter advice was follow'd, for several reasons ; and therefore the ships drew near, to take in all the merchandize that were to be exported. They consisted of several pieces of ordnance, a great quantity of arms, elephants teeth, wax, vessels of tin and copper, &c. woollen and linnen cloth, printed calicoes, coral, glasses, and other commodities ; with which a great trade is drove in that country.

On the fourteenth of *August*, the *English* officers sail'd for *Cayenne*, in one of the pinks, with one hundred and fifty slaves shut up in the hold ; but those poor wretches, scarce having room to breath, threw themselves one upon another, as it were in despair, so that thirty four of them were found stifled.

the Eng-
h fort de-
oy'd.

The seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth days, were spent in breaking the cannon at *St. James's-fort*, and under-

mining the wall. On the twenty second the BARBOT. mines sprung, and took very good effect.

The *English* spent several years in building that fort, which stood in the middle of a fine river, where the traffick is very considerable ; and the profits they receive from thence, are computed to amount to a million of livres yearly : so that the loss of that place cannot be easily repair'd.

On the twenty fourth, at noon, the squadron pass'd down the river ; and the next day, about eight a-clock in the morning, prepar'd to sail. The free-booter of *St. Domingo*, who had put into the river on the fourteenth, sail'd at the same time, and passing by the commadore, saluted him. The squadron steer'd for *Brazil* ; and the free-booter for the Red-sea. *De Gennes* had given that free-booter's crew two pieces of cannon, with powder, ball, and some oxen, on condition, that in their passage they should fet the *Black* prince of *Assiny* ashore in his own dominions, he having him in charge ; but could not perform that himself, without interrupting the voyage he was upon.

The royal *African* company of *England*, English re-
build their having the succeeding years, with very great expence, caused *James-fort* to be rebuilt, and the trade to be carried on again ; the *French* made another attempt on it in 1702, according to the account in the *Paris Gazette*, of the eleventh of *April* 1703, which is as follows :

By the *Greyhound*, arriv'd at *Nantz*, we have advice, that captain *de la Roque* in the frigate, call'd the *Mutinous*, being the same person that commanded a frigate in the former expedition under *M. de Gennes*, at *James-fort* in *Gamboa-river*, in the year 1695, and captain *de St. Vaudrille*, in the *Hermione* frigate, have taken from the *English* the fort in *Gamboa-river*, in *Guinea*, where they found two hundred and fifty slaves, and a considerable quantity of merchandize ; and afterwards ransom'd the said fort, that it might not be demolish'd, for one hundred thousand crowns. Captain *de la Roque* was kill'd in the attack.

French
take it a-
gain.

An *English* master of a ship told me in *London*, that he used to trade in *Gamboa-river*, with a vessel of about sixty tons ; in which he sail'd two hundred leagues up that river, and found there a very brisk advantageous trade of elephants teeth, wax and slaves.

In the year 1709, the *French* made a third attempt on fort-*James*, as appears by the account in the *Paris Gazette*, of the ninth of *November* 1709, as follows :

We have receiv'd advice, that *M. Parent*, an officer of the marine, being commadore of four frigats, fitted out for privateering on the coast of *Guinea*, has taken from the Take it a
third times *English*

BARBOT. *English* the fort of *Gamboa*, in *Africa*, and a ship laden with slaves. That he afterwards made a descent on the isle of *St. Tome*, belonging to the *Portuguese*, took the town and castle, &c. *Vid.* hereafter *St. Tome*.

After so many assaults made by the *French* on fort *St. James*, in *Gamboa*-river, and upon other places belonging to the *African* company, in *North* and *South-Griinea*, the company thought fit to abandon the said fort during the late war with *France*: and thus the trade of that river was left open to all *Europeans* indifferently, and has turn'd to the great advantage of several private adventurers; some *European* nations having small residences there, and especially at *Gellefrie*: however, the best part of that trade falls to the *English*, and in the next place to the *French Senega* company; whose affairs, as I said before, are now in a better posture than they were before the renewing or substituting of the new company to the old one.

B I S S O S.

IN my description of *Guinea*, I took notice of a grant made by the *Black* king of *Bissos* to the *Portuguese*, to trade and settle there, exclusive of all other *Europeans*; but not long after, the natives observing, that the *Portuguese* had built a fort with eight guns, oppos'd their design of ingrossing the whole trade of their island, and laid it open to all strangers resorting to their ports; who may carry on their commerce there with all imaginable safety, and without apprehending any insult, if they offer none. The *French* have now a great trade there; and for its greater security have, of late years, erected a little fort, with eight guns and a factory, on a small island, near to a large one, lying at the mouth of the river of *St. Domingo*, not far from *Cacheo*; betwixt which and the main-land, on the north-side, is a channel. From that factory they carry on a trade, not only with the *Blacks*, but also with the *Portuguese* of *Cacheo*, receiving gold and slaves for small anchors and graplings, for sloops and boats of ten or twelve tons, brandy the most staple commodity, a little coral, &c. And the *Portuguese* have such confidence in the *French* factors, they will advance or trust them with a considerable number of slaves from time to time, to be repaid in the above-mention'd goods, at the return of the ships the *French* send those slaves by to the *West-Indies*, and thence to *France*: so that every *French* ship, that comes to *Bissos*, brings one hundred and thirty, or one hundred and fifty small anchors and graplings, &c. which serve the *Portuguese* to equip their brigantines and sloops, they employ in great number to sail up the neighbouring rivers and islands, where they drive a considerable trade.

French
factory.

I had the following memoir from a *French* man in 1702, he being then newly come from the *French* factory at *Bissos*.

That factory is enclos'd with a courtin, defended with six or eight iron guns, to shelter the company's servants from the attempts and frequent injuries of the troublesome turbulent-spirited *Blacks* of *Bissos*, and for the preservation of their traffick and merchandize: and yet the *French* there have been so often abus'd and molested by them, that, about the year 1708, they had thoughts of retiring from among so outrageous a people to *Goeree*.

Paris Gazette, November, 1694. *Lisbon*, October 26, 1694. That a vessel come from *Cacheo*, near *Cabo-Verde*, has brought over a *Black* prince, call'd *Batonto*, son to *Bacompoloco*, king of the isle of *Bissan*, situate betwixt the branches of the river *Niger*. His father has sent him over to be baptiz'd; and the ceremony at his baptism, is to be celebrated on the fourth of next *November*. That prince begs likewise the protection of the king of *Portugal*; and that he will be pleas'd to cause a fort to be erected in his island, and to send over thither some missionaries.

Lisbon, November 9, 1694. In the *Paris Gazette* of the eighteenth of *December* following.

The thirtieth of the last month, the sieur *Contarini*, the pope's nuncio, baptiz'd in the chapel of the castle the prince *Batonto*, son to the king of the isle of *Bissan*, situate in the river *Niger*, in eleven degrees latitude. The king stood for his godfather; he was named *Emanuel*, and presented with a jewel valu'd at eight hundred pistoles. The queen was in the tribune, with the ladies, all the nobility assisting at the ceremony; and the chapel was throng'd with a vast number of people.

S I E R R A - L E O N A.

ON the seventeenth of *July*, 1704, two small *French* men of war, commanded by the sieur *Guerin*, attended by nine other sail of ships, took the *English* fort at *Sierra-Leona*, situate in an island distant nine leagues from the road, before the house of *John Thomas*, a *Negro*-chief, without any resistance made by the *English* commander, who fled from the fort, with about one hundred men, before he was attack'd; and left in it only a gunner, and eleven or twelve men, who fir'd forty or fifty shot before they surrender'd.

That fort was very handsomely built with four regular bastions, and had very fine warehouses and lodgings within it, mounted with forty-four guns: over the gate was a platform, and on it four large pieces, which might have done very good service upon occasion.

The

Black
prince bap-
tiz'd.

English
fort there
taken by
the French

The *French* pillag'd and level'd it, after having carried away four thousand elephants teeth that were in it, besides three thousand that were aboard a little ship, riding behind the island, with abundance of merchandize fit for the trade of the country.

French ships taken. After this expedition, the *French* Squadron sail'd along the *Gold Coast of Guinea*, and thence to *Ningo, Lay, Lempa*, purchasing slaves there, as also at *Little and Great Popo*, and got the greatest quantity of them at the two last ports; and having their compliment, proceeded to *Cartagena*, and other ports of *New Spain*, to dispose of them for the joint account of the *Affiny*; and in their return from thence to *France*, with a rich cargo, consisting mostly of gold and bullion, were met near the *Havana*, by some *British* men of war, from *Jamaica*, who took them: *Guerin* the commodore being kill'd in the fight; and one *Tessier*, who was an officer in his ship, and gave me this account, on the fifth of *December 1706*, was brought over from *Jamaica* and *New-York*, to the prison at *Southampton*.

SHERBRO or CERBERO RIVER.

IN the year 1698, I was often importun'd by one *** who had just before made three voyages successively to that river, to be concerned in a new adventure thither, under his conduct; but being then deeply engag'd another way, at the coast of *Calabar*, I did not accept of the proposal, which was to fit out a little ship of about seventy or eighty tuns, not drawing above seven foot and a half water: the cost and out-set of which he computed at five hundred pounds, and with another five hundred pounds of the goods mentioned in the description of that river, he was positive to bring back for that cargo, as he had done at his last voyage, forty five tuns weight of *Cam-wood*, then sold in *London* at ninety pound a tun, and five tuns of elephants teeth; tho' he had ten tuns at his former voyage, which yielded then two hundred pound a tun: and engag'd to perform that voyage in ten months, out and home.

ISSENI or ASSINY,

At the beginning of the *Gold Coast*.

European Mercury for the year 1701, printed at *Paris*.

Black prince baptiz'd. ANother pagan prince is brought over to the christian faith, namely, *Lewis Hannibal*, king of *Syria*, (which he mistakes for *Iffiny*) on the *Gold Coast* of *Africa*; who after having been a long time instructed in the christian principles, and baptiz'd by the bishop of *Meaux*, the king being his godfather, received the sacrament of the Lord's-supper on the twenty seventh of *February*,

from the cardinal *de Noailles*, and offered at BARBOT. the same time a picture to the blessed virgin, to whose protection he submitted his territories, having made a vow at his return thither, to use his utmost endeavours towards the conversion of his subjects. This *Moorish* prince departed on the twenty fourth of this month, in order to embark at port *Louis*, and be conveyed home by two or three men of war, under the command of the chevalier *Damon*.

This pretended prince of *Affiny*, was the second of that sort carried over into *France*; for, as I observed before, *de Gennes*, who ranfack'd the *English* fort *James* at *Gamboa* in 1695, had charge of a prince of *Affiny*, whom at *Gamboa* he put aboard a *French* free-booter of *St. Domingo*, that was put into that place bound to the *Red-sea*, whom he charged to set him ashore in his own territories in his passage thither.

But whatever those two princes of *Affiny* were, we are told by the following narrative of a *Dutch* man who lived thirteen years, as he says, at the *Gold Coast*, and had been at *Iffeny*, that as stupid as the *Blacks* are, yet some among them have imposed upon the court of *France*.

Some years since, says that author, (*Bos-Dutch man*, p. 420.) the *French* used to seize all *story.* the *Blacks* that came aboard their ships, and to sell them into the *West-Indies* for slaves; among whom happen'd to be the aforesaid *Lewis Hannibal*, christen'd in *France*: but finding him endow'd with a more sprightly genius than his other countrymen, instead of selling, they carried him to the *French* court, where that impostor pretended to be son and heir apparent to the king of *Affiny*; by which means he so insinuated himself into the good opinion of the court, that the king made him several rich presents, and sent him back to his own country in the manner above related; but at his arrival on the coast, he was discovered to be only a slave to a *Caboceiro* of *Affiny*, to whom, soon after his arrival, he returned; and, as I am credibly informed, instead of converting his subjects to christianity, is himself return'd to paganism.

You may easily guess, adds the author, at the resentment of the *French* court, after being so ridiculoufly bubbled by a slave, if you consider that by this means they lost their aim, which was to get footing on the *Gold Coast*; and besides, that the pious intentions of his most christian majesty, to convert a heathen prince, and establish him on his throne, were frustrated; the cardinal *de Noailles*, and the bishop of *Meaux* labour'd in vain; and in short, the whole *French* court was disappointed of its expectation. However, we have nothing but *Bosman's* word for the truth of this unlikely story.

BARBOT.

~~~~~

French  
fort.

The chevalier *Damon*, who had brought over the pretended prince of *Affiny* in 1701, and was sent with men and materials to build a fort there, and settle a factory, for the *African* company of *France*, finding himself, as well as the *French* court, imposed upon by *Hannibal*, and not being able to prevail with the true king, to get footing on the continent, but only on a little island, near the mouth of *Affiny* river, set his men to work, and erected a fort with eight guns, to secure the factory he settled there, which the *French* had for many years before labour'd to accomplish; that being a place where there is a great deal of the purest and finest gold of all *Guinea*; and having left a factor there with twelve or fifteen *French*-men, returned to *France*.

The *Dutch*, growing jealous of that new settlement of the *French*, at so advantageous a place, and the war breaking out with *France* in 1702, resolved to obstruct it; and to that purpose, as the *Paris Gazette* of *October* the seventeenth 1703, informs us, they equipp'd at *Mina* four vessels to attack the fort, which the *French* had built at *Affiny*; where being landed, they were received with so much bravery by the sieur *Lavie*, the chief factor, that they were forc'd to retire, with the loss of twenty-five men kill'd, among whom was their chief ingeneer, and eleven taken prisoners, leaving their canoes behind them.

Some time before this, whether the *French* did not behave themselves towards the natives as was for their interest, or whether the king of *Affiny* was put upon it by the *Hollanders*, and repented the grant he had made to the *French*; one who was there at the latter end of the year 1701, asking of the *Blacks* how they agreed with the *French*, they answer'd, that all the *Caboceiros* of *Affiny*, and their subjects, were gone from thence, and had settled a mile above the village, where they continued at that time, without entertaining the least commerce and correspondence with the *French*, who had only a bare lodge on the shoar, encompassed with pallisadoes, and provided with five pieces of cannon, and then guarded by eight men, who were well furnish'd with provisions left there by the *French* ships, but sometimes in great want of water, which the natives always endeavour'd by force to keep them from: and were therefore of opinion, that unless they received some assistance from *Europe*, they could not long subsist there; but would be obliged to abandon the place upon the first opportunity.

And perhaps it was upon such a report spread abroad at the *Gold-Coast*, that the *Dutch* from *Mina* attempted to attack that *French* settlement as soon as the war was proclaim'd against *France*, which was done

in *May* 1702. However, they failed in their attempt, as has been said before; the *French* having, it seems, put themselves in a better posture of defence than they were the year before, or else the *Dutch* had no right account of their condition.

However, the *French* being at variance with the natives, and consequently having little or no trade, the company so far neglected their servants there, that in *June* 1704, perceiving the hatred of the *Blacks* against them still encreased, and having no sort of trade, they embarked for *France*, after having level'd their factory to the ground.

I had this account from one *Porquet* of *Dieppe*, who was then present at the blowing up of the lodge.

## IVORY COAST.

*Bernard Ladman's* letter, dated *Commendo*, the seventh of *February*, 1701-2.

AS for trade, I have met with very little at the *Ivory Coast*, the *Blacks* being afraid to come aboard *English* ships, as having been tricked by several; particularly of late by brigantines belonging to *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes*, which about the nineteenth of *December* last, did surprize and carry away with them twenty four *Blacks*, belonging to *Drewin*, with sixteen cows, and a great parcel of teeth, as they came aboard to trade. Some were redeemed, but had three for one: the same method they take all along the coast; so that if there be no care taken to prevent such villanies, our *English* colours will be of no use to us; for the *Blacks* meditate revenge, and are resolved to seize what they can. Accordingly, on the twenty seventh of *December*, captain *Daniel Lewis*, of the *Dolphin* sloop, belonging to *London*, being at anchor off of *Drewin*, to trade, a great number of natives came aboard, and surpriz'd them all, took all that was in the vessel, and run her ashore, where she staved in pieces. The mate and boatswain escaped in the boat, but the commander, and the rest of his men they drove up into the country; since, they are more moderate to them, and have admitted of an exchange for the captain and his cook, taking six *Blacks* for them; the doctor is likewise cleared by reason they had cut his head, and could not tell what to do with him. Captain *Lewis* is now aboard of me, and gives me this account, but the rest of the men are still at *Drewin*.

## LAHOO.

*Sir Dalby Thomas's* letter, dated at *Cape-Coast* castle the thirteenth of *May*, 1705.

I Am told that the people of *Lahoo* have eighteen guns, well mounted on batteries round their town, and the town very well pallisado'd; they are arrived to so much knowledge, that they can defend themselves, and

and carry their guns up the river in great canoes; to offend their enemies. The ten per cent. ships bring those guns over and sell them to the Blacks at several places, as shall be farther made out hereafter.

CAPE TRES-PONTAS.

Of the establishment of the Brandenburgers, or Prussians.

I had the following account from a relation of mine, director for his electoral highness of Brandenburg, at Embden.

IN the year 1682, his electoral highness of Brandenburg sent to the Gold Coast of Guinea two frigats, one of thirty-two guns and sixty men, the other of eighteen guns and fifty men; the former commanded by captain *Mathieu de Vos*; the latter, by captain *Philip Pieter Bloncq*; who being arrived in May, 1682, at cape *Tres-Pontas*, landed their men at *Montfort* hill, where they set up his electoral highness's flag.

Captain *Bloncq* being well acquainted with the natives there, pursuant to the instruction he had from his electoral highness, made so good use of his credit among them, which he had gain'd at several former voyages, that the *Caboceiros* granted him liberty to build a fort on that hill, and settle a trade with the natives, for his electoral highness.

In order thereto, he caused some pieces of cannon to be put ashore there, and set men at work to throw up, with all haste, an intrenchment with pallisadoes, whilst others erected some houses; which being furnished with goods, provisions, and ammunition, the two frigats returned to *Hamburg*, having aboard some *Caboceiros*, who were immediately conveyed to *Berlin*, by order of his electoral highness; who received them very favourably, entertained them magnificently for some time, shewed them the grandeur of his court, together with some part of his army; and sent them back to their native country, at *Tres-Pontas*, where captain *Bloncq*, being also returned at the same time, took upon him the government both of the fort he had mark'd out and begun, before he went for *Europe*, and of the country; and with all due application caused the fort to be finish'd, as represented in the cut; mounting thirty-two pieces of cannon on the batteries, and calling it *Groote Fredericksburgh*, from his electoral highness's name, now king of *Prussia*.

This fortress, which is the chiefest the *Prussians* or *Brandenburgers* have on that coast, stands on the hill *Manfro*, near the village *Poquejoe*, full three leagues east of the *Dutch* fort, at *Axim*.

It is a handsome large fort, with four large batteries, now furnished with forty-six pieces of ordnance, but too light and small; and the gate is the most beautiful on all the coast; but in proportion much too large for the structure: on the east-side it has a very fine outwork, which some pretend, deprives the fort of a great part of its strength; wherefore it would be easily gained, if attacked on that side. Another great fault, is, that the breastworks are not above three foot high, which does not well shelter the garrison against the shot from without; the natives being as good marksmen as they.

The walls are thick, strong and high; and within them are several fine warehouses and dwellings, for the officers and soldiers.

The governor, who styles himself director-general for his electoral highness of *Brandenburg*, and of his *African* company, jointly with the *Caboceiros* of *Poquejoe*, and other neighbouring towns, determines all cases and differences arising betwixt the inhabitants, summoning them together on such occasions (which meeting they call a *Pallabra*, or council) into the fort, whither immediately those *Caboceiros* repair; and there decide all causes, civil or criminal, and their sentences are executed accordingly, with all submission, from the natives; which gives great credit and authority to the commander of the fort, in that country, being a common-wealth like *Axim*.

The chief governor also receives the accounts of the *Brandenburg* factors, at *Tacrama*, or *Crema*; and at the fort at *Acoba*, called *Dorothea*, at *Tres-Pontas*, as mentioned in the description; and of those at the lodges, at *Popo*, and *Fida*, which are all the settlements that nation has on the coasts of *Guinea*; and for some time past, their servants, and even the commanders, but not the soldiers, have been for the most part *Hollanders*, who, like their countrymen, have always aimed at an absolute dominion over the *Blacks*, but could never accomplish it; being hitherto hindered by their intestine dissensions and irregularities, or the stubborn nature of the *Blacks*, living under their dominions, most of whom have fled from the *Dutch*, on account of crimes or discontent, and settled near the *Brandenburgers*.

In 1674, the *Prussians* built the fort, I have mentioned, at *Tacrama*, or *Crema*, a village in the middle of cape *Tres-Pontas*; betwixt great *Fredericksburgh* and *Dorothea* forts. They have only six guns mounted on it, to hinder the natives of the adjacent villages from trading with any foreign ships, within the reach of their guns, the natives being almost entirely under the *Prussian* dominion.

Frederick's fort.

PLATE II.

In

BARBOT. In 1701, the *Prussian* agent allowed any foreign ships to take wood and water there, for ten pounds a ship.

Their design was to build a good fort there, to secure and defend the adjacent watering-place to themselves; but the keeping of that factory, and the two forts before mentioned, has prov'd so chargeable to the company, that it is thought, they will not rashly augment their expence, by building a more regular fort.

Their little fort *Dorothea*, at *Acoba*, about three leagues east of cape *Tres-Pontas*, was, about the year 1690, enlarged by the *Hollanders*; who, it seems, had dispossessed the *Prussian* founders of it, in 1683; but afterwards, by order of the *Dutch West-India* company, delivered it to them again: since which, they have very considerably strengthened and improved it; tho' it is but a house with a flat roof, on which are two small batteries, and on them several small guns, my brother says twenty, with a sufficient number of rooms, and conveniences, slightly built, and somewhat crouded together.

*Prussian*  
*directors.*

The former directors of the *Prussians* there, and among them especially, *John Nyman*, an *Embdener*; and after him, *John* and *Jacob Tenbooft*, father and son, being men of sound judgment, good sense and experience, discharged their office with much fidelity, and good conduct; acquired a large share of reputation, and kept those under them in due decorum: especially *Jacob Tenbooft* the son, who by his good name and courteous behaviour, gain'd the affection of the *Blacks*, and had every body at his devotion; by which means he established the *Brandenburgh* affairs, in a much better condition than any before him: and as they never had a better governor, so it is very likely they'll repent the time when they removed him, and appointed *Gysbrecht van Hoogveld* in his place; who had been in the service of the *Dutch* before, at *Axim*; where he treated those under him so ill, that general *Joel Smits* and the council, were obliged to discharge and send him from the coast, as unfit for their service. However, being then commander in chief there, to reconcile himself to the offended *Blacks*, his old enemies, he granted them several franchises and privileges, which served not only to lessen the power of the *Prussians*, and lay the first foundation of their ruin, but to encourage the *Europeans* and the *Blacks*, jointly to rise against him: and after trying to discharge him once more from the government, and banish him the coast, choosing in his place *John van Laar*, an anabaptist, who was found to have a much better talent at drinking of brandy than at business; and took

so little care of the publick, that all went to ruin. And he himself was timely removed by death, to make way for *John Visser*, his successor; a person, who wanting even common sense, was utterly incapable of that trust.

Soon after his elevation, his factor at *Acoba* was killed by the natives; which he having neither sufficient conduct nor power to revenge, they continued their unbridled outrages, at the expence of the lives of several of his *Europeans*; and lastly, seizing his person, carry'd him into the inland country; and after miserably breaking almost all his limbs, and fastening abundance of stones about his body, drowned him in the sea.

This barbarous murder was variously talk'd of there; but all agree, that the *Europeans* under his command, consented to, and abetted it; and some assert it was done by their order: and *Adrian Grobbe*, chosen by the *Blacks*, his successor, is generally charged with the greatest share in that crime. If he be innocent, I hope he will clear himself; but if guilty, may heaven avenge it on him and his accomplices; for it has very perniciously weakened the power of all the *Europeans* on that coast, and filled them with apprehensions not altogether groundless, that if this bloody fact escapes unpunished, nobody is there secure. It has already so enslaved the *Prussians*, that I very much doubt, whether they will ever regain the mastery; for the natives having once got the upper hand, will sufficiently lord it over them.

There have been seven directors successively, in about thirteen years time, at *Fredericksburgh*, from about the year 1689, to 1702; which shews how irregular the *Emden* company's affairs have been at the coast ever since.

In what condition the *Prussian* affairs stand at the coast since the year 1702, I have not heard; but only find sir *Thomas Dalby*, chief at cape *Corso*, writes to the royal *African* company, of the twenty-eighth of *March*, 1708, thus:

“By a *Portuguese* ship which came from *Lisbon*, I was informed that the King of *Portugal* had offered the King of *Prussia* forty thousand pounds, for his fort at cape *Tres-Pontas* and the two other settlements belonging to it. I think it, says he, a great deal of money, to be given for any situation on this coast; and I am apt to believe, if it is ever bought by the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch* will take it from them: for they fear no consequences, can they but gain their point, by all the deceitful ways possible.”

DICKIESKO or INFIAMA;

By the Dutch Dikieschofft; but properly called Infuma.

Bosman.

English fort.

THE *English* built a small fort, Anno 1691, after they had several times disputed the ground with the *Brandenburgers*, who some time before had set up their elector's flag there; tho' at last not finding it turn to any great account, they quietly yielded to the *English*, who advanced so leisurely, that it was but finished in six years; after all which, it was so inconsiderable and slight, that it hardly deserved the name of a fort. I have often heard the *English* themselves complain of it; for besides that it is not a place of good trade, the natives thereabouts are so intractable, fraudulent, villainous, and obstinate, that the *English* cannot deal with them. For if they have recourse to violence, in order to bring them to reason; they are also opposed by force, and that so warmly, that from the year 1697, to 1702, they adventured to besiege them in their fortresses, and were very near taking it. At last they obliged the *English* to their terms, without allowing them to exercise any power over them; and hence proceeded an alliance so strict betwixt them, that they jointly agreed to cheat all the ships that came to trade there, by putting sophisticated gold upon them, a fraud which they have frequently practised; as they did also about the year 1702, upon two small *English* ships, one of which was laden to the value of one thousand seven hundred pounds sterling: for all which, the master received only false gold; so that he lost his whole voyage at once, nor did his companion fare better; and what most surprized them was, that they received it as well from the *Whites* as the *Blacks*.

English and Blacks join in a fraud.

They apply'd themselves to the *English* chief governor at the coast, desiring they might have their goods return'd, or good gold in exchange for the false: but to go to him, was to go to the devil for justice; for he partaking of the fraud, would by no means help them. This cheat is become so common, that it is daily practis'd; but that the *Whites* have always a hand in it, I dare not affirm. However, I am very sure, this place deserves the name of the false mint of *Guinea*, of which, every trader who comes to the coast ought to be warned: for the making of false gold is there so usual, that it is publickly sold, and become a perfect trade; the price current being in my time, about a crown in gold for two pounds sterling of false.

Letters to P.] This *English* fort at *Dickies-Cove*, is a large and square fort, situated near the sea-side; having a *Brandenburg* fort within two leagues to the westward, that is *Dorothea* fort, and a *Dutch* one,

*Batensteyn* at *Boetroe*, within three leagues to the eastward of it: it is built with stone and lime, has two round flankers, and two square bastions; with twelve guns mounted in very good order, and a suitable bastion to contain rain water; 'tis commonly kept by sixteen white men, and about fourteen *Gromettoes*, who are as good for defence and service as so many white men, and always in the company's pay.

BARBOT.

BOETROE or BOUTRY.

[*IBID. A. xxxi.*] This fort is very improperly called *Batenstein*, signifying profit; for it much better deserves the name of *Schadenstein*, signifying loss, in regard the *Dutch* have for several years lost much more than they got by it.

But by what *sir Dalby Thomas* writes from cape *Corso* castle, the twenty-ninth of July, 1708, that the *Dutch* on the river *Boetroe* were, as he was informed, laying out ground for sugar and rum-works; and the general had sent a ship to *Wbidab*. to bring up two hundred slaves; and they said that by their next shipping they expected materials from *Holland*, for carrying on a sugar plantation, and sugar-works, &c. wherein, if successful, the soil being very proper for sugar canes, as is hinted in my description: it is much to be feared, considering the multitude of slaves on that coast, whose labour is very cheap; and the shortness of the voyage from *Holland* to the coast of *Guinea*, in respect to that to the *East-Indies*, from whence they already import great quantities of sugar, that in some few years time, when our *American* colonies, will be obliged to make sugar at so much greater charge, than the *Hollanders* in *Africa*, they may be able to undersell us by very much; and consequently have the staple of sugars over all *Europe*, as they have already that of all spices: then *Batenstein* fort will properly signify profit.

TACCORARY by the Dutch, and TOCCARADOE by the English.

Cape Corso castle, the fifteenth of January, 1707-8. *Sir Dalby Thomas's* letter.

TOCCARADOE is a place of no manner of trade, and has been tried by all nations trading thither; yet the present *Dutch* general, to shew his mortal hatred to us, has built a fort of seven or eight guns there; and settled a *Coopman* in it, with all other attendants, as in other places; for no other end or purpose, than to hinder us from getting oyster-shells for making of lime.

I have hinted in the description of *Guinea*, that *Taccorary* is the place which affords a vast quantity of oyster-shells, very

Dutch malice.

BARBOT. to make good lime, and that the *English*, as well as other *Europeans*, used in those times to fetch shells as they had occasion for their buildings all along the coast; that being a place fit for no trade, and abandon'd by all trading *Europeans*, who had possess'd it by turns, &c. and I find by many letters I have in my hands, that the *Dutch* have been very industrious to disturb our *British* settlements at the coast, in a more particular manner since the year 1706, being jealous of the *English* having erected a fort at *Succundee*, which lies in the same bay as *Taccorary*, several years ago; and it is apparent, that their building this new fort at *Taccorary*, is to obstruct and annoy this nation yet the more effectually there, as appears by several letters from the *English* agent and factors; of which I shall insert one from sir *Dalby Thomas*, dated *February* 1705-6.

I went for *Dickies-cove*, and when I arriv'd there, the *Cabasbeers* of *Dickies-cove* told me, that the day before the *Dutch* had deliver'd out arms, powder and ammunition to all the people of *Butteroe*, *Pampaney*, and all other places thereabouts; and had given them orders to destroy all the people at *Toccoradoe*, and to murder the *White* men; particularly if they catch'd me alive, to cut off my head, and send it to *M. Nuyts*, *Coopman* of *El-Mina*. I ask'd them how they could tell those particulars; they said, they had friends and relations among them, who had sent them word of it: and the next day after my arrival, they told me, they had destroy'd and burnt the town of *Toccoradoe*, kill'd one, and wounded four men.

#### S U C C U N D E E.

THE *English* and *Dutch* had each a fort standing there, erected (the *Dutch* fort, *Orange*) before 1682, and the *English* one some years after; but the trade at so low an ebb, and the officers of each fort so jealous of each other, that they both liv'd in miserable poverty, at the expence of both the *English* and *Dutch* companies; the trade having been spoil'd by the war betwixt *Adom* and *Ante*. This *Succundee* was before that time, one of the finest and richest villages, as well in money as people, along the whole coast; but the *Adomese* conquerors entirely burnt and destroy'd it. The few slight dwellings which were there in 1702, were built since that war, and others daily building, so that it may grow to be a good village; but to re-instate it in its flourishing condition, requires several years.

In *June* 1698, the *English* fort was burnt and destroy'd by the *Antean Blacks*; its chief commander, and some of the *English* being kill'd, and the rest plunder'd of all their own, and the company's goods; and so abandon'd, the out-walls only left stand-

ing; by which the *Dutch*, tho' very little to their advantage, were left masters of that place: however, about 1702, they traded there considerably for a large quantity of gold, which the *English* understanding, made several attempts to rebuild their fort, but were always obstructed by the *Anteans*.

*Paris Gazette*, of *November* 1694. The *Dutch* fort, *Orange*, above mention'd, was about the month of *September* 1694, taken by the *Blacks*, and pillag'd; as was also a little *Hollander*, that happen'd to ride there; and all the crew massacred, according to the report of a *Zeeland* ship, that came from the coast the said month.

The destruction of the *English* fort at *Succundee* happen'd in this manner,

The three agents letter at *cape Corso* the 26th of *June* 1698.

“ This brings your honours the sad news <sup>English</sup> of our *White* men's being beaten off from <sup>fort de-</sup> your ancient possession at *Succundee*, which <sup>stroyed by</sup> we designed to have re-settled, as by our <sup>the Dutch.</sup> last advices; it happening upon the first of *June* last, and was done, and carried on by *Dutch Blacks*, privately sent from *El-Mina*; some in their own ships and canoes, and the rest by land. We having before-hand secret intelligence from several, of their pernicious intentions, sent to advise the general thereof, by ours of the twenty ninth of *May* last, who own'd to have sent them, as by his of the ninth instant *N. S.* but covered their design. They went under pretence to demand a debt he had sent them for; but from what they did when there, is evident he gave them no such commission, the which, had he so pleas'd, he might have countermanded, but would not; we having timely forewarn'd him before any mischief was done, to prevent it; and not suffer, nor send his *Blacks* to molest our settlement, and to cut off our *White* men in the service of your honours there.”

The same to *M. John van Sevenbuysen*, general at *Mina*, 1628.

“ We were in hopes by our late contract, we should have lived in amity, which truly is our desire; but we perceive your mind is otherwise bent, else you would not send your people from the *Mina*, by land, or your ships by sea, to take our fort at *Succundee*, for what reason we know not; we are sure, by no provocation from us, or the people that are our friends: we do not desire to molest your fort, and you must expect, if our people be cut off, their lives will be required at your hands.

“ Our sloop, by distress of weather, at *Succundee*-road, losing both anchors, the master sent on board your ship, desiring to lend one, but the messengers were answer'd

“ fwered by your mate ; ’Tis true, we have  
 “ enough ; but do you think we will spare any  
 “ to you ? Do you not see we are sent to take  
 “ your fort, and can you expect our help ? To  
 “ which our men answer’d, we must then  
 “ perish ; to which your mate slightly re-  
 “ plied, why then perish, and the Lord have  
 “ mercy upon your souls.”

From the same to the same, 7th of June  
 1698.

“ Yours of the ninth instant, N. S. we  
 “ have received, wherein you seem to be  
 “ disgusted at the precaution we gave you,  
 “ of the mischief we not only suspected,  
 “ but were inform’d by your own people,  
 “ was intended against ours at *Succundee* ;  
 “ we wish there had been as little truth in  
 “ it as you pretend, but we find to the  
 “ contrary ; our *White* men being murder’d,  
 “ and other *Black* servants, our slaves, seiz’d,  
 “ houses burnt, the royal *African* company’s  
 “ lawful possessions wrested by force and  
 “ violence from us ; and not only this, but  
 “ the surviving men strip’d, and miserably  
 “ abused by them. You acknowledged to  
 “ have sent them with a sham pretence of  
 “ receiving debts ; we are not sensible of  
 “ any debt due from our company to yours ;  
 “ if we were, you might assure your self of  
 “ satisfaction upon demand, and not put  
 “ you to the trouble and charge of levying  
 “ an army. The occasion now of troubling  
 “ you, is to know whether you will ac-  
 “ knowledge these things to have been done  
 “ by your order ; if so, we shall leave it  
 “ to your betters, but hope to find it  
 “ otherwise, and that you will deliver up  
 “ those bloody villains, the authors, to re-  
 “ ceive punishment suitable to the deserts  
 “ of murder, &c. which in justice you can-  
 “ not deny ; tho’ you might by slight eva-  
 “ sions seek excuses, you cannot reasonably  
 “ think, but other satisfaction will be re-  
 “ quired.

“ You are pleas’d to say you sent your  
 “ ship to look after interlopers, which we  
 “ admire you should pretend, when the  
 “ whole country knows the contrary ; she  
 “ being never design’d farther than *Butteroe*  
 “ and *Succundee*, at which places you well  
 “ knew she was not likely to meet with  
 “ any. Had you been wholly clear of this  
 “ action, your *Coopman* durst not have suf-  
 “ fer’d the plunder to have been brought  
 “ into his fort, as was done, before all our  
 “ *White* men’s faces ; and so barbarously to  
 “ abuse them, and so inhumanly to turn  
 “ them abroad almost naked, and with the  
 “ captain to ridicule their misfortunes. Our  
 “ guns cannot be carried off by the *Blacks*,  
 “ and many other things are there lost,  
 “ which we expect you to enquire after,  
 “ being acted by persons commissioned  
 “ by you.

“ We shall not enlarge at present, if you <sup>BARBOT:</sup>  
 “ will now deliver up the actors of this  
 “ bloody tragedy, as well for their debts,  
 “ as this their other villany, &c.”

The same to the same, the 16th of July  
 1698.

“ Sir, when our *White* men, who were  
 “ wounded at *Succundee*, are recover’d, we  
 “ shall take their depositions, concerning  
 “ what we wrote you in our last, and give  
 “ needful answer to yours.

“ This in the mean while serves to in-<sup>Murder by</sup>  
 “ form you, we are advised by our chief at <sup>the Dutch.</sup>  
 “ *Winnebah*, that one of our company’s  
 “ slaves, named *Coffee*, travelling upon the  
 “ road, towards *Mumford*, to buy corn,  
 “ was set upon between that and your fac-  
 “ tory at *Apom*, by one of your *Black* ser-  
 “ vants, and two of your company’s slaves  
 “ there, who kill’d him with above twenty  
 “ five stabs in his body, cutting his neck  
 “ round to the bone. Our said factor sent  
 “ to yours at *Apom*, to demand satisfaction  
 “ for the murder, which is denied, and is  
 “ the reason we address our selves to you,  
 “ that if you do not approve of what they  
 “ committed, you will now shew it by an  
 “ exemplary justice done upon the mur-  
 “ derers, &c.”

By other memoirs I have in hand, I find  
 the *English* have restor’d their fort at *Suc-*  
*cundee* to its former condition, garison’d it,  
 and carry on their trade as formerly with the  
 natives ; but could not learn at what time,  
 and in what manner it was performed.

I forbear, not to enlarge upon small trans-  
 actions, to insert here the many insults of-  
 fer’d by the *Dutch* to the company’s people,  
 from time to time, for many years succes-  
 sively, to obstruct and hinder them from  
 getting their supply of oyster-shells from the  
 coast about *Taccorance* : referring the many  
 instances thereof to several letters sent by  
 the company’s agents at the coast, on that  
 and other grievances about the company’s  
 trade ; and conclude this account with the  
 following late observation.

*Bosman*, p. 27.] I am also inform’d by  
 Mr. *Harris*, your chief at *Succundee*, that  
 the *Dutch* *Coopman* has panyar’d, or se-  
 cur’d the *Cabasheers* there ; and made them  
 take *Fetissoes*, that is, swear that they would  
 not come near the castle, nor do us any  
 service, and they forbear.

P. 22.] The *English* fort at *Succundee* is  
 quadrangular, situated on a hill, about fifty  
 paces from the sea-side ; between two *Dutch*  
 forts, the one to the westward, at *Taccorary*,  
 the other to the eastward of it, is built  
 with brick and lime ; has . . . . . guns  
 mounted, and a tank also. There are com-  
 monly in it fifteen *White* men, and twenty  
*Gromettoes*.

BARBOT. *ADOM, and on the CHAMASCIAN RIVER, as the Dutch call it, and others, Rio de St. Juan.*

I Observed in the precedent description of the country of *Adom*, that it was a kind of common-wealth, governed by five or six of the principal men, without a king.

I shall now add, that this nation has prov'd from time to time a common plague and scourge to the neighbouring *Blacks*, and even to our *Europeans*, being an assembly of thieves and villains; who if they were unanimous, would be able to raise a powerful army, to the terror of all about them.

*War with Anta.* Anno 1690, they jointly began a war against the *Antesians*, which continued three or four years, till they had almost ruined that country and people, who yet will not submit to them, but continue to bid them defiance.

*With others.* They were also at war with the three nations on the river of *Ancober*, a few years after, whom they oblig'd to buy a peace, at the price of a large sum of gold.

In those expeditions they had one *Anqua* for their general, a *Black*, so violently inclin'd to war, that he could not live in peace; but as much as he coveted it, scarce any engagement happen'd with those of *Anta* and *Ancober*, in which he was not oblig'd to his heels for his safety: so that if his men had been no better soldiers than himself, he had soon been stop'd in his career; and yet the other governors dare not displease him, he being the richest of them all in money and men.

*An inhuman Black.* This *Anqua* was a detestably bloody and barbarous man, or rather a monster, whose name is ever mentioned with horror in *Anta* and *Ancober* river.

To instance some of his unheard-of barbarities; having in an engagement taken five of the principal *Antesians*, in 1691, he wounded them all over, after which, with a more than brutal fury, he did not satiate himself with sucking their blood at the gaping wounds, but bearing a more than ordinary grudge against one of them, and not contented with the mention'd savage cruelty, he caused him to be laid bound at his feet, and his body to be pierc'd 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.

In the year 1692, when he took the field a second time against the *Antesians*, I went to give him a visit in his camp near *Chama*, or *Sama*; he received me very civilly, and treated me very well, according to the custom of the country: but whilst he and I were diverting our selves together, a fresh opportunity offer'd it self for the exercise of his brutish temper, which was only, that a *Black* observing one of his wives had a new-

fashion coral on, and holding a part of it in his hand to look on it, without taking it off her neck; she not thinking any hurt, freely permitted him to do so, all *Blacks* allowing their wives all honest liberty of conversation, even with their slaves. But *Anqua* so highly resented this innocent freedom, that as soon as I was got out of the camp, he caused both wife and slave to be put to death, drinking their blood, as he used to do that of his enemies.

A little before he had caused the hands of one of his wives to be cut off, for a very trivial crime; 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.

This is mention'd, to shew the bloody cruel nature of the *Blacks*, towards their nearest relations, as well as the most inveterate enemies.

#### COMMENDO or AQUAFFO.

John Bloome's Letter, from Cabo-Corso, to J. B. the 27th of February 1691-2.

I N the year 1688, M. *Du Casse*, came upon the coast with four *French* men of war, equipp'd at *Rochefort*, with great confidence to make there several considerable settlements, for the royal *African* company of *France*, but especially at *Commendo*, upon the frequent former invitations of the *Aquaffou* men, both king and people; in order to cross the *Dutch* interest at their coast, and in some measure revenge themselves of the insults they had received from the *Hollanders* at *Mina*, for many years before; some instances of which you may see in the precedent description, and his people boasted so much before-hand at *Roche*, of the great exploits that were to ensue of this expedition, that the people there gave that officer the title of petty-king of *Guinea*.

*Du Casse* made an attempt upon *Commendo*, where he settled a factory, and proceeded farther to *Alampi* and *Fida*, on the same design; but a few months after he had failed from *Commendo*, thro' the instigation of the *Dutch*, a war happening against the *Aquaffoes*, in whose country the *French* factory stood, the *Aquaffoes* were routed, their king kill'd, all the *French* effects pillag'd, and the *French*-men, who kept the factory, forc'd to fly to cape *Corso* castle for refuge: since which time, there have not appear'd any *French* ships, nor have they any settlement upon that coast.

*Bosman*, p. 27.] That same year *Swerts*, the *Dutch* general at *Mina* erected an indifferent large fort, on the strand, at *Little Commendo*, or *Ekke-Tokki*, as the *Negroes* call it, and named it *Vreden-burgh*: in regard, he had entirely reduc'd the *Commanians* to an honourable peace with his nation,



tion, as shall hereafter farther be taken notice of, after so many years of a disorderly war, continued at times, from the year 1682. It was a square building strengthened with good batteries, on which thirty two guns may be conveniently plac'd, there being so many embrasures in the breast-work for them. It is large enough for sixty men to live in; tho' at present, 1702, there are not near so many, but about twenty: notwithstanding all which, it is sufficient not only to defend it self against, but to repulse a great number of *Blacks*, as was found by experience, *Anno* 1695, when I commanded there. Our enemies attack'd us by night; I had but a very sorry garrison, not full twenty men, half of which were not fit for service, and yet I forced them to retire with loss, after a fight of five hours. 'Twas wonderful, and no small sign of divine protection, that we lost but two men in this action; for we had no doors to most of our gun-holes, and the *Blacks* poured small-shot on us, as thick as hail; insomuch that those few doors which were left to some gun-holes, were become like a target which had been shot at for a mark; and the very staff which our flag was fasten'd on, tho' it took up so little room, did not escape shot-free.

Dutch fort  
attacked.

You may imagine what case we were in, when one of them began to hack our very doors with an ax; but this undertaker being kill'd, the rest sheer'd off. The general, to whom I had represented my weak condition, ordered two ships to anchor before our fort, to supply me with men and ammunition. *Peter Hinken*, the captain of one of those vessels, endeavouring to execute the general's orders, the day before I was attack'd, sent his boat full of men to me, but they were no sooner on land, than the *Blacks* fell upon them so furiously, even under our cannon, that they kill'd several; which tho' I saw, I could not prevent: for attempting to fire upon the enemy with our cannon, I found them all nail'd; of which piece of treacherous villany, according to all appearance, my own gunner was the actor, whom I therefore sent in chains to the general, at our chief place of residence, who swore that he would punish him exemplarily; but instead of that, soon after not only set him at liberty, but prefer'd him to a gunner's place of greater importance.

For this reason I was forc'd to be an idle spectator of the miserable slaughter of our men, not being able to lend them the least assistance: and if the *Blacks* had at that instant storm'd us, we were in no posture of resistance; but they going to eat, gave me time to prepare for the entertainment I gave them, as I have before told you. Here I cannot forbear relating a comical accident that happen'd. Going to visit the posts of

V O L. V.

our fort, to see whether every man did his duty, one of the soldiers, quitting his post, told me, that the *Blacks*, well knowing he had but one hat in the world, had maliciously shot away the crown, which he would revenge, if I would give him a few grana- does. I had no sooner order'd him two, than he call'd out to the *Blacks*, from the breast-work, in their own language, telling them, he would present them with something to eat; and giving fire to his grana- does, immediately threw them down among the croud, who observing them to burn, throng'd about them, and were at first very agreeably diverted; but when they burst, they so gall'd them, that they had no great stomach to such another meal.

*Commendo*, an *English* fort, is large and square, with three large square flankers, and one round; and within the fort is a large square tower, all built with stone and lime. It is situated on a level ground, about fifty paces from the sea-side, between two *Dutch* forts; the one to the westward, call'd *Sama*; and the other about half a mile to the eastward of it, call'd *Uredenburgh*.

It has twenty-four good guns mounted; and is usually guarded by twenty white men and thirty *Gromettoes*, and has a tank for water.

In the year 1694, some miners being sent from *Holland* to the *Dutch* general at *Mina*, he order'd them to *Commendo*, to make an essay at the hill behind *Aldea de Torres*, west of the *Dutch* fort *Uredenburgh*; that mountain seeming to be well plac'd for their purpose, there being a tradition, that it was very rich in gold ore.

This hill was at that time consecrated to one of their gods; tho' there was scarce ever any talk of it before: but this was really only a pretence they made use of to declare war against us. The miners began their work; but in a few days, suspecting nothing, were assaulted, miserably abus'd, robb'd of all they had, and such as were not nimble enough, kept prisoners for some time.

We immediately (continues the author) complain'd of this ill usage to the king of *Commany*, or *Commendo*, who was villainous enough to remove the blame from his own door, and fix it upon *John Kabes*, a *Black*, who liv'd near our fort *Uredenburgh*, and with whom we always traded very considerably; alledging, that he had done it in revenge, for the ill treatment he had met with from our former chief, or general. That this was only a feign'd excuse, was very evident; for *John Kabes* was so arrant a coward, that he durst not have ventur'd on an attempt so dangerous, without the king's express command: but the king was resolv'd to break with us; and because he

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could

BARBOT. could find no better excuse, made use of this.

Mr. . . . the then *Dutch* general, without any farther enquiry, resolv'd to go to *Commany* in person, to require satisfaction of *John Kabes* for that injury: to which purpose he took some of the forces of *Mina* along with him; and being come to *Commany*, immediately detach'd a party to *John Kabes's* village, who came out to meet them, leading a sheep to present to Mr. . . . , and clear himself of what he was accus'd: but seeing the *Mina* forces fall upon his goods, without giving him any warning, and begin to plunder, as great a coward as he was, he put himself into a posture of defence; and our people finding he was resolv'd to sell his effects as dear as he could, the skirmish began; and some on both sides were very well beaten.

After this, all our affairs ran at random; it shew'd the king of *Commany* our private, and *John Kabes* our profess'd enemy; who, to revenge the injury done him, invited the *English* into *Commany*, giving them a dwelling-place about a league from our fort, in one of his salt villages; resolving to settle them, with the first opportunity, in the old ruin'd fort they had formerly possess'd: which soon after succeeded according to his wish. For the *English* are so well fortify'd there, that it will be impossible to remove them, unless in time of war; their fort being as large, and having four batteries as well as ours: besides which, it has also a turret, fit to be planted with guns, from whence they may extremely incommode us; considering that they have more and larger cannon than ours: in short, we are there likely to have a nice bone to pick. What injury this neighbourhood has already done our trade, every one knows who is acquainted with this coast; and how easily it might have been prevented. But Mr. . . . was too fiery to think sedately, or hearken to wise counsels; and, contrary to all reason, he desir'd nothing so much as war, and the honour he hoped to get thereby; vainly promising himself, that he should succeed as well as Mr. *Swerts* in 1687, who entirely conquer'd and subdu'd the *Commanians*, after they had in the war lost their king and several of the greatest men in their kingdom.

Notwithstanding all which, I dare aver, he might have succeeded, had he not been deluded by the too great opinion he had conceiv'd of himself and his followers, and his too contemptible thoughts of his enemies. For he hir'd an army of *Jufferians* and *Cabestrians* for less than five thousand pounds sterling, which were twice as strong as that of *Commany*, and consequently might have subdu'd them: but he was ready enough to imagine, that, with this force, he could easily

conquer not only *Commany*, but all the coast; and accordingly, very impudently threaten'd the *Fantynese* and *Saboeese*, that after he had corrected the *Commanians*, he would give them a disagreeable visit.

Those two nations, considering how much they were indebted to us; which, if they endeavour'd to repay otherwise than by their continual villainies, was not owing to their want of will, but power; they soon embrac'd this favourable opportunity of joining their forces with those of *Commany*; to support which, they believ'd their unquestionable interest, and by this means they became stronger than our auxiliaries. A sufficient proof of this, is our first unfortunate battle; in which we lost all those auxiliaries, and the money they cost us. The fight was much more bloody than the wars of the natives usually are; for the greatest part of the men we mis'd, were kill'd, and the rest taken prisoners; whereby we were reduc'd to a miserable state, not knowing what measures to take, as having made the most potent nations of the country our enemies. And indeed we should never have been able to make any fresh attempt, had not the enemies themselves seasonably given us an opportunity by their intestine divisions.

The king's brother, *Tekki-Ankam* now <sup>Second</sup> king of *Commany* came over to our side, and <sup>defeat.</sup> was in a short time strengthned by the *Adomians* and other auxiliaries, which occasion'd a second engagement, so warm on both sides, that the victory was long dubious, till at last it seemed to incline to ours so far, that our army fell greedily to plunder; which being observ'd by *Abe Tecky*, the *Commanian* king, who excell'd all his contemporary *Blacks*, in valour and conduct, and had hitherto kept himself out of the fight, and laid us this bait, he unexpectedly march'd towards us, with fresh forces, carrying their musquets with the butt ends forwards to deceive us: which succeeded so well, that we taking them for our friends, continu'd our greedy course of plunder, till the king came upon us, and his men turning their musquets, fir'd so briskly, that they diverted us from the prey, and oblig'd every man to save his life as well as he could: thus leaving the *Commanians* a second compleat victory, those who could escape, made the best of their way to our fort.

These were two pernicious losses, the greatest part of which undoubtedly ought to be charged on Mr. . . . , for had he been so prudent as to conceal his resentment, against the *Fantyneans* and *Saboeans*; and instead of irritating, gain'd them by a bribe, as he afterwards was oblig'd to endeavour, tho' in vain; I do not believe they would have concern'd themselves for the *Commanians*;

English  
make their  
advantage  
of it.

Vain  
Dutch  
General.

Dutch  
routed.

Second  
defeat.

nians; whom by that means he might have subdu'd, and with the same force have reduc'd the others to reason.

It will not be amiss to proceed with my Author's account, as an introduction to the transactions of those times, which have caused such considerable damage to the Dutch interest at *Mina*, as well as at *Commendo*; and have so much depopulated the fine large town of *Mina*; now as little, as it was great and famous, in my time. It will not only show the uncertainty of sublunary things in general, but be a proper caution to the directors of all *African* companies whatsoever, to employ in the government of their affairs in *Guinea*, both by sea and land, men of known candor, probity, understanding, true courage, and experience; attended with modest behaviour; &c. And when they have found any such, not only to continue them much longer in their employments, than is commonly done; but also to grant them such competent salaries, and perquisites, as may content them, and they may not be tempted to commit perpetual breaches of trust, and contrary to their most solemn oaths, and all the ties of conscience, to make hay, while the sun shines; as it is too notoriously and generally practised.

This I formerly propos'd, to the directors of the *French African* company, at a full board, in *Paris*; and it was, it seems, better liked than practised; and it is no wonder, that they and our royal *African* company at *London*, have not made such advantage of their commerce, as might have been expected, if rightly followed, and no regard of persons had, to the prejudice of the publick: for tho' the best and wisest endeavours will not always answer the projects, in point of trade, which, of all human things is most liable to times and circumstances, especially in confus'd revolutions, occasion'd by war, yet it must be allow'd, that a right management is the most likely means to conduce to a profitable end.

Before I return to my author's relation, of the revolutions happen'd at *Mina*, I think it not amiss, to give an historical account of *John Kabes*, the famous *Black* at that coast; who has been chiefly the fatal occasion of that war, as far as I find it contain'd in the memoirs I have by me, which will shew, how small a spark can kindle a great fire, and persuade men in publick trust to be circumspect, even in affairs of little moment.

This *Kabes* was formerly a servant to the *English* at *Cabo Corso*, and owing them money, basely went over to Mr *Nuyts*, the then *Dutch* general at *Mina*; who not only protected, but encourag'd him in his knavery, instead of keeping him in order, tho' the villain had formerly cut off the heads

of about half a dozen *Dutch* men: but by means of a purse of gold, escap'd the punishment due to him; which the *Mina* general, before Mr *Nuyts*, had often threatned him with.

*John Kabes* was allow'd by the *Dutch* general, to live in a village of his, near their fort *Uredenburgb*, at *Commendo*; with whom, says the *Dutch* author, we traded very considerably, and he was in that condition when attack'd by the *Dutch* general in 1694, upon the king of *Commendo's* saying he was the chief author of the assault, made by the *Blacks* on the *Dutch* miners at *Commendo*, as has been related: and by the same account you have seen how *Kabes* went over to the *English* again, and was very instrumental by his credit and power at *Commendo*, to assist them in building the *English* fort there. Afterwards it seems *Kabes*, either through interest, or disgust at the *English*, having set up a trade there for himself, with *English* interlopers, or 10 per cent. ships, and assisted by one captain *Gladman*, he built himself a flanker, in opposition to the *English* fort at *Commendo*; *Gladman* having sold him eighteen guns in 1702, and one captain *Ingle* an *Englishman*, sold him six out of the same ship, the *Sbrewsbury Galley*, a ten per cent. ship, the last voyage she made, all this being contriv'd to molest and obstruct as much as possible the royal *African* company's trade in their fort at *Commendo*.

How it went with *Kabes* and his flanker afterwards, I do not hear, but only find in Sir *Dalby Thomas's* letters, that on the 22d of *April* 1707, he receiv'd advice from Mr *Pearson*, chief at *Commendo*, and from *John Kabes* or *Cabes*, that the *Dutch* were drawing the *Sama* and *Jabbab* people, to windward of *Commendo*, together; as also those of *Mina* people, and what others they could, to attack *John* in his fort: and that the *English* chief there, wanted nothing but corn, and a better gunner, in case they should be block'd up or attack'd. Upon which, Sir *Thomas* immediately dispatch'd one Mr *Hicks*, Mr *Pearson* being weak and not well in health, with a gunner, and corn, in *Pindar's* long-boat, and a five-hand canoe, all in arms, and the boat with two pattareroes; lest the *Dutch* should pretend to stop them as they pass'd by *Mina*, as they had endeavoured to do several *English* canoes, which Sir *Dalby Thomas* had sent armed to *Succun-dee*, for advice and necessaries for the *English* at *Cabo Corso* castle. From *Mina* they fir'd three great shot, and four from a ship in *Mina* road, and sent several small canoes armed after her; but finding that she was armed too, and the *English* resolute, they left her.

From this account of Sir *Dalby Thomas* in 1707, may be infer'd, not only that *John Kabes*,

Advice about persons to be employed.

Story of the Black, John Kabes.

Sir D. Thomas's letter Nov. 1. 1705.

BARBOT. *Kabes* was again become a friend to the company's interest, but also, that the *English* and *Dutch* were then at variance next to a war; but what the issue has been, I do not hear as yet.

I resume now my *Dutch* author's account of the war, which has been so pernicious to their interest at the coast, from the place where I left it.

Dutch  
make peace  
with the  
Blacks.

Our affairs, (says he, p. 34.) continued in this posture till Mr. . . . . expiring, left the government to his successor Mr. . . . . who, as new lords generally occasion new laws, finding we lost by the war, by the advice of those whom the company had entrusted, prudently resolv'd, if possible, to put an end to it; and accordingly brought the *Commanians* to so good a temper, that we soon became friends; they not only obliging themselves to make good the damage we had sustained, but becoming as zealously engaged in our interest, as the posture of affairs could encourage us to hope: and it was very much to be wished, for the advantage of our company, that the peace could have continued; which would have considerably advanc'd our trade, and spar'd the large sums we were obliged to disburse in the following war.

The English  
disturb it.

But the *English* there envying our happy conclusion of the war, and fearing it would not much conduce to their advantage, contriv'd methods to break the peace. The means they chiefly hit upon, and practis'd, were to possess the king, that considering his two victories, he ought rather to ask than give satisfaction; which they enforc'd by inculcating our weak condition and his strength, urging, that we were not in a posture to act offensively again, but would be obliged, not only to beg, but to buy a peace, which would furnish him with an opportunity of forcing his own conditions upon us.

The king being not only a *Commanian* by birth, and consequently of their turbulent humour, but sufficiently elevated by his past victories, soon listen'd to the *English* advice of breaking with us: to which he was encouraged by their assurance, that they would make his cause their own; and accordingly supply him with all proper necessaries: whereupon he renew'd his old course, and did us as much mischief as ever. This we patiently suffer'd for some time, vainly expecting relief by fair means; but our dependance on them serv'd only to augment his outrages, and oblige us to have recourse to force, which was now become absolutely necessary to preserve our character among the rest of the nations of that country: and accordingly we began to think of warmer measures; and in conjunction with other persons proper to be consulted, it was resolv'd to bring a considerable force

into the field, which should make short work at once, and be able to chastise the *Commanians*; we were therefore of opinion, that since the *Fantyneans* lived then in amity with us, it would be very easy to gain them to our side, and by that means enable ourselves to tame the king of *Commany*. We treated with them accordingly; and at last, <sup>Buy off the</sup> Blacks <sup>from the</sup> in consideration of the value of nine hundred pounds sterling, to be paid them, they <sup>Dutch.</sup> oblig'd themselves to fight the *Commanians*, till they had utterly extirpated them. We now thought ourselves very secure, daily expecting the *Fantyneans* to take the field; but here the *English* quash'd our design, and in order to keep their word with the king of *Commany*, or at least to throw an obstacle in our way, one of their governors went from *Cabo-Corso* to *Fantyn*, and prevailed with that people, for exactly the same sum, we had before given them, to stand neuter: which being only oppos'd by the *Brasso*, they soon dispatch'd him out of the way, substituting immediately another in his room. To one who knows how common and trivial a crime perjury is among the *Blacks*, it will not appear incredible, that they should rather stand still for one thousand eight hundred pounds, than fight for nine. Thus our hopeful negotiation ended with the irrecoverable loss of our money.

The *Commanians* for this reason growing more arrogant, began to insult us worse than ever: to remedy which, we agreed with the *Adomians* to assist us for less than five hundred pounds, but they falling out about the division of the money, as well as the *Accanistians* and *Cabesterians*, who were also by contract oblig'd to our assistance, agreed only not to stir one foot from home. Being thus disappointed, we cast our last anchor, and agreed with the *Dinkirascians* for the sum of eight hundred pounds, to take our side; but were herein so unhappy, that they falling into a war with their near neighbours, were oblig'd to neglect our cause to defend their own country; they indeed were yet so honest, as to return our money, except only a small quantity, which stuck to the fingers of their messengers: we also got back the greatest part of what we had given to the *Adomians*, but could not recover the least part of what the *Fantyneans* had got of us. Being in this desperate condition, we left no means unattempted to redress our selves, tho' in vain; for we were cheated on all sides. We thought of making an honourable end with the king of *Commany*, but how to compass that, we could not imagine; fearing, as the *English* had promised, we should be obliged to beg a peace, which had certainly happened, if at this critical juncture, a better and more honourable way had not offer'd itself.

Treachery  
of the  
English.

The before mention'd brother of the king of *Commny*, who for some piece of villany, as is reported, had, together with his wife and children, been sent as slaves to *Surinam*, by Mr. . . . . but declared free by the company, were brought over hither again. Upon his arrival, we employed him to find whether his brother was most inclin'd to war or peace; by which means we found, that he being tired with the former, would be very willing to accept of the latter: making use of this opportunity to our intire satisfaction, we concluded a peace upon very honourable and good terms; neither side desiring any more than a settled and lasting peace, as it had undoubtedly been if an accident as unexpected had not interrupted it; for we had but just began to relish the pleasure of our new tranquillity, and learn'd to prefer a prosperous ease before a pernicious war, when the *English*, being disgusted at it, or growing jealous that the king would adhere too close to us, we being his old friends, and shake them off; or, for some other unknown reason; murdered him, in a manner esteemed barbarous by all *Euro-peans*, when he came to divert himself, and make merry with them: thus ungratefully rewarding the several years service he had done them.

This barbarous action occasioned a great alteration on the coast. The *Commanians*, hitherto so strictly allied to the *English*, became their most inveterate enemies, resolving at any rate to revenge their king's death: *Teki Ankan*, on the contrary, became their greatest friend; and having a hand in his brother's murder, fled from us, shelter'd himself among the *English*, and agreed with them to fall upon the *Commanians* with the first opportunity. They invited us to join with them, but that was refused, we not being able to enter into a war on their account, and having but too long found how fatal a war is to our commerce. They however went on with their design, hiring the *Blacks* of *Saboe*, *Accany*, and *Cabesterra*, with which auxiliaries, *Teki Ankan* came into the field, and engag'd the *Commanians* with such ill success, that notwithstanding the number of his men was quadruple to theirs, yet he was totally routed. The *Commanians* ow'd this signal victory to their general *Amo Teki*, a *Black*, who in valour equalled, if not exceeded their murder'd king.

Notwithstanding we had been hitherto perfectly neuter, the *Commani* general sent a civil message to our governor, together with several of the skulls of his vanquish'd enemies, in token that he had resolved to live and die in the service of the *Hollanders*: his messenger was civilly receiv'd, and after thanks and presents from the general, dis-

mised. Were I to determine concerning this action, I must own, we had then the fairest opportunity in the world to obstruct the *English*, and resent their former injuries, if we had quitted *Teki-Ankan*, as he deserted us, and joined with the *Commanians* against them: but there was a *Remora* in the way; for one of the greatest villains of this country being then broker to the company, had so gain'd the ear of Mr. . . . . our general, that he looked upon all other advice as pernicious. This favourite, whether encouraged thereto by interest, or prompted by an inveterate hatred, is uncertain, was continually buzzing stories in the governor's ears, in order to irritate him against the *Commanians*: they in the mean time discerning by his carriage where it was likely to end, were not afraid to offer us some injuries; by which means *Akim*, so the broker was call'd, gain'd his end, and had some arguments to offer for beginning a war against them, and succeeded so well with Mr. . . . . that without consulting, or imparting it to the council, he resolved upon an action equally perfidious and detestable; which was to attack the *Fetuans*, a people subject to the *Commanians*, contrary to the common faith of nations, when they came under our protection to market with their goods: accordingly this was barbarously put in execution, and they robbed of all they brought; some of them killed, and eighty made prisoners.

Pray, Sir, be pleased to judge impartially; was not the law of nations herein violated in the highest degree? I cannot help believing it was; and that his excellency cannot answer his acting in this manner, without the advice or knowledge of the council. Had they indeed consented to this base action, he might, as a pretext, have alledg'd, that those of *Fetu* were justly punished, for the murder of some women at *Mina*, as they were passing by them; tho' that is very improbable, because the *Fetuans* protested themselves innocent of the fact, and kept up a good correspondence with us; nor is it to be imagined they durst so far injure us, or offer such a piece of villany; or that after, they should fearless and defenceless come to our market to vend their commodities, is what can never be believed by unprejudiced persons. But several boldly affirm, that the above mentioned murder of the women, was committed by the contrivance and command of *Akim* himself, and *Teki Ankan*, designedly to lay it to the charge of the *Commanians*, in order to serve as a specious pretext to justify our breaking, and interrupting all commerce with them. Whether this be true or false, heaven only can determine; but it is certain, that the gentlemen of the council, tho' they resented it as an abominable

BARZOT.  
Perfidious-  
ness of the  
Dutch.

BARBOT action, were not willing to discover their sentiments, when past, because the blame must necessarily fall upon *Akim*, whom they knew was villain enough to revenge himself at the expence of their lives; for which reason they past it over in silence.

By these unwarrantable practices, our trade at *Mina* was immediately stifled, and the *Commanians* and *Fetuans* became our professed enemies; which so animated the *English*, that instead of making peace with the *Saboeans*, the strongest of the two, they strengthen'd themselves to the utmost, and once more engaged the *Commanians*; who, with their small force behaved themselves so well, that they had certainly got the day, if their general, *Amo Tecki*, had not been obliged to retire out of the army by a wound he received: which so confounded them, that after they had begun to put their enemies to flight, upon missing their commander, they betook themselves to their heels in the utmost disorder; leaving *Teki Ankan* and his followers an entire victory; their general, and several of the most considerable among them being kill'd and taken prisoners.

By this success *Teki Ankan* became king of *Commany*; and we, as well as the *English*, had a share of advantage by it: tho' we might, if other measures had been taken, have done our selves much more considerable service; but not to lay down uncertainties for undeniable truths, all men, whilst they are men, are liable to frailties; and the managers of this affair had their failings as well as others. Thus I have said enough of the *Commanian* war, and its true source; by which you may be better enabled to speak of it on occasion: and tho' I have left blanks for the names of our governors, you cannot be ignorant who is there intended. I have also handled the whole as tenderly as was possible, without prejudice to truth; and what is said to the disadvantage of Mr. . . . ought rather to be ascrib'd to his mistaken opinion of his favourite *Akim*, than to any ill intention. But if you ask how he came to be so fond of him, it is reported, that before he was prefer'd to the government, that wretch serv'd him with a fidelity uncommon among the *Blacks*, which tinctur'd him with such a settled good opinion of him, that he never could believe any thing against him. However it was, 'tis certain that his fond affection to that villain, was by him abused only to enrich himself, and render his master's government odious to all people: and thus he is liable to be injur'd, who reposes too much confidence in any one man, and despises the good intentions of others to serve him.

By letters from *Messieurs* William Ronan, William Malrofs, and Nich. Buckeridge, the three agents at *Cabo-Corso* castle.

By a deserter from *Mina* we are informed, that the *Dutch* company have sent positive orders to spare no cost to carry on the war, and drive us out of *Commendo*: and for that end the general, with a large sum of money, has corrupted the *Braffo* of *Fanteen*, and captain of *Quaman* to assist little *Tagee*, to whom we had lately given several *Dassies*, to encourage them to be true to the *English*; for which they had taken *Fetissoes*, or oaths, to stop that current. We are necessitated to be at a considerable expence to your honours, to assist the captain of *Abra*, kings of *Aquaffou*, *Fetu* and *Saboe*, who with us are jointly resolved to depose the *Braffo* of *Fanteen*, and captain of *Quaman*, and make the captain of *Abra*, *Braffo* in his stead; which, with the *Danchaes* assistance, who sides with the king of *Aquaffo*, &c. and are coming down to dispute their differences with the *Arkames*, doubt not but shall frustrate all the *Dutch* designs; and in little time to have the way so open'd, as to have a considerable trade. We hope your honours will consider, and use such measures at home, that these their designs may be frustrated, otherwise it will prove very expensive to keep your honours interest at *Commendo*, or any where else; for if they should ever get the better there, they would endeavour the destruction of all your honour's factories on the coast.

#### MINA or ODDENA.

THIS town is very long and indifferent Bosman,  
broad; *vide* the description. p. 43. in

About fifteen or sixteen years ago it was very populous, and eight times as strong as at present, the inhabitants being then terrible to all the *Blacks* on the coast, and might, under a good general, have succeeded in great undertakings; but about fifteen years ago, the small-pox swept away so many, and since by the *Commanian* wars, together with the tyrannical government of some of their generals, they have been so miserably depopulated and impoverish'd, that it is hardly to be believed how weak it is at present; not being able to furnish fifty arm'd men, without the help of the servants of the *Europeans*: and there is no place on the whole *Gold Coast*, without some of the *Blacks* of *Mina*; for some of them who were friends to the *Commanians* fled to them, but most of them from the tyranny of their governors, and our above mentioned *Akim*, who only kept them as sheep for slaughter. When I first came upon the coast, I have frequently told five or six hundred canoes which went a fishing every morning; whereas

now

now scarce one hundred appear, and all the people so poor, that their miserable case is very deplorable, especially if we reflect upon their former condition. So that indeed it is highly necessary that a governor should be quickly set over them, who by mild usage would soon recall the deserters, especially if he were so prudent as to banish, or at least cramp *Akim*, so that he should not be able to go far inland, where he has at our cost, made himself so many friends, that he would certainly do more mischief.

Notable  
story of an  
elephant.

*Bosman*, p. 318.] In the year 1700, in December, at six in the morning, an elephant came to *Mina*, walking easily along the shoar, under the hill of *St. Jago*. Some *Blacks* were so bold as to go against him without any thing in their hands, in a sort to welcome and bring him in: he suffer'd them to encompass him, and very quietly went along with them to just under the mount *St. Jago*, where one of our officers belonging to the fort, and a *Black* that came down with him, fired on him, and the officer's ball hit him above the eye. This and the following shot which the *Blacks* pour'd on him, were so far from provoking him, that they did not move him to mend his pace in the least; he only seem'd to threaten the *Blacks* betwixt whiles, but still let them alone; only prick'd up his ears, which were of a prodigious size, and so went on, and lastly, stept into our garden.

This extraordinary accident, and our own curiosity, drew the director-general and myself into the garden, and we were soon follow'd by some of our people. We found him standing in the midst of the garden; where, before our coming, he had broke down four or five coco-trees; which number, either to divert himself, or show his strength, he augmented with five or six more in our presence. The strength which he seem'd to use in breaking down a tree, may very fitly be compared to the force which a man exerts in order to knock down a child three or four years old.

Whilst he stood there, above an hundred shot were fir'd at him, which made him bleed to that degree, as if an ox had been kill'd. During all which he did not stir, but only set up his ears, and made the men apprehend that he would follow them.

A *Black* fancying himself able to deal with the elephant, went softly behind him, catch'd his tail in his hand, designing to cut off a piece of it; but the elephant, after giving the *Black* a stroke with his snout, drew him nearer, trod upon him two or three times, and as if that were not sufficient, made two holes with his teeth in his body, large enough for a man's double fist to enter: then he let him lie, without making any farther attempt; and stood still whilst

two *Blacks* fetch'd away the dead body, not offering to meddle with them in the least. BARBOT.

*Ibid.* p. 320.] After the elephant had been about an hour in the garden, he wheeled about, as if he intended to fall on us, as we stood about sixteen paces from him; which made all that were in the garden to fly, the greatest part making to mount *St. Jago*, but the animal follow'd no body out of the garden, all flying out at the fore door, and he took the back door: whether the wall stood in his way, or the door was too narrow for him to pass, he flung it, tho' a brick and a half thick, a considerable distance, which I had the fortune to see a good way off, but could not observe, that in so doing he very much exerted his strength, but rather seem'd to touch it lightly. After which he did not only pass thro' the gap, where the door had been, but forc'd through the garden hedge, going very softly by mount *St. Jago* towards the river, where he bathed himself to wash the blood, with which he was besmear'd, or to cool himself after the heat occasioned by so many shot.

After having refreshed himself a little in the river, he came out and stood under a parcel of trees, where were some of our water tubs; and there he also cooled himself, and broke them in pieces, as he did also a canoe that lay by them.

Whilst the elephant stood there, the shooting was renew'd, till at last he fell down, when they immediately cut off his snout, which was so hard and tough, that it cost the *Blacks* thirty strokes before they could separate it, which must be very painful to the beast, since it made him roar; and that was the only noise I heard him make. After this he died under the said tree, and was no sooner dead, than the *Blacks* fell on him in crowds, each cutting off as much as he could; so that he furnish'd a great many, as well *Whites* as *Blacks*, with food enough for that day; who found, that of a vast quantity of shot level'd at him, very few had pass'd the bone into his head; some remain'd betwixt the skin and the bone; most of them, and more especially the small-shot was thrown off by his hide, as if they had been shot against a wall, which made us judge the bullets were too small: and those who pretend thoroughly to understand the elephant shooting, told us, that we ought to have shot iron bullets since those of lead are flatt'd.

#### CAPE CORSO.

*Mr. John Hillier's letter, to Dr. Bathurst at Oxon, dated Cape Corso, Jan. 3. 1697-8.*

I Thought the custom of destroying slaves at the death of great people had been abolished, and I was so inform'd; but we have

BARBOT. have seen that it is not; for *October* the third, this year, died *Aben Penin Ashrive*, king of *Fetu*, here at cape *Corso*, where he had been long sick. The *Fetifferos* had done all they could to save his life, which was nothing at all to the purpose; their physick scarce extends to any thing but the flux, and what we call the *French* disease: his was a consumption and an asthma (if I mistake not the word) of a great continuance, so that they fled to the aid of their religion; and according to the rules of that, they made several pellets of clay, which they set in his room, in rank and file, all sprinkled with blood; besides the several muttons which they eat to his good health, but that was of too little force; so the man died, having deliver'd his sword to the *Dey*; who in the *interregnum* was to be the principal man; for the kingdom is elective, contrary to what we wrote before: and commanding him to be constant to the *English*, of whom himself had been a great favourer; with a threat, if he was not, to haunt him after his death. He also appointed one of his wives, whom he thought worthy of that unlucky honour, to accompany him to the other world.

People  
kill'd at  
great fu-  
nerals.

The next day he was carried to *Feton*, and buried there *November* the second, with the poor woman we spoke of. Presently after, they that were considerable, or had a mind to seem so, sent in those they had a mind to murder in honour of the king: how many there were, is hard to say; the highest accounts give ninety, the lowest fifty, the middle seventy. The *Blacks* do not understand arithmetick, so the number they give in all cases is very uncertain: I think there were above eight from this town, which will not hold proportion to the highest rate; but it is like, near *Feton* there might be more. They say also, that many more will follow half a year after his death. The manner of the execution of these poor creatures I have not yet learnt, only, that they make them drink and dance, with a great deal of bravery, all the beginning of the day, and toward night cut off their heads; but whether by that they reckon the common way of their executions, I am yet to seek.

Election of  
a king.

After the king's funeral, the next thing was to chuse a successor; so the people were called together at *Feton*, (I suppose by the authority of the *Dey*) without inquiring any thing of their freehold: they pitched upon *Mydy*, tho' he were not of the blood royal; the reason was, as they said, because he had power enough to do what he pleased, and they could do nothing against him; but he refused the honour, because of the charge it would put him to, and proposed the brother of the deceased king:

so the business stuck some time, but at last it was accorded, and king *Ashrive's* brother was declared king *November* the eighteenth: his name is *Abenaco*. 'Tis wonderful how they could dispatch such a business with so little disturbance; but I suppose there was no considerable number that dissented; otherwise it would scarce have been determined without bloodshed, because it was not easy for them to poll.

I said it was doubted, whether those sacrificed died after the rate of their ordinary executions; if you would know it, the creature that is condemned is made to drink abundance of palm-wine, and to dance, every body that will, all the while, striking or pushing him: when that is over, he is thrown down on his face upon the sand, which whether it stifles him or not, I cannot tell; then his legs are cut off below the knees, and his arms below the elbows; afterward his thighs, and his arms below the shoulders; lastly, his head.

A man would not expect any thing more barbarous than this; yet there is a custom which has something worse: when any one has new drums, trumpets or blowing-horns, it is requisite that they be consecrated with human blood. I have known but one happen of this kind, that was *January* the seventh 1686-7, when after the man had been executed after the former manner, about eight in the morning, at one in the after-noon they drank palm-wine out of the upper part of his skull, and this in the sight of all the factors at cape *Corso*. In *Florida* the natives sacrifice their prisoners to their idols, and afterwards eat them, according to *Mercator*.

*Ibid.* p. 51.] Under the *English* fort you <sup>Powerful</sup> may observe a house not unlike a small fort, <sup>Mulatto.</sup> with a flag on it, and some cannon; this is inhabited by an *English* *Mulatto*, by name *Edward Barter*, who has a greater power on the coast, than all the three *English* agents together (in whom the chief command of the coast is vested jointly) who by reason of their short stay here are so little acquainted with the affairs of this coast, that they suffer themselves to be guided by him, who very well knows how to make his advantage of them: he is become so considerable, that he can raise a great number of arm'd men; some whereof are his own slaves, and the rest free-men, that adhere to him. Thus his interest is at present so great, that he is very much respected, honoured and serv'd by the principal people about him; and whoever designs to trade with the *English*, must stand well with him, before he can succeed. This *Mulatto* pretends to be a christian, and by his knowledge of that religion, which he has acquired by the advantage he has of reading and writing, might very



very well pass for one; but his course of life is altogether contradictory: for tho' he is lawfully married in *England*, he has above eight wives and as many mistresses. But this the *English* must not condemn as dishonest and irreligious, since most of their officers and governors follow the *Mulatto's* example; for I believe two of the present agents have about six. This was about 1701.

By the following accounts I am apt to believe this *Mulatto* was, upon the coming of Sir *Dalby Thomas*, out of place and credit at the *Gold Coast*. *Bosman*, p. 23.

Feb. 9, 1701-2.] Before the receipt of yours, having notice of some villanies committed by *Barter*, being up in the country, sent for him down; but he being conscious of our having the knowledge of his actions, fled up into the country. We doubt his underhand dealing with the *Dutch*, who take his part, tho' Mr. *Peck* went to *Mina* to consult them, will put us to some inconveniencies.

May 15, 1703, p. 24.] How much the *Dutch* are your rivals in trade, your honour is a judge; but it cannot be expected ours should increase, whilst they give *Barter* a protection under their castle, to stop any from coming in here. I can't tell what course the gentlemen design to take for the future, to prevent such inconveniencies; but certainly, at present, we suffer very much by his villany.

Interlopers. At *Cabo Corso* castle, April 2, 1707. The ten per cent. ships carry'd all the trade, perpetuates at five *Akies*. No people in the world understand their interest better than the *Blacks* at the *Gold Coast*; and could they supply their wants as cheap at the factories, as they do aboard ten per cent. ships, one would think they would not put themselves to the charge of canoe-hire, and the hazard of oversetting with their goods, as often they do. Besides that advantage on the price of goods, they have that on the price of slaves also. The ten per cent. ships being upon the coast, and near slav'd, they dispose of their goods at prime cost, for dispatch; and give very extravagant prizes for slaves especially when they are advanc'd to the leeward as far as *Winnebab*. Another inconveniency has appeared at *Cabo Corso* castle, that in the year 1703, three large ships of the *French* company of the *Affiento*, of about fifty guns a-piece, and one of them a *Dutch* man of war prize, call'd the *Medenblick*, being trading about cape *Corso*, and the *Blacks* not daring to go aboard of them with slaves or gold, the *French* drew their ships in a line, at about half cannon-shot from the castle, the anchoring there very good, mud and sand, did so warmly batter the castle from that side, notwithstanding its hot firing from the water-battery and turrets, that in less than an hour's time the garrison was forc'd

to keep close shelter'd, not daring to appear *BARBOT.* any longer, to play their cannon. The commander found himself oblig'd to hang out a white flag for a truce; and to grant to the *Blacks* of the town, and all others about, to traffick freely with the *French*, who got thereby a good number of slaves and gold, for their merchandize.

MANFROU, or DANISH MOUNT,  
near CORSO castle.

JOHN BLOOME, Feb. 27, 1691-2. at *Cabo Corso*.] *Fredericksburgh* fort, which belonged to the *Danes*, and was sold and deliver'd by Mr. *Hans Luck*, their general, in the year 1685, to *Henry Nurse* Esq; agent for the royal *African* company of *England*, is at present but a mean fortification, but *English* design'd to be built very strong: the royal *fort*. *African* company has named it *Fort Royal*.

Reflex. p. 32.] *Fort Royal* is now built; 'tis a square fort, newly rebuilt of brick, and has seven guns mounted on the castle, and eleven on the platform; it is constantly guarded, with about six white men and twelve *Gromettoes*. 'Tis seated on the top of a hill, within less than a mile from cape *Corso* castle, to the eastward, and they are very assisting one to the other.

*Bosman*, p. 53.] The fort was begun in 1699, when the *English* entirely pull'd down the old one; the agents oblig'd me with a sight of the model, by which that already finish'd is built, as the whole is intended; and by this I perceive, they do not intend to take in a large compass of ground, but when finish'd, it will be so strong, that no fort on the coast will be to compare to it. The form of it, and the natural strength of the hill, which they intend to cut steep, so that only one access shall be left to it, will render it so strong, that if well stor'd with provisions and well garrison'd, it cannot be taken without great difficulty; which will be yet augmented, if we consider that the enemies being unaccustom'd to the air, and apprehensive of the natives, can hardly besiege it. They who would have it, must take it by surprize; for I dare engage, when it is finish'd, the *English* may safely depend on it.

*Ibid*. p. 33.] *Queen Anne's* point, is a fort lately built of stone and lime, seated on a hill, within less than a mile of *Fort-Royal*, to the westward, and two miles off a *Dutch* fort, to the eastward of it; has five guns mounted, and is commonly guarded with five *White* men and six *Gromettoes*.

It seems by *Bosman's* letters, that this *Queen Anne's* point, is at or near *Congo*, about half a league from the *Danish* mount, where the *Dutch* had formerly a fine stone house, divided and situated upon two hillocks, as in the description you may farther observe.

BARBOT.

ANAMABOE.

Mr. Thomas Cooper, *chaplain*, writes from *cape Corso castle*, Sept. 19, 1701.

THERE is war between us and the *Blacks* at *Anamaboe*, and all things are in disorder and confusion; as likewise it is reported that the *Dutch*, contrary to the articles agreed on, assist the *Blacks* with powder and guns.

*The three agents letter at Cabo Corso castle, Novemb. 6, 1701.*

English  
disturb'd  
by the  
Blacks.

On the fourth of *September*, being *Sunday*, the *Blacks* in a tumultuous manner approached towards the castle of *Anamaboe*, broke open the outer spur-gate, and set fire to our outwalls and corn-room, firing also at the castle; but by our firing the great guns, they soon quitted their ground, and false pretensions too. In requital, that night from the castle, we burnt the major part of the town; this continu'd for twenty-two days, at which time they requested a truce, and that they would compose those matters to our desire, the king of *Saboe* being come there for that intent; the which we granted. They objected against nothing that we proposed to them, and for their fidelity they took *Fetifoes*, that is, their oaths, according to the custom of the country; rendring up their sons also, as pawns for their better performance of this agreement, and payment of the damage done to your honours fort. But since, by the encouragement of the ten *per cent.* men, captain *Benson* in a ship, the *Amity of London*, giving them all the assistance he could, which we hope your honours will take notice of, they begin to play the old game again, not regarding any agreement ever made with them.

It appears to me by *Bloome's* memoirs, the chief at *Anamaboe*, with some of the other principals, were so assaulted by the *Blacks* at the time they attacked the castle, on the 4th of *September*, 1701, that they fled to *cape Corso* castle naked in their shirts only. The *Negroes* of *Anamaboe*, are the most turbulent restless people of all the coast.

P. 15.] By a letter from *John Smith*, dated at *Anamaboe*, 6 February, 1704.

Since I came hither, I have done as much as possible to oblige the natives, and increase as well as maintain your honours interest with them; which at first seem'd to have a good effect: but since the arrival of the ten *per cent.* ships, I have not been able to keep the trade to the fort; for there can be no limitation to the price of good slaves, when other ships out-bid us: which I am positive has been done by captain *Prince*, he having given fourteen pounds a-head for men; as also by one captain *Normanton*, in a brigantine bound for *Jamaica*, who first sold blue perpets for five angels each, and before

he went off, disposed of several for four angels.

*Agga*, 3 *March*, 1707-8.] The ten *per cent.* men using this place so much, has made the slaves excessive dear. Four ships from *Bristol* and *Barbadoes* slaved here before the battles were fought, and they gave fourteen pieces current for men, and nine for women, and some fifteen pieces; or in gold three ounces, three or four akyes a man; a woman two ounces, three or four akyes a-head. At this place all the year round, one year with another, men-slaves are dearer by twelve akyes upon a head, than at any other place of the coast.

FANTYN.

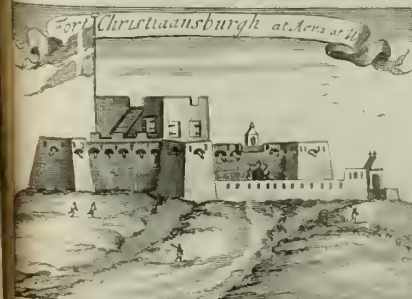
AT the end of *Fantyn*, below *Cormen-Bosman*, *tyn*, the *English*, two years past, planned a flag and began to build a fort: whether their expectations were not satisfied, or they could not agree with the *Blacks*, is uncertain; but at present, 1701, they are endeavouring to remove all the materials from thence, which the native commander in chief has hitherto hindered; and how it will end, time must discover. If I mistake not, it appears that this was the *Skidoe* factory, which the author of the reflections, &c. takes notice of in his catalogue of the *English* settlements at the coast of *Guinea*, &c. and says, it is a very profitable factory, which makes good returns to *cape Corso* castle.

ACRON.

IN the middle of it, at the village *Apam*, *Id.* p. 60. in the year 1697, we *Hollanders* began to build a small fort, or rather house, now fortified with two batteries, as the draught will better inform you. To this we have given the name of fort *Lydsambeyd*, *i. e.* *Dutch fort* *Patience*; because we met with sufficient opportunity of exercising that vertue in building of it, by the frequent oppositions of the natives. Our chief factor there, by the deadness of the trade, and the depraved nature of the inhabitants, is so perplexed, that he has enough to do to keep his temper. I never was so deceived in my expectation as by those natives; they appeared so well at first, that by my advice the building of that fort was much expedited; but I soon enough repented it. Upon the two batteries are eight pieces of cannon; but its greatest strength and ornament, is derived from a fine turret before it.

ANGWINA or AGONNA.

ABOUT the middle of *Agonna*, the *Bosman*, *English* built a small fort in the year 1694, a draught whereof see. It is covered with a flat roof, and has four batteries



of  
late 18



ries so large, that a man may easily leap over them without a stick; and the guns are of a proportionable bigness, one of them discharging a half-pound ball: in short, it is like our forts, at *Boutry*, *Zaconde*, *Chama*, and *Apam*, and theirs at *Dickieschoof*, a fort which wants another to defend it. The adjacent village to it is *Wimba*, others call it *Simpa*, and the *English* *Wbinnebab*. The *Aquamboes* who dwell farther inland made excursions to *Angina*, in 1693, and 1694; which is very troublesome to the inhabitants.

*Resl. p. 33. xi.*] This *Wbinnebab* is a large square fort with four flankers, all built of stone and lime: there are eighteen guns in it, is commonly guarded by about twelve *White* men and twenty-eight *Gromettoes*, and has a suitable tank, a pool or basin for water. It stands about a hundred and twenty paces from the sea, within three miles of *Sbidæ*, to the westward, and thirty-six miles from *Acra*, eastward.

Gold mine.

*P. 62.*] Speaking of *Monte del Diablo*, in the *Agonna* country, he says, this hill is reported to be very rich in gold, whereof the *Agonnasians* are said to gather a considerable value after violent showers, the rain washing it off with the sand. This year, 1701, one Mr. *Baggs* died at *Cabo Corso*, who was agent for the *English*, and entrusted with a more ample commission than any of his predecessors, or the three who used to govern together, had for several years. This extensive commission, if we may believe the *English*, was given him by the directors of the *African* company, because he had inform'd them of, and promis'd to dig gold, or gold ore, out of this hill, and send it over to them. To this purpose he brought all manner of necessary instruments along with him; but I am certain, if he had pursu'd his design, the *Agonnasians* would have treated him and his men as ill as the *Commanians* did us, which I believe his successors will wisely consider.

*Sir Dalby Thomas* at *cape Corso*, *May 13, 1705. p. 16.*] The king of *Wbidab*, and the king of *Quambo*, have a great many fine guns. The king of *Saboe* has two. 'Tis true those people do not at present understand how to use them, but how soon they may, none can tell; nor is it unreasonable to think, that they may take it to be their interest to hire a *White* man to make them masters of gunnery; and there is very seldom wanting a renegado *White* man to instruct the worst of enemies, when well offer'd: and when that's done, farewell forts and castles, the trade of this coast, and every thing else but cruelty and inhumanity here. Something is necessary to be done, to prevent the selling of great guns to the *Blacks*, either by the *English* or *Dutch*. I believe there are several laws in both nations; and I

am of opinion, that only the *English* do this. BARBOT.

At *Winnebab*, without date, suppos'd to be *February, 1706-7*, from Mr. *Seib Grofvenor*.] I have been told that the country of *Angwina* was formerly entirely for your honours interest, as by contract between you and the queen of this country; but the *Dutch*, like treacherous undermining people, have encroach'd so, as to make a settlement at a place call'd *Barracoe*, where they have erected a small triangular fort of twelve guns.

Dutch incroachments.

I find them very troublesome neighbours, always incensing the natives against us, to interrupt us in our trade. The *Dutch* chief at *Barracoe*, lately took several of your honours goods from traders, which they had bought here of me, telling them he should always continue to do so, if they came to the *English* to buy goods: I sent a messenger to demand the goods, and he would not return them; but I have since made him deliver them to me, and he promis'd never to take any more goods from our traders.

ACRA and AQUAMBOE.

SOME time since, the government of the *Bosman*, *Aquamboeans* was administer'd by two, *P. 65.* viz. the old and young king, tho' the latter is excluded on pretence of his minority, by his father's brother, assisted by his own mother; so that the uncle reign'd in conjunction with the father. This double government was found extremely prejudicial to the subjects, who were sure to suffer, as well from the one as from the other tyrant, till the year 1699, when the old king dying, the young one establish'd himself solely on the throne, utterly excluding the other, and reigning at present.

The old man was of a wicked abject temper, and an utter enemy to *Europeans*; and tho' he receiv'd from the *English*, *Danes*, and us, an ounce of gold, as an acknowledgment, for the liberty given us by his predecessor to build in his dominions, yet he horridly plagued us, and that in so unreasonable a manner, that if he did but fancy any of us had injur'd him, he was sure to oblige us all three to make satisfaction, by shutting up the passes so closely, that not so much as a single merchant could get to us. So that 'tis not to be doubted, but that his death has, and will contribute to the advancement of the *European* trade here; the present king being more intelligent and rational, as well as a friend to the *Europeans*, especially the *Hollanders*. This plainly appear'd in his dangerous illness, which his country physicians could not cure; for then he confidently entrusted himself in our hands, coming in person to our fort with a few of his attendants, and resided there some time, being roughly enough handled

**BARBOT.** died by our barber, but luckily almost cur'd; his distemper being of that nature, that he cannot expect to be entirely freed from its effects: and he is accordingly, at present, not only incapable of procreating children, but of the enjoyment of any of his wives, of which he has a large number.

Excessive  
lust.

Excessive venery in his youth occasioned his indisposition; his wives who endeavour'd to restrain him, he rewarded with broken heads, tho' he has too late repented it; and it is indeed a pity, for he is a clean well-shap'd man, and in the flower of his age.

In the old king's time we were very desirous to build a fort, and accordingly begun it, at the village *Ponni*, at the end of the *Gold Coast*; but when our ship with building materials arrived at *Acra*, being inform'd that *Ado* was gone with his army against the enemies, for fear the old king should too much impose on us, we desisted: in which we were very fortunate, by reason we should only have put our selves to unnecessary charge; for at this time we find the trade not so considerable as was pretended, and that a lodge with a man or two are sufficient: wherefore, without a very great alteration of the posture of affairs, I don't believe a fort will ever be built there.

*Bosman*, p. 67.] The *English* fort, *James*, at *Acra*, has been some years since my departure from the coast, repair'd to a better advantage and convenience, than it was in my time; and its walls made higher and thicker, especially on the side towards the *Dutch* fort, *Crevecoeur*, so that it is somewhat thicker than ordinary, with four flankers, built of stone and lime, and is now furnish'd with twenty five guns, but most of them so small and slight, that if they should be attacked, they would do very well to exchange them for twelve good guns. The garrison also is very mean for such a place, being but eighteen *White* men, and thirty *Gromettoes*; as if it were sufficient to build forts, furnish them with cannon and necessary provisions, without men, in which respect the *English* are at least as deficient as any other *European* nation can be. They have also raised the lodgements, and made the dongeon higher than it was in 1682. It has also a tank, and is situated on a rock next the sea.

*Bloome's Memoirs*, chief at *Acra* in 1693.] The village *Soko* situated under this fortress, is also much enlarg'd ever since, by a large number of families of the people of the neighbouring village *Little Acra*, under the *Dutch* fort, who have settled at the former, after the devastations of the *Aquamboes* at the latter, they having burnt most of it; others retired to other places of the coast eastward, as *Lampa*, *Popoo*, &c. those *Blacks* being also, on the other hand, much dissatisfied at the *Dutch* proceedings towards them.

This town of *Soko* is at present one of the *Soko* finest and largest of the *Gold Coast*, seated <sup>town.</sup> on a level ground, and regularly built, and so much increased in buildings and inhabitants since the year 1692, that it has a very considerable trade with the *English*, to the prejudice of the *Dutch*.

The *Danish* fort at *Acra*, when I left the *Gold Coast*, in 1682, was possessed by the *Portuguese*; but some time after, the *Danes* redeemed it for a good sum of money, by mutual agreement, and settled their trade anew with the natives, and so possess'd it till the year 1693, when the *Blacks* surpriz'd it in the following manner, expelling the *Danes*, and keeping possession of it for some time.

*Bloome's Memoirs*.] This misfortune of the *Danish* fort <sup>was</sup> occasion'd by the death of several of their garrison, and they having done some insults to the king of *Acra*, that prince studied revenge, and observing the *Danes* had much confidence in one *Assemmi*, a *Black* who had a great interest in that country, procured them a very brisk trade, he engag'd him to contrive how to surprize the fortrefs. Accordingly, *Assemmi* made the *Danish* governor believe, he would bring him a considerable number of merchants at once, to buy fire-arms, which they wanted much, and therefore advised him to enhance the price, appointing the day when they should come.

On that day accordingly, *Assemmi* brought about eighty bold *Blacks* along with him, whom the *Danes* introduc'd into their fort, in hopes of selling them a great quantity of fire-arms, and not suspecting the least treachery. When the *Blacks* had agreed on the price of the goods, and paid the value in gold, they loaded their muskets with powder and ball, which each of them had brought with him, as if they designed to try them; but on a sudden fell all unanimously on five and twenty or thirty *Danes*, that then compos'd the garrison, who presently yielded the fort to them. They immediately dispersed the *Danes* into several parts of the inland country; after which, the king of *Acra*, and the *Blacks* entirely stript it, and took a booty of above seven thousand pounds sterling: the fort was given over to the treacherous *Assemmi* in propriety, who garrison'd it with his own *Blacks*, and so settled himself therein, trading with all the *European* ships that came thither; buying great quantities of *European* goods of them, and afterwards selling them again to the *Blacks* of the country to a considerable profit.

*Bosman*, p. 67, 68.] It was really diverting, tho' the hard fate of the *Danes* was to <sup>They re-</sup>be lamented, to see what work the *Blacks* made with the fortrefs. Their commander, *Assemmi*, dress'd himself in the *Danish* governor's habit, and caus'd himself to be complimented by that name; in acting of which part

part, there were several very comical scenes. He thunder'd at all the *English* and *Zealand* interlopers, by way of salute, with his cannon, as if there would never be an end of the powder; and remain'd in possession of the fort, till two *Danish* ships arriv'd at *Acra*, which was above a year after it had been surpriz'd; when by means of a very considerable present, worth one thousand pounds sterling, in *European* goods, to the king of *Aquamboe*, or *Acra*, but more especially by the mediation of the *Hollanders*, it was redeliver'd to them: which service they afterwards as basely as ungratefully rewarded. But they were no great gainers by it; for to garrison the fort, they were oblig'd to leave their ships so poorly mann'd, that they became a prey to the pirates in the sight of *Guinea*.

As the fort is at present, it would be too strong for the united force of the *English* and ours. It is a square building, strengthen'd with four batteries; and to the best of my memory, twenty guns. It appears very beautiful, and looks as if it were but one continued battery, as it is really in effect; for the roof being entirely flat, the cannon may conveniently be planted on all parts of it. The *Danish* agent that commanded there in 1699, was one Mr. *Trawne* of *Copenhagen*, who had his wife there with him; the gentlewoman being of that fond temper to accompany him to *Guinea*, and live with him during his commission, tho' she is of a very good family of *Denmark*; and might have been told, that *European* women run much greater risks of life in that intemperate climate than the men; as we have had instances of it heretofore, in some *Danish* ladies, that were soon snatch'd away by death at this coast.

ALAMPOE, or LAMPA, and LADINGCOUR.

LAMP A, or *Alampa*, is a considerable place for buying of slaves; it has been possess'd by the *English African* company for several years, having had a factory there, with about five *White* men, and ten *Gromettoes*, with small arms, &c. They made some steps towards building a fort there; but the *Dutch* interposed with the natives, and it has been discontinued for some time: however I understand they are about re-settling it again, &c. It is situated near the sea-side, between *Acra* and *Wbidab*.

*Bloome's Memoirs*, 1701.] The kingdom of *Lampa*, or *Alampa*, is at this time a place where a great quantity of slaves is purchas'd, by the *English*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Portuguese*, and a cargo of them soon compleated. The *Europeans* carry thither for trade, almost the same sorts of *European* merchandize, as serve for the commerce at *Acra*; but of all the *European* trading nations, the *French* have the greatest traffick on that coast, from *Ningo-minor*, to *Ningo-grande*, and *Lay*.

This was confirm'd to me some years ago, <sup>BARBOT.</sup> by a *French* officer of the *Assiento* company, prisoner of war at *Southampton*, who had made three voyages to *Alampoe* successively, for the said company.

In order to follow the same method I have observ'd in the description of the several nations and countries of the *Gold Coast* of *Guinea*, I must, before I proceed any farther in the account of the changes and revolutions that have happen'd in *Guinea* since the year 1682, say something of the transactions that have occur'd in the inland countries of the *Gold Coast*.

DINKIRA, or DUNKIRA.

THE natives have subjected three countries to their dominion, each of which produces some, tho' not much gold, viz. *Wassab*, *Encasse*, and *Juffer*; they border one upon another, and the last upon *Commany*. The gold of these countries, their own, and what they brought from other parts, satisfied the demand of the whole coast from *Axim* to *Succundee* about three years ago, during the *Commanian* wars; but since our peace with the *Commanians*, the roads being free and open to the merchants, the distance of several places from them, makes them not travel farther at present than to *Chama*, *Commany*, *Mina*, and *Cabo Corso*: wherefore the higher coast is not extraordinarily supplied with gold; for tho' there are some countries betwixt *Dinkira* and them, which have gold mines; to instance in *Egwi-rra* and *Adom*, besides *Abocroe* and *Ancober*, which also have a small share; yet all added together will not amount to a quantity sufficient to supply all the upper forts. In the year 1694, I heard the *Brandenburghers* complain, that they could not receive two marks of gold in a whole month's time; nor did we fare much better in our forts, trade being extremely dull at that time.

The gold which is brought us by the *Dinkirans* is very pure, except only that it is too much mix'd with *Fetiches*; which are a sort of artificial gold, composed of several ingredients, among which some are very oddly shaped. These *Fetiches* they cast in moulds, made of a sort of black and very heavy earth, into what form they please; and this artificial gold is frequently mix'd with a third part, and sometimes with half silver and copper, and consequently less worth, and yet we are pester'd with it at all parts of the coast; and if we refuse to receive it, some *Blacks* are so unreasonable, that they will certainly take back all their pure gold: so that we are obliged sometimes to suffer them to shuffle in some of it. There are also *Fetiches* cast of unalloyed mountain gold, which very seldom come to our hands, because they keep them to adorn themselves; so that if ever we meet with them, those who part with them are oblig'd to it by necessity.

Reflect.  
(p. 33.)  
XIII.

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**BARBOT.** fity, or they are fill'd with the mention'd black heavy earth, with which the unskilful are liable to be basely cheated, receiuing instead of gold, frequently half the weight in this sort of earth.

By what has been said, you may imagine how rich and potent the kingdom of *Dinkira* was. But a few months ago it was so entirely destroy'd, that it lies at present desolate and waste. Certainly it cannot be unpleasant to inform you, how such a fatal and sudden destruction fell upon this so potent a land, as well as whence their ruin proceeded, which I am oblig'd to take from the report of some of the natives; and the event has given me sufficient reason to believe they told truth.

*Dinkira*, elevated by its great riches and power, became so arrogant, that it looked on all other *Blacks* with a contemptible eye, esteeming them no more than its slaves; which render'd it the object of their common hatred, each impatiently wishing its downfall, tho' no nation was so hardy as to attack it, till the king of *Affiante*, injured and affronted by its governor, adventured to revenge himself of that nation in a signal manner.

Occasion of the ruin of Dinkira. The occasion of which was this. *Bosfante*, the king of *Dinkira*, a young prince, whose valour was become the admiration of all the *Blacks* of the coast, sent some of his wives to compliment *Zay*, the king of *Affiante*; who not only receiv'd and entertained them very civilly, but sent them back with several very considerable presents, to express his sense of that grateful embassy; and being resolv'd to return the favour, he a while after sent some of his wives to compliment the king of *Dinkira*, and assure him of the great esteem he had for his person. Those ambassadresses were no less splendidly treated at *Dinkira*, being also loaded with presents; but the king cast a wanton eye upon one of them, and hurried on by exorbitant lust, gratified his brutal desire. After satiating of which, he suffer'd her, together with the rest, to return to their country, and the injur'd husband, who was informed of this affront: but he took care to make the king of *Dinkira* sensible, that he would not rest till he had washed away the scandal in his injurious blood. When he was made sensible of the king of *Affiante's* resolution, knowing very well who he had to deal with, he heartily wished he had not been guilty of the crime; but since it was done, he offer'd him several hundred marks of gold to put up the injury. The enraged *Zay*, deaf to all such offers, prepared for a vigorous war, raising a strong army, in order to invade *Dinkira*; and not being sufficiently stor'd with gun-powder; he bought up great quantities on the coast: the *Din-*

*kirans* being foolish enough to assist him themselves, suffered his subjects to pass with it uninterrupted through their country, notwithstanding they knew very well it was only designed for their destruction. Whilst he was making these preparations, the king of *Dinkira* died; which might encourage a belief, that the impending cloud of war would blow over. Whether the governors of *Dinkira* were too haughty to implore a peace of the injured *Zay*, or whether he was instigated by the enemies of that country, is uncertain: but he still immoveably persisted in his purpose, of utterly extirpating the *Dinkirans*: and about the beginning of the year 1701, or 1702, I am not positive, being compleatly ready, he came with a terrible army into the field, and engaging the *Dinkirans*, who expected him, worsted them; and in a second engagement entirely defeated them. The *Blacks* report, that in those two battles, above a hundred thousand men were slain: of the *Blacks* of *Akim* only, who came to the assistance of the *Dinkirans*, there were about thirty thousand kill'd, besides a great *Caboceiro* of *Akim*, with all his men cut off. The plunder after this victory took up the *Affiantines* fifteen days time, and *Zay's* booty alone amounted to several thousand marks of gold, as is affirmed by one of our *European* officers, who was sent on some embassy to *Zay*, and says, he has several times seen the treasure. This messenger of ours, who is now in the *Affiante* camp, has orders to take an exact account of what he hears and sees there. Thus you see the tow'ring pride of *Dinkira* in ashes, they being forc'd to fly before those, whom they not long before thought no better than their slaves, and are themselves now sold as such.

#### ACCANY, or ACANNY.

**F**OR three years past, those *Blacks* have Bosman, not much traded with us, (the *Dutch*;) p. 77. for they, on what account I am ignorant, Ruin of Accany. falling out with the *Dinkirans*, were so beaten, that all their governing men, and no small number of the inferior people, were killed and taken prisoners; to redeem whom out of slavery, they were obliged to strip themselves of all they were possess'd of in the world; by which means they were reduced to the utmost poverty and inability to defend themselves. But the *Dinkirans* themselves being now ruined as well as they, and having declared for the king of *Affiante*, perhaps these may recover some of their ancient lustre.

#### A K I M, or A K A M,

**I**S a spacious country, having the king- Id. p. 78. dom of *Gago* on the north, that of *Affiante* at west, *Tafou* at east, and *Akinis* or *Accany*



*Accany* at south, furnishing as large a quantity of gold, as any land that I know, and that the most valuable and pure. It was formerly a vast monarchy, and now a kind of commonwealth. The young successor being yet but young, and betraying but too palpable signs of a cruel nature, has not been able to make himself master of the whole land, but is obliged to be content with a part; for the governing men of the kingdom, fearing he will prove a great tyrant, to restrain him, have taken a part of the administration into their hands, which proves very well for *Accany* and *Aquamboe*.

We have always esteem'd *Dinkira*, *Acanony* and *Akim*, to be the richest countries in gold; but that there certainly are several more, is undeniable. *Affiante* is a convincing proof of this, which being but lately known to us, we find affords more gold than *Dinkira*, as does *Ananse*, a country situate betwixt *Affiante* and *Dinkira*; as there are undoubtedly many more, with which we are yet utterly unacquainted.

ASSIANTE, or INTA,

**I**S, according to most modern and correct accounts, a kingdom, far inland, north of *Awine*, and *Iffeny*, where begins the *Gold Coast*. It borders at west, on that of *Mandinga*; at east on *Akam*; at south-east on *Accany*, or *Akinis*; and at north-east by north on the kingdom of *Gago*, from which gold is said to be brought to *Morocco*, by the caravans of *Tombut*, which lies north of *Gago*; the country of *Meczara* being betwixt both kingdoms, in the semicircle the *Niger*, or the *Senega* river or *Ica*, makes there, bending northward, to fifteen degrees and a half north latitude, near the city of *Tombut*. As I have observed in the description of *Nigritia*, I shall also mention hereafter in this Supplement, in treating of the vast trade drove from many parts of *Africa*, at the city of *Tombut*, the prodigious quantity of pure fine gold brought thither from *Mandinga*, and from *Tidar*. Thus by consequence, this kingdom of *Affiante*, being so near to other countries so rich in gold, it may be well supposed, to abound in the same metal, or to fetch it from the others, to drive a trade towards the *Gold Coast*, of late years begun to be open'd.

AWINE.

*Awine*  
subdu'd.

**I** Take it to be the very first on the *Gold Coast*, and far above *Axim*. From the inhabitants of this country we formerly used to receive abundance of pure fine gold; and they being the civillest and fairest dealers of all the *Blacks*, we traded among them with a great deal of pleasure: but the *Dinkirans*, who would lord it over all their neighbouring nations, subdu'd this; since which time,

we have not receiv'd much gold from them. BARBOT.  
In the conquest of this land, the *Dinkirans* were very brave and obstinate, and had no doubt been subdu'd themselves, if the natives of *Awine* could have been unanimous: for the *Dinkirans* in one battle with a governour of theirs, lost above two thousand men, and left the said governour such an absolute victory, that there was not a single person left to carry the news to *Dinkira*; they being all kill'd with poison'd arrows, which the *Awinese* know very well how to use. Upon this defeat, the *Dinkirans* got together a numerous army, which the victorious *Awinese* understanding, sent to his countrymen for farther assistance; instead of which, he met with nothing but derision, they accusing him with cowardice; and replying, that he was able to beat the *Dinkirans*: but if he was beaten, it was their turn to come and fight them man by man. Thus fighting one to one, they lost their country and themselves entirely, almost in the same manner as the *Chinese* were conquer'd by the *Tartars*; whereas if they would have united, they might easily have beaten the *Dinkirans*.

A modern author mentions a kingdom of *Anguine*, in which the *Rio de Sueiro da Costa* rises; near the banks of which, he takes notice of a town of the same name, bordering it at north-east on that of *Affiante* or *Inta*, before mention'd, which perhaps may be the *Awines* country spoken of in this paragraph: if so, then it lies about eighty leagues up the said river *da Sueiro da Costa*.

By what has been said both here, and in the precedent description of the gold countries, you may collect that the gold is brought to the *Gold Coast* mostly from the inland countries, lying from the ninth degree of north latitude, downwards south to the *Gold Coast*, in four degrees and a half, and from the fifth degree west, to the third degree east longitude of the meridian of *London*: besides what gold may come likewise through these several countries, from *Mandinga* and *Gago*, adjoining to them at west and at north.

It is not possible to inform you better, as to the situation of the said countries, than I have done it there: because the *Blacks* cannot give any certain account of them, nor do any of the *Europeans* go so far.

I return to the account I have undertaken to give, of the most remarkable changes and transactions, that have happen'd at the coast of *Guinea*, since 1682: which I interrupted at the paragraph concerning *Alampoe*.

COTOSES Country,

**I**S a kingdom considerable in strength, Bosman, but abates daily by its wars with *Popo*, p. 329. which have continu'd for some years successively; and they being pretty even in force,

**BARBOT** force, unless they make peace, their dispute is not like to be ended before one of them engages some other country to their assistance: but *Aquamboe*, who would keep them both on foot, takes care that neither be destroy'd, sending supplies of forces to the weakest side.

When *Aquamboe* was govern'd by two chiefs, those of *Popo* had a strong supporter of the old, as they of *Coto* of the young king; thus each side was continually furnish'd with *Aquamboean* props.

But how it will go with them when the old king is dead, time will show.

Those of little *Popo*, in 1700, watched their opportunity, and surprizing those of *Coto*, fell upon them, and oblig'd them to quit their country; yet I doubt not but the *Aquamboes* will soon reinstate them, and clap a bridle into the mouth of the *Popo*eans,

I found the inhabitants there very good-natur'd and courteous, and receiv'd several civilities from them, especially from the king. When I told him, that after having accomplish'd my merchandize at *Fida*, I design'd to return by land, he offer'd to come himself with his whole force, to receive me on the borders of his territories, and to conduct me beyond *Rio Volta*, to secure me against any mischief from the strolling robbers. I had accepted this kind offer, had not those of little *Popo*, who also promised to conduct me through the extent of their land, caus'd me to be dissuaded from it by their ambassadors, under pretence they were afraid I might be set on by the robbers, before they came to me.

This dissuasive was very faint, and the said ambassadors underhand encourag'd me to this land tour, urging it as their private advice, which naturally discover'd their villainy; which was, that they design'd to murder me on my journey, and consequently to have stoln all my goods; besides which, they would yet have clear'd themselves, by urging that they advis'd me against going that way.

#### Little POPO.

**T**HE natives are not numerous, but very warlike. Not many years since they had a brave soldier for their king, whose name was *Afforri*, brother to the present king. That prince, on account of his valour, was very much fear'd and respected; but his greatest stock of fame, redounded to him, when the *Fidalgo* of *Offra* rebell'd against the king of great *Ardra*, his master, whose yoke he shook off, and kill'd our chief factor *Holwerf*.

For to revenge those accumulated crimes, the king of *Ardra*, persuad'd king *Afforri* to come against him with all his forces; which he did, and made such short work

with those of *Offra*, that he conquer'd as soon as saw them; wasted their country, and deliver'd the offender into his sovereign's hands. Not content with this victory, and push'd on by the king of *Ardra*, he march'd against the people of *Fida*, and encamp'd in their country; but wanting powder, he delay'd attacking the *Fidasians*, in expectation of having it sent him according to the king of *Ardra's* promise: which he did not fail to do in a large quantity under a good convoy; but the *Fidasians* getting intelligence of it, fell upon the convoy, with a very strong party, defeated it, and seized all the powder. *Afforri* being inform'd of it, and finding himself, for want of ammunition, not able to stand against his enemies, made a speedy as well as very seasonable retreat; for the *Fidasians* intended to have fallen on him with their whole force the next day, when he and all his army would probably have been very roughly treated.

The *Fidasians* inform'd of his flight, were not in the least inclin'd to pursue him, but on the contrary rejoiced to be rid of such a dangetous enemy.

*Afforri* being return'd into his own territories, was acquainted that his neighbours of *Coto* were ready to have assist'd *Fida*, if he had staid any longer in their country; which he so highly resent'd, that with the utmost animosity he took the field against them, and desiring nothing more than to come to a close engagement, attack'd them, tho' stronger than himself: but they receiv'd him so warmly, that they quickly kill'd a great part of his army. Upon this, furiously enrag'd and desperate, and careless of himself, he flew among the thickest of the enemy; where he was so surrounded, that it was impossible for him to return, and with several of his men, after a valiant resistance, was left dead on the spot.

The present king, tho' more peaceable and mild, yet prudently reveng'd his brother's death on the *Cotosians*, always attacking them in their weakest condition; which measures he pursu'd so long, as to drive them out of their country.

#### GREAT POPO.

**T**HE king of this little country was first subject to *Fida*, but the present <sup>King of</sup> *Popo* king being set upon the throne by the king <sup>revolts.</sup> of *Fida*, now reigning in the room of his brother whom he had banish'd, in return for the favours of the *Fidasian* monarch, he has withdrawn his allegiance, and thrown off that yoke: at which the *Fidasian* was so much enraged, that he rais'd a great army, which he sent against *Popo*, together with the assistance and ammunition he receiv'd from some *French* ships, that then lay before *Fida*, desiging nothing less than to extir-

page

Double dealing.

*Afforri* a brave Black.

pate them; which he was also encourag'd to hope, because the *French* ships likewise fail'd to fall upon that country by sea. But *Popo* being an island situate in the midst of the river, both the *French* and *Fidasians* were forc'd to make use of floats to come at them; and that nation had put it self in such a posture of defence, that it not only receiv'd its enemies warmly, but after much blood shed, put them to flight without the loss of one man on their side: for they fir'd very briskly out of their houses, and unperceiv'd of their enemies, by which means they kill'd a great number of *French* and *Fidasians*; and so disorder'd their forces, that throwing down their arms, they run over one another to make their escape; and if the *Popo*eans had follow'd their victory, in all probability, not one *French* man would have escap'd alive, they not being so swift as the *Blacks*.

Since that so unsuccessful enterprize, the king of *Fida* has not ventur'd on any fresh attempt with his own forces; but has been endeavouring, even to this present time, to hire other nations to engage in the quarrel. But tho' it has already cost him large sums, yet the only success he has met with, is to be cheated on all sides; wherefore, much against his will, he is oblig'd to suffer the king of *Popo* to remain in quiet possession of his island.

FIDA by the English called WHIDAH, and by the French JUYDA.

Bosman, p. 337.

WHEN I was there in the year 1698, besides slaves there were five men lost, viz. a *Portuguese* captain, a clerk, and three *English* sailors; as also two captains, who were brought ashore for dead, and lived but a very little while after.

This port has cost me, or rather the company, at several times, above two hundred pounds; and doubtless it must have been more expensive to the *English*, and others, who have not so good rowers.

Dangerous coast.

It is very incommodious and dangerous, by reason of the horrible breaking of the sea; but especially in *April*, *May*, *June*, and *July*. About that season, dismal accidents are very frequent there; great quantities of goods are lost, and many men drowned.

A few years after I left the coast of *Guinea*, in 1682, the *French* abandon'd their lodge at *Fida*, because of the changes that happen'd in the affairs of their *African* company; and several years after that, a new *African* company being establish'd in *France*, they settled a factory at *Fida*, as have also the *Dutch*, who in my time had none there, only one at *Offra*, in the *Ardra* country; and according to the following memoir, those factories are turn'd into forts, as well as the *English* lodge.

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Reff. p. 34. XIV.] *Whidab* is a fort about <sup>BARBOT</sup> one hundred yards square, belonging to the *English*, with four large flankers, all of <sup>English fort.</sup> earth, having a battery with twenty one good guns mounted, and a trench about twenty foot deep and eighteen foot wide about it; and commonly guarded by about twenty *White* men and one hundred *Gromet-toes*. It stands about three miles from the water side, between a *Danish* fort at *Acra*, to the westward, and two forts belonging to the *French* and *Dutch*, within half a mile.

About four miles from *Whidab*, in the king's town, the company have a factory- <sup>Factories.</sup> house, a place of very considerable trade; but it is a wretched place, as well as all other *European* settlements, to live in, by reason of the adjacent swamps, whence proceed noisome stinks and such swarms of mosquitoes or gnats, as plague men night and day in an intolerable manner. From the *English* factory to the king's town is four miles, through very pleasant fields, full of *India* and *Guinea* corn, potatoes, and ignames in great plenty, of which they have two crops in a year, and along the roads are several villages. This was in 1693 and 1694.

These are the three principal places for purchasing great numbers of slaves, about half a mile distant from each other.

*Bosman*, p. 366.] Our lodging here, which the king caused to be built for me, is very large, containing three warehouses and seven chambers, besides a beautiful court within, adorn'd on each side with a cover'd gallery; but the lodgings of the rest of the *Europeans* are very mean and inconvenient.

The *Brandenburghers* have also a factory at *Fida*, since the year 1684.

The same king that was at *Fida* in my time 1682, was still vigorous in 1701, and then about fifty two or fifty three years of age; but as brisk and sprightly as a man at thirty five.

I have been told by a *French* gentleman, prisoner of war at *Southampton*, that this king of *Whidab* died in 1708, and that his death occasion'd a civil war there. One of the principal natives of the country, aspiring to the succession, got together an army of twelve or fifteen thousand men, of his party, to oppose the former king's son, then about twenty eight years of age; but the young prince being supported by the *English* and *French*, who lent him about two hundred *European* soldiers or mariners, soon forc'd the disturber to retire, and was afterwards with the general consent of the people enthron'd; and near one hundred and fifty of the principal rebels, who had been taken, were sold as slaves to the *French* of the *Assiento*, and most of them carry'd to *Martinico* and sold there. The young king distributed about

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**BARBOT.** one hundred of them among the *French* and *English*, who had so generously assisted him to ascend the throne of *Whidab*, and gave other presents to the men that were upon the expedition.

That prince is a great favourer of all *Europeans* residing or trading in his country, but least of the *Portuguese*; tho' they are allow'd a lodge there, as well as the others. Those factories or lodges are now all enclosed with high mud-walls, like fortresses, and each of them has some cannon, more or less, to defend it, with a small garrison, besides factors and servants, which the former king allow'd of upon the pressing instances of our *European* chief factors there, as the only way to prevent their said factories being robb'd and pillag'd, as they had been often before by the natives, notwithstanding all their watchfulness; which occasion'd frequent disputes and contests among them.

This new king administers very impartial justice, and will not suffer any *European* factor to abuse, or encroach upon another, but will have them all live in unity.

## A R D R A

Bosman,  
p. 396.

**F**Arther inland are yet more potent kingdoms than this; but I know nothing, or very little of them, except that whilst I was at *Fida*, one of their ambassadors came to the king of *Great Ardra*, to acquaint him from his master, that several *Ardrasian Blacks* had been with him to make their complaints, and to advise him to take care, that his viceroys treated those poor men more gently; or else he should be oblig'd, tho' much against his will, to come to their assistance, and take them into his protection.

The king of *Great Ardra*, instead of making a proper use of this wholesome advice, laughed at it, and in farther despiht to that king, murder'd his ambassador; upon which, he was so violently as well as justly enraged, that with the utmost expedition, he caused an army, by the *Fidasians* augmented to the number of ten hundred thousand men, to fall into their country; and those being all horse, and a warlike nation, in a short time subdu'd half the king of *Ardra's* territories, and made such a slaughter among his subjects, that the dead being innumerable, they commonly expressed it by saying, they were like the grains of corn in the field. This looks very fabulous, insomuch, that tho' it is confirm'd to me by oaths, I do not vouch it for a truth. But it is certain that the slaughter was prodigious, and that the general of that great army, contenting himself therewith, return'd home, expecting to be very well receiv'd by his master, but found himself mistaken; for the king caused him to be hang'd on a tree, because, ac-

ording to his order, he did not bring the person of the king of *Great Ardra* along with him, on whom, and not on his subjects, he had intended his revenge.

You may please to observe, what mischiefs this prince brought upon himself, as also that the law of nations is as well observ'd among those *Heathens* as us *Europeans*: for that great monarch did not think himself satisfy'd by the death of so many thousand men, for the murder of his ambassador, but would rid the world of the particular occasion of it. Which whether he afterwards did, I have not yet heard.

## B E N I N.

*David van Nyendael's* voyage to *Benin*,  
Sept. 1. 1702.

**I**N the beginning of my letter of the city <sup>Bosman, p. 466.</sup> of *Benin*, (*Oedo*), I inform'd you of its mean state at present, and that the greatest part of it lies desolate; which indeed is deplorable, by reason the circumjacent country is as pleasant as could be wish'd, where no interposing hill or wood rudely interrupts the agreeable prospect of thousands of charming trees, which by their wide extended branches, full of leaves, seem to invite mankind to repose under their shade.

The ruin of this town and neighbouring land, was occasion'd by the king's causing two kings of the street to be kill'd, under colour that they had attempted his life, tho' all the world was satisfy'd of the contrary, and thoroughly convinc'd, that their excessive wealth was the true cause of their death, that the king might enrich himself with their effects, as he did.

After this barbarity, the king found also a third man that stood in his way; who being universally belov'd, was timely warned of that prince's intention, and accordingly took his flight, accompany'd by three fourths of the inhabitants of the town: which the king observing, immediately assembled a number of men from the adjacent country, and caused the fugitives to be pursu'd, in order to oblige them to return; but his troops were so warmly receiv'd by this king of the street and his followers, that they forc'd them to return with bloody noses, and give their master an account of their misadventure. He resolving not to rest there, makes a fresh attempt, which succeeded no better than the former; nor was that all, for the fugitive, throughly incens'd and flush'd, came directly to the city, which he plunder'd and pillag'd, sparing no place but the king's court, and then retir'd; but incessantly continu'd for the space of ten years to rob the inhabitants of *Great Benin*, till at last by the mediation of the *Portuguese*, a peace was concluded betwixt him and the king, by which he was entirely pardon'd

Terrible  
slaughter.

don'd all that was past, and earnestly request- ed to return to his former habitation: How- ever he would not trust himself there, but lives two or three days journey from *Benin*, where he keeps as great a court and state as the king.

The returning citizens were affably and amicably receiv'd by the king, and prefer-

red to honourable offices, in order by those BARBOT. means to induce the rest to return; which probably they will not do, as being very well contented where they are. Wherefore it is to be feared, that the greatest part of this town is still likely to continue uninhabited.

An ABSTRACT of a Voyage to *New Calabar River*, or *Rio Real*, in the year 1699.

Taken out of the Journal of Mr. *James Barbot*; Super-Cargo, and Part-Owner with me, and other Adventurers of *London*, in the *Albion-Frigate*, of 300 Tons and 24 Guns, a Ten per Cent. Ship.

THE thirteenth of *January* 1698-9, we sail'd from the *Downs*.

The third of *February*, we had sight of *Porto Santo*, and of the island *Madera*.

The fifth, we saw the island *Palma*, one of the *Canaries*, at south-east, a great distance.

Tenth, we built up our sloop, on our deck.

Thirteenth, saw cape *Verde*, distant six leagues east south-east.

Twenty-third, cape *Mesurado*, seven leagues at east by north.

Twenty fifth, we anchor'd before *Sestro* river; there we staid till the twentieth of *March*, getting in wood, water, rice, malaguettes, fowls, and other refreshments and provisions, &c.

King *Pieter* was still alive and well; we got but few elephants teeth, because very dear.

Twentieth of *March*, sail'd from *Sestro* river.

Twenty eighth, pass'd by *St. Andrew's* river.

Seventh of *April*, came before *Axim*, the first *Dutch* fort on the *Gold Coast* of *Guinea*.

Eighth, anchor'd before the *Prussian* fort, *Great Fredericksburgh*, at *Tres-Pontas*.

The *Prussian* general receiv'd us at his fort very civilly, but told us, he had no occasion for any of our goods; the trade being every where on that coast, at a stand, as well by reason of the vast number of interlopers and other trading ships, as for the wars among the natives, and especially that which the *English* and *Dutch* had occasion'd on account of a *Black* king the *English* had murder'd, which must be the king of *Commodo* before mention'd in this Supplement, and that the armies had actually been in the field for eight months, which stopt all the passes for merchants to come down to the forts, to trade; that it was expected there would be a battle speedily, betwixt them; that the *Hollanders*, a people very jealous of their commerce at the coast, were very studious to have the war carried on among the *Blacks*, to distract as long as possible

the trade of other *Europeans*, and to that effect were very ready to assist upon all occasions the *Blacks*, their allies, that they might beat their enemies, and so the commerce fall into their hands.

The ninth we came to an anchor before the *Prussian* fort, *Great Fredericksburgh*, a very handsome fortress, mounted with about forty guns. The general told me, that six weeks before in his return from cape *Lope* to *Tres-Pontas*, he had been assaulted by a pirate, who was forc'd to let him go, being too warmly receiv'd; and that there were two or three other pirates, cruising about that cape and *St. Tome*.

On the tenth, a small *Portuguese* ship anchor'd by us, the master a *Black* said he had been but three weeks from *St. Tome*, and that about three months before he saw there four tall *French* ships coming from the coast of *Guinea*, loaded with slaves, mostly at *Fida*; one of them commanded by *Cbr. Damou*. Those ships were sent by the *French* king with a particular commission, to purchase slaves in *Guinea*, to indemnify the freebooters of *St. Domingo*, for their pretensions to the booty taken formerly at *Cartagena* by Mess. *de Poinis* and *du Casse*, in lieu of money; and thereby engage them to return to *St. Domingo*, and push on their settlement there, which they had abandon'd; it being agreed to sell them the slaves, at no more than two hundred and fifty livres, per each *Indian* piece at *St. Domingo*, which accordingly has made them return to their settlements there. Those ships had been forc'd to give near fifty crowns a piece, at *Fida*; slaves being then pretty thin at that place, and in great demand.

The *Blacks* there, through malice, had diverted the channel of the fresh water ashore, to hinder us taking any, of which we complain'd to the *Prussian* general, who thereupon gave orders to let us have water.

He lent us some of his bricklayers, to set up our copper aboard, for our slaves before-hand.

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**BARBOT.** The *Portuguese* master begg'd our protection to convoy him safe to cape *Corso*, in his way to *Fida*, fearing the *Hollanders* at *Mina*, who, whenever they can, force all *Portuguese* ships to pay them a very high toll, for the permission of trading at the coast.

We have abundance of our men sick, and several already dead, the weather being intolerably scorching hot, and we can hardly get any provisions for them, but a few goats very dear: we had from the *Portuguese*, one goat, one hog, and seven chickens, for five *Akies* in gold.

Here we perceiv'd that above an hundred pounds worth of horse-beans, we had bought at *London*, for subsisting our slaves in the voyage, were quite rotten and spoil'd, for want of being well stow'd and look'd after ever since.

*Interlopers.* On the seventeenth of *April*, we were before *Mina* castle, and found seven sail in the road, three or four of them tall ships; among which two frigats, each of about thirty guns, and a hundred and thirty men, cruizers at the coast; who had taken three interlopers of *Zealand*, one of which carried thirty-six guns, who having made a brave resistance, the commander was to be try'd for his life. One of the frigats having been already two years at the coast, was ready to return home, with a thousand marks of gold.

The eighteenth, anchored at cape *Corso* road, where we rid by two *English* ships, on eight fathom, muddy sandy ground; the *Portuguese* vessel in our company was set adrift, his cable breaking; and sending his boat to weigh the anchor, in very boisterous weather, from south-west, the boat overfet, and three of his men were drown'd.

We found no corn there, every body telling us it was very dear at the coast.

On the twenty-first, we set sail, saluting the castle with seven guns, and anchor'd at *Anamabou*; where we purchas'd with much trouble, and at a very dear rate, a quantity of *Indian* wheat, and sold many perpets, and much powder: we paid three *Akies* for every chest of corn, which is excessive dear; but having lost all our large stock of horse-beans, were forc'd to get corn at all rates. Here the *Blacks* put a great value upon perpets, in painted wrappers; oil-cloths with gilt leads, with large painted arms of *England*.

The tenth, we sent the boat to *Anischan*, at east, for fewel; and bought her loading of billets at three *Akies* for each hundred, very dear wood.

The eleventh, we failed, and the twelfth pass'd by *Apong*, a *Dutch* fort, very advantageously situated; came to anchor at *Win-niba*, an *English* fort, and went ashore.

The fifteenth, we arriv'd at *Acra*, and anchor'd about a league and a half from shore. Here we stay'd to the twenty-sixth, trading for gold, slaves, and some few teeth; and diverting our selves by turns, with the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Danish* commanders of the forts; but more intimately with Mr. *Trawne*, the *Danish* chief, who has his lady with him.

The twenty-sixth, as we work'd our small bower aboard, both cable and buoy-rope breaking, we were forc'd to sail, leaving the anchor behind, which was hitch'd among the rocks at the bottom; and having purchas'd sixty-five slaves along the *Gold Coast*, besides gold and elephants teeth, saluted the three *European* forts, each with nine guns; and steered east south-east, for four or five leagues, then south-east by east for twenty-eight leagues, towards *New Calabar*, to buy more slaves.

The twenty-seventh, latitude observ'd five degrees four minutes north, moderate weather, the wind at south-west by west, being followed by our small sloop under sail; and at night it blew so hard, that to keep her company, we put out the fore-sail and two top-sails only.

The twenty-ninth, we guess'd we were near cape *Fermoso*, slow sail, because of our sloop having very rough sea, an heavy gale and rains.

The thirtieth, had sight of land, south-east by east of us, and came within two leagues of it, in ten fathom muddy sand, the sea carrying to land apace. Guessing we had run already near one hundred and ten leagues from *Acra*, and perceived then, that we miss'd cape *Fermoso*, which we expected to have seen at north of us; that the tide had drove us about fifteen leagues north-west of it, in the gulph of *Benin*; which was a mighty surprize, as well as a disappointment of our voyage to *Calabar*. Our sloop not being able to work it up, so well as the ship, because of the rough sea and high south-west and south south-west wind; were forc'd to come to anchor in seven fathom, muddy ground, in hopes of a land-wind, to favour us to the southward: this was on the thirtieth of *May*.

The thirty-first, we cast anchor again about a league and a half from land, at four degrees fifty minutes of our observation. This day the tide very swift, to northward, at half a league an hour; the land lying north and south, very low, flat, and all over woody: by our guess, since we sail'd from *Acra*, we thought to have gained thirty leagues southward; and consequently to be in a proper latitude for cape *Fermoso*; and in all this time we had but two observations, the weather being continually gloomy, and great rains. This day we reckoned to be fifteen leagues north north-west of cape *Fermoso*,

*moso*, wind high at south south-west, the tide at north.

First of *June*, good weather; but the tide violent to north, and rough sea, laying at anchor.

Second, hazy weather at anchor, and could not see our sloop.

Third, the sloop came up to us, with a west south-west wind; we were then under sail, steering south: but growing calm in the afternoon, anchored in five fathom, muddy ground, and heavy rain.

Fourth, fifth and sixth, still at anchor, wind south south-west and south-west, abundance of rain.

Seventh, in the morning our cable broke, and immediately let fall our sheet-anchor, the sea very high.

Eighth, sent both boat and pinnace to take up our lost anchor; but the boisterous weather could not allow the men to work up the buoy-rope: our people tryed again in the afternoon, but without effect.

Ninth, calm weather, the boats went to work the anchor, but the buoy-rope broke, and so the anchor was lost; which put us into a consternation, having but one anchor left aboard.

Those who say the navigation in *Guinea* is very easy, at this time, to the month of *August*, are strangely mistaken, and ought to carry a double quantity of anchors; for the sea is most days very high, and the wind at south south-west very fresh, blowing on the land; accompanied with very heavy long rains, which strain upon a ship continually, when at anchor; and the ground is very stony, or rather rocky, in many places, as at *Sestro*, *Axim*, *Tres-Pontas* and *Acra*.

It is also thought that the heavy showers of rain abate the furies of the sea; but we find the contrary: for during these five weeks past, we have had continually a high sea, dismal dark, and very cold days and nights, being as raw a cold as in the channel of *England*, in *September*: our sorry sloop is properly the occasion of our misfortune and retardment.

The twelfth, sail'd again, steering west and west by north, the tide still; in the afternoon the wind being south-west, we tack'd to south south-east, a fresh gale; at four in the afternoon to south by east, in six fathom, in sight of a river. At night we came to an anchor, in five and a half fathom, and bent our new cable for greater safety, having only this one anchor left us.

The thirteenth, the tide to south-east, the wind west south-west, and then west by south, a small gale; we sail'd to south, hazy rainy weather, along the shore, and at south we anchor'd in eight and a half fathoms, fearing a tornado.

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The fourteenth, rain, as cold as in *De-BARBOT's* cember in *England*, and raw weather: lay still at anchor.

The fifteenth, the same weather; at ten we failed, but immediately dropt anchor again, fearing a tornado.

The sixteenth, rain, set sail, steering south-east on eight fathom, and nine, at eleven a-clock; we reach'd cape *Fermoso*, which is not easy to be known. Coming from the north-west at two a-clock, we pass'd by *Rio Non*, steering easterly; at four pass'd by *Rio Oddy*, in seven fathom; at six at night, anchored in six fathom, north north-east and south south-west of *Rio Tilana*, or *St. Juan*.

The seventeenth, sail'd east along the shore, on six and seven fathom; at nine, we had *Rio St. Nicholas*, at north; at eleven, *Rio St. Barbara*; at one a-clock, pass'd the river *St. Bartholomeo*; at half an hour after two, *Rio Sombreiro*; and at three we came to an anchor, betwixt the latter, and *New Calabar* river, on five and a half fathom muddy sand, by guess north and south off *Foko* point.

The eighteenth, by day-break, we sent our long-boat with three men to sail to land for intelligence, and bring some *Black* to pilot us into *Calabar*, together with samples of some merchandize; we spy'd a ship in *Bandy* river, as much as we could see it. The tide running eastward at ten, we moor'd our ship about four leagues from shore, supposing we must lie there, and drive our trade in the river with our sloop and long-boat, thinking it impossible to find a proper channel, to carry so tall a ship in, drawing fourteen foot and a half water.

The nineteenth, we sent one of the pilots in the pinnace to sound the bar; he returned at seven at night with much trouble, the wind and sea being so high.

The twentieth, lay still, expecting the return of our long-boat from the river.

The twenty-first, at day-light, our warp broke, which was moor'd at south-east, because it had blow'd very hard all night, from south south-west, and south-west by south, and the ebb very strong, the weather very cold. We find, as the *Portuguese* master had told us at *Tres-Pontas*, the month of *June* hereabouts to be a *Diablo*, as he express'd it.

The twenty-second, rough sea at ebb-tide, wind south south-west; we are much concern'd for our long-boat not returning aboard.

The twenty-third, moderate clear weather, wind south south-west. At eleven a-clock we spy'd a boat near the bar; but being come aboard at one, found it was a great canoe with nine *Black* rowers, besides

6 A

other

**BARBOT** other Blacks, and the master of our long-boat, who reported that on the twentieth, being near the bar, and not possible to get out, he dropp'd his grappling, and a few hours after the rope broke, and was forc'd thus back to *Bandy* river, leaving on it a buoy-rope.

The king of *Bandy*, *William*, had sent us two or three of his pilots in the canoe, with certificates of several *English* masters of ships they had piloted formerly safe in, some of them drawing thirteen foot water; in case we were desirous to carry the frigate into the river.

Our man reported, that the ship we could see within the river was *English*, commanded by one *Edwards*, who had got his complement of slaves, being five hundred, in three weeks time; and was ready to sail for the *West-Indies*: and that he would spare us an anchor of about eleven hundred weight, which rejoiced us much.

He reported farther, that as soon as the Blacks could see our ship off at sea, they immediately went up the river to buy slaves, besides a hundred and fifty that were actually at *Bandy* town when he left it; and that king *William* had assur'd him, he engag'd to furnish five hundred slaves for our loading, all lusty and young. Upon which, we consulted aboard with the officers, and unanimously agreed to carry up the ship, if possible, for the greater expedition.

On the twenty-fourth, early, the weather being fair, the wind south-west, according to that resolution, we set all hands to get in our sheet-anchor, the only one we had; but it being so deep stuck in mud, could not bring it up; which put us to our utmost efforts. But whether the anchor was so deep in the mud, or among rocky stones, I cannot say, the ship pitching violently two strands off, our cable gave way, tho' it was a new one; which caused us immediately to chop it off, and then to wind on the warp, on which we had fastened a buoy, being an iron-bound hoghead.

At one in the afternoon, weighing our anchor, our warp broke, and with precipitation oblig'd us to chop off our cable, to get under sail to save the ship, as well as our persons if possible, at this time in great consternation, having thus lost all our anchors, the head at south-east, to endeavour to weather the breaking on the bar.

Thus we sail'd south south-east and south-east, better than an hour and a half, about two leagues from the place where we had lain at anchor; and having brought *Foko* point to north-west by north, and north north-west, and *Bandy* point to north by east about five leagues from us, we stood to north-west by north, and north-west, for some time, running on five and a half, five,

four and a half, and four fathom and a quarter; and all the while with the lead in hand to sound the depths. At three a-clock being about three leagues from the points aforesaid, we fell on a sudden on three and a half, and continu'd so for a while; then came to three, and two and three quarters fathom, and finally to two and a half. All then thought the ship lost, as often touching on the ground a-stern, especially the third stroke was very violent; but then, by providence, happening to set all our sails, the ship passed over and got in well, and by degrees found two and three quarters, three, and three and one quarter fathom, for above a league's course, the bottom being very uneven, three or four foot difference, more or less, at each lead cast. Thus sailing for two hours from three to four, and four to three fathom, we suddenly came again to two and a half, and the ship touch'd ground very slightly; but the sea being smooth, receiv'd no harm. At about five a-clock, we got the opening of *Bandy* river, and the sight of captain *Edwards*'s ship, riding before the king's town; at which moment we steer'd north-east, directly for the said river: three quarters past six brought *Bandy* point east and west, with a swift course of flood. The moon-shine served us to get the same tide to an anchor on fourteen fathom, before *Bandy* town, on a small anchor of three hundred weight, the only one we had left, and which we had at *Anamaboe* from an *English* ship; but that anchor being too light for so heavy a ship, and the tide so very strong, it required a long time, the ship driving, before it took hold of the ground sufficiently. Captain *Edwards* sent us soon after, a small anchor of six hundred weight, for that night only, till he could spare us his large anchor, as he had promis'd, which is very providential in the extremity we are reduced to; and after the dangers of shipwreck, from which we are now so happily preserved. Our *Black* pilots were properly of no use in our distress, pleading they never were sensible of so shallow water at the bar; and that it was at the nip tide, and at low water too, that the ship has pass'd over so luckily.

Captain *Edwards* seeing from a great distance, the danger we were in, through the ignorance of our blind pilots, who had mistaken the right channel, came out immediately in his pinnace, to assist and show us the proper channel: to that effect he stood to leeward of us, thinking we apprehended his meaning, to steer towards the pinnace, which he kept there for a mark for us, the bar being there not above half a mile of high ground, and yet at least three fathom water; whereas the channel we got through, is better than three miles and a half of bar: but we supposing the tide had driven him there,

Good place  
to buy  
slaves.

Sail into  
*Bandy*  
river.



there, took no notice of his design, and so proceeded, as above related, amidst many dangers and difficulties. But had we, as he said afterwards, when we had brought the two points, or capes of the river, to east and west, steer'd immediately north, and north by east, instead of running to north-west by north, and north north-west, as we did then; we had got in lieu of three or three fathom and a half at best, five, six, seven, and soon after eight fathom channel, at the place where he stood still with his pinnace.

Proposals  
to trade.

On the twenty fifth in the morning, we saluted the *Black* king of *Great Bandy*, with seven guns; and soon after fired as many for captain *Edwards*, when he got aboard, to give us the most necessary advice concerning the trade we designed to drive there. At ten he returned ashore, being again saluted with seven guns: we went ashore also to compliment the king, and make him overtures of trade, but he gave us to understand, he expected one bar of iron for each slave, more than *Edwards* had paid for his; and also objected much against our basons, tankards, yellow beads, and some other merchandize, as of little or no demand there at that time.

The twenty sixth, we had a conference with the king and principal natives of the country, about trade, which lasted from three a-clock till night, without any result, they insisting to have thirteen bars of iron for a male, and ten for a female slave; objecting that they were now scarce, because of the many ships that had exported vast quantities of late. The king treated us at supper, and we took leave of him.

The twenty seventh the king sent for a barrel of brandy of thirty five gallons, at two bars of iron *per* gallon; at ten we went ashore, and renewed the treaty with the *Blacks*, but concluded nothing at all, they being still of the same mind as before.

The twenty eighth, we sent our pinnace up the river to *Dony*, for provisions and refreshments; that village being about twenty-five miles from *Bandy*. Transacted nothing with *Blacks* of *Bandy* all this day.

The twenty ninth, had three great jars of palm-oil, and being foul weather, did not go ashore.

Trade ad-  
justed.

The thirtieth, being ashore, had a new conference, which produced nothing; and then *Pepprell*, the king's brother, made us a discourse, as from the king, importing, *He was sorry we would not accept of his proposals; that it was not his fault, he having a great esteem and regard for the Whites, who had much enriched him by trade. That what he so earnestly insisted on thirteen bars for male, and ten for female slaves, came from the country people holding up the price of slaves at their inland markets, seeing so many large ships re-*

*sort to Bandy for them; but to moderate mat-* BARBOT.  
*ters, and encourage trading with us, he would*  
*be contented with thirteen bars for males, and*  
*nine bars and two brass rings for females, &c.*  
Upon which we offered thirteen bars for men, and nine for women, and proportionably for boys and girls, according to their ages; after this we parted, without concluding any thing farther.

On the first of *July*, the king sent for us to come ashore, we staid there till four in the afternoon, and concluded the trade on the terms offered them the day before; the king promising to come the next day aboard to regulate it, and be paid his duties.

We took a large shark, which was given to the *Blacks* of *Bandy* to feast on. Our pinnace returned at night from *Dony*, brought a slave for ten bars of iron and a pint tankard; and a cow and a calf, which cost a hundred and fifty rings.

The second, heavy rain all the morning. At two a-clock we fetch'd the king from shore, attended by all his *Caboceiros* and officers, in three large canoes; and entering the ship, was saluted with seven guns. The king had on an old-fashion'd scarlet coat, laced with gold and silver, very rusty, and a fine hat on his head, but bare-footed; all his attendants shewing great respect to him: and since our coming hither, none of the natives have dared to come aboard of us, or sell the least thing, till the king had adjusted the trade with us.

We had again a long discourse with the king, and *Pepprell* his brother, concerning the rates of our goods and his customs. This *Pepprell* being a sharp blade, and a mighty talking *Black*, perpetually making sly objections against something or other, and teasing us for this or that *Dassy*, or present, as well as for drams, &c. it were to be wish'd, that such a one as he were out of the way, to facilitate trade.

We fill'd them with drams of brandy and bowls of punch till night, at such a rate, that they all, being about fourteen with the king, had such loud clamorous tattling and discourses among themselves, as were hardly to be endured.

Thus, with much patience, all our matters were adjusted indifferently, after their way, who are not very scrupulous to find excuses or objections, for not keeping literally to any verbal contract; for they have not the art of reading and writing, and therefore we are forced to stand to their agreement, which often is no longer than they think fit to hold it themselves. The king order'd the publick crier to proclaim the permission of trade with us; with the noise of his trumpets, being elephant's teeth, made much after the same fashion, as is used at the *Gold Coast*, we paying sixteen brass rings to the fellow

**BARBOT.** fellow for his fee. The *Blacks* objected much against our wrought pewter, and tankards, green beads, and other goods, which they would not accept of.

We gave the usual presents to the king and his officers; that is,

*Presents to the king, &c.* To the king a hat, a firelock, and nine bunches of beads, instead of a coat.

To captain *Forty*, the king's general, captain *Pepprell*, captain *Boileau*, alderman *Bougsby*, my lord *Willyby*, duke of *Monmouth*, drunken *Henry*, and some others, two firelocks, eight hats, and nine narrow *Guinea* stuffs.

We adjusted with them the reduction of our merchandize into bars of iron, as the standard coin, *viz.*

*Prices of goods.*

One bunch of beads, one bar. Four strings of rings, ten rings in each, one *ditto*. Four copper bars, one *ditto*. One piece of narrow *Guinea* stuff, one *ditto*. One piece broad *Hamborough*, one *ditto*. One piece *Nicanees*, three *ditto*. Brass rings, *ditto*.

And so *pro rata*, for every other sort of goods.

The price of provisions and wood was also regulated.

Sixty king's yams, one bar; one hundred and sixty slaves yams, one bar; for fifty thousand yams to be deliver'd to us. A butt of water, two rings. For the length of wood, seven bars, which is dear; but they were to deliver it ready cut into our boat. For a goat, one bar. A cow, ten or eight bars, according to its bigness. A hog, two bars. A calf, eight bars. A jar of palm-oil one bar and a quarter.

We paid also the king's duties in goods; five hundred slaves, to be purchased at two copper rings a head.

We also advanced to the king, by way of loan, the value of a hundred and fifty bars of iron, in sundry goods; and to his principal men, and others, as much again, each in proportion of his quality and ability.

To captain *Forty*, eighty bars. To another, forty. To others, twenty each.

This we did, in order to repair forthwith to the inland markets, to buy yams for greater expedition; they employing usually nine or ten days in each journey up the country, in their long canoes up the river.

*Disorderly feast.*

All the before regulations being so made, the supper was served. It was as comical as shocking, to observe those people's behaviour at table, both king and subjects making a confused noise, all of them talking together, and emptying the dishes as soon as set down, every one filling his pockets with meat, as well as his belly; especially of hams and neat's tongues, falling on all together, without regard to rank or manners, as they could lay their hands on it.

After having drank and eat till they were ready to burst, they returned ashore, being again saluted with seven guns.

On the third, the king returned aboard, to see some samples of all our goods, as he said; but it was only a pretence, for instead of that, he fell a drinking and eating all the while, and returned to town with his company, being saluted with three guns.

The fifth, the king sent aboard thirty slaves, men and women; of which we pick'd nineteen, and returned him the rest.

The sixth, the king came aboard with four slaves, which, with the nineteen others of the day before, made twenty three, for which we paid him two hundred and forty seven bars, three of the women having each a child. We allowed him for twenty four heads in specie, a hundred and twelve bars, in *Rangoes* ten bars, in beads forty six bars, in copper fifty one bars, and in *Guinea* stuffs twenty eight bars.

Thus from day to day, from this time to the twenty ninth of *August* following, either by means of our armed sloop making several voyages to *New Calabar* town, and to *Dony*, to purchase slaves and provisions; and by the contract made with the king, and his people of *Bandy* town, and circumjacent trading places; we had by degrees aboard six hundred and forty eight slaves, of all sexes and ages, including the sixty five we had purchased at the *Gold Coast*, all very fresh and sound, very few exceeding forty years of age; besides provisions of yams, goats, hogs, fowls, wood and water, and some cows and calves. As for fish, this river did not afford us any great quantity, which was a great loss to us, being forced to subsist the ship's crew with fresh meat from land, at a great charge, it being here pretty dear, and most of our salt meat being spent, and have but for three months more of sea-bisket left in the bread-room. Several of our sailors are tormented with cholicks, and some few dead.

On the thirteenth of *July*, captain *Edwards* riding at *Bandy* point, in order to put to sea, after he had sold us an anchor of eleven hundred weight, with one cask of beef, some deals and tar, &c. we sent our two mates and six men, in the pinnace, aboard him, to be rightly informed of the bar, for our going out when ready loaded.

*Mr. John Grazilhier's voyage from Bandy to New Calabar in Rio-Real, in our sloop.*

**T**HE twenty second of *July*, I sailed with a little cargo, for *Calabar* town. At six at night I anchored before a village call'd *Bandy*, situated in the north north-west part of the isle of the interlopers, where the *Portuguese* usually trade for slaves. On the twenty third, I set sail with the tide of flood, and about twelve at night came to anchor in *Calabar* river, and fired a pattarero, but no man came from shore.

Other  
prices of  
slaves.

The twenty fourth I came before the town of *Calabar*, and fired three guns, to salute the king; after which, I made him the usual presents of one cask of brandy, and a barrel of powder, with a hat: to the duke of *Monmouth* a hat; to the duke of *York* a piece of linen cloth; and to captain *Jan Alkmaers* another piece: these four being here the principal *Blacks*, who claim presents, before we can trade. And having adjusted the price of slaves and of our merchandize, I presented them also with a hat, a firelock, and a coat. Then the king caused the permission of trade to be proclaimed as at *Bandy*, viz. Twelve bars a man, nine a woman, and six a boy or girl.

The twenty fifth, I got fifteen slaves aboard the sloop, all young people.

The twenty sixth. This morning above forty great canoes parted from *Calabar* up the river, to purchase slaves inland. At noon I sent the sloop back to *Bandy*, to deliver aboard what slaves I had bought here, and staid ashore at the town, to expect her return with goods, to carry on the trade here at the return of the canoes from above.

The twenty seventh. Heavy rain all this day: about nine at night the canoes return'd with a great number of slaves.

The twenty eighth, I got eight slaves. Were our ship here, she would get slaves much faster than at *Bandy*; the *Calabar Blacks* being but two or three days out and home, to purchase them at inland markets: whereas the *Bandy* people, lying much lower, by the sea-side, are eight or ten days out and home, to get them down.

The twenty ninth, the sloop arrived, and immediately I went back to the ship at *Bandy* towards night, with forty four slaves; notwithstanding it rained all the day and this night.

The thirtieth, I came to *Foko* point, distant five leagues from *Calabar*, north and south.

The thirty first, early I sailed, the wind at west south-west, and arrived aboard the ship, at *Bandy*, about ten. To avoid the banks which lie north of this point, we steer'd east for half a league, and afterwards north-east, coasting the breaking of the sea to windward, in three, and two fathom and a half at low water, to the interlopers island; where we were careful to avoid a bank running out thence about a league. In our course to the point of *Bandy*, and from it to the town, is ten fathom deep all along.

The same night I returned to *Calabar* in the sloop, with a fresh cargo, taking Mr. *Barbot* with me; and arrived there the first of *August* at night.

The second of *August*, we got forty three slaves, and the same night went for *Bandy*, leaving Mr. *Barbot* at *Calabar* to trade; lodging his goods in king *Robert's* house.

V O L. V.

The third, I arrived aboard.

BARBOT.

The fourth, early I returned to *Calabar*, in company of a *Portuguese* ship, and arrived there at night. Mr. *Barbot* had thirty slaves ready, which I took in, and sailed immediately to *Bandy* on the fifth early. The *Portuguese* ship anchor'd before *Calabar*.

Thus we navigated the sloop to and fro, from *Bandy* to *Calabar*, till we had our compliment of slaves. At some trips, when the winds were contrary, and too high, we steer'd our course from *Bandy* to *Calabar* through the channel betwixt the long narrow island that lies to westward of the road, where there are some cottages of fishermen, who often brought us fish aboard ship. On the north side of this channel stands a timber building, which is seen as far off as the shore there. The beforementioned island is much higher than any lands. This building is like a barn at a distance; and about it, not very far, are some hamlets for fishermen. Mr. *Barbot* says, he once was in that barn, and observed there twenty five or thirty elephant's heads dried, set up all round the house on boards, which are the idols of the country, the *Blacks* resorting thither to pay their religious worship.

In the interval, saith *Grazilbier*, I made some voyages to *Dony*, as did Mr. *Barbot*, in our long-boat; at the second of which, on the eighth we came at night to *Dony*, and caused my goods to be carried to the king's house, being a man about forty five years of age. On the ninth I got three slaves, three cows, and one goat, all for fifty seven bars, the cows at eight bars a-piece, and returned aboard; but by reason of the bad weather, could not reach *Bandy* till the tenth, in the morning, when Mr. *Barbot* arrived also, a little before me, in the sloop, from *Calabar*, with thirty seven slaves.

#### DESCRIPTION of CALABAR.

THE town is seated in a marshy island, <sup>Barbot's</sup> often overflow'd by the river, the wa-<sup>journal.</sup>ter running even between the houses, whereof there are about three hundred in a disorderly heap. The king's is pretty high and airy, which was some comfort to me, during the time I staid there.

The land about the town being very barren, the inhabitants fetch all their subsistence <sup>Hackbous</sup> from the country lying to the northward of <sup>Blacks.</sup> them, called the *Hackbous Blacks*, a people much addicted to war and preying on their neighbours to the northward, and are themselves lusty tall men.

In their territories there are two market-days <sup>Markers:</sup> every week, for slaves and provisions, which the *Calabar Blacks* keep very regularly, to supply themselves both with provisions and slaves, palm-oil, palm-wine, &c. there being great plenty of the last.

6 B

King

**BARBOT.** King *Robert* is a good civil man, about thirty years of age.

*The king.* Every evening they club together at one another's houses, by turns; providing two or three jugs of palm-wine, each of them containing twelve or fifteen gallons, to make merry; each person, man and woman, bringing their own stool to sit on. They sit round and drink to one another out of ox's horns, well polished, which hold a quart or more, singing and roaring all the while till the liquor is out.

*Drinking.*

*Diet.* Their common food is yams boil'd with fish and palm-oil, which they reckon dainty fare.

Whilst I was at the town, they show'd me a considerable quantity of elephant's teeth, very large, but so very dear, they would have turned to no account in *Europe*.

*Idols.* Every house is full of idols, as well as the streets of the town. They call them *Jou-Jou*, being in the nature of tutelar gods. Many of them are dried heads of beasts, others made by the *Blacks* of clay and painted, which they worship and make their offerings to.

*Sacrifice.* Before the king goes aboard a ship newly come in, he repairs to his idol house, with drums beating, and trumpets sounding, all his attendants bare-headed. There he makes abundance of bows to those puppets, begging of them to make his voyage prosperous; and then sacrifices a hen, which is tied alive by one leg to the end of a long pole, and has a brass ring on the other leg, leaving the poor creature in that condition till it starves to death.

Every time their small fleet of canoes goes up for slaves, and when they return, they blow their horns or trumpets for joy; and the king never fails, at both those times, to pay his devotions to his idols, for their good success, and a short voyage.

The *Indians* of *Virginia* every time they return home from hunting or fishing, offer sacrifices of blood, hearts and tobacco, on altars erected in the fields.

The *Blacks* here are generally inhuman, treacherous, very thievish, and false to the most solemn engagements. I could observe no curiosities there, but only some shells I brought to *London* with me, and their weapons, made by the *Hackbous Blacks*, and such other things which I have represented in the cut here annexed.

PLATE 26.

There is a prodigious number of monkeys and apes about *Calabar*, but not handsome. They have also blue parrots. The natives give three or four monkeys for an old hat or coat, taking much pride to dress themselves in our sailors old rags.

#### DESCRIPTION of DONY.

ON the twenty fourth of *July* I went to *Dony*, distant about twenty five miles from

*Bandy* road, along the river, in the long-boat, and arrived there at four in the afternoon. The king being then gone to *Bandy-point* with some slaves, to sell to our people aboard, I staid for his return, and employ'd my time in walking about the town; and observed the country about it to be all overflowed, being a low swampy ground, cut in many places, with small rivers running into the great one of *Dony*.

It has plenty of cattle, hogs and goats, and a prodigious quantity of palm-wine, which is their usual drink. The cattle is small, especially cows.

I lay that night in the king's house, near his idol-house, which they call *Jou-Jou*, and are kept there in a large press, full of the skulls of their enemies killed in war, and others of beasts; besides a quantity of human bones and other trash, some of them moulded with clay, and painted as at *Calabar*. They are so superstitiously bigotted, that any person whatever, who offers to touch any of those things with his hand, is sure to be severely punished, and in danger of his life.

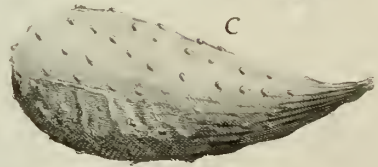
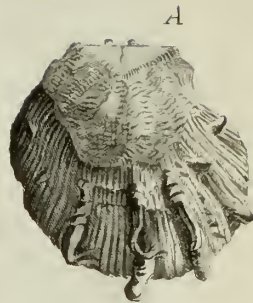
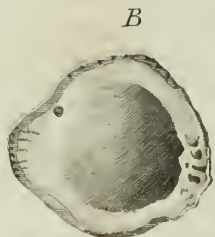
Besides those idols, they worship bulls, and a large sort of lizards, called *Gouanes* in the *French Caribbee* islands, as their prime gods; and it is not less than death to kill them.

Most of these *Blacks* are circumcised, and show great reverence to their priests or *Marabouts*; and whensoever they kill any beasts for their own eating, they reserve the entrails for their idol gods, which they lay on the little altars erected in many places to their honour.

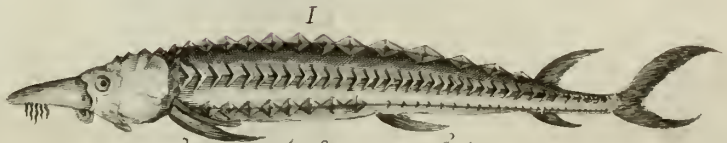
On the twenty fourth the king returned home, and obliged me not to go away till next day, to give time to the people to bring down their cattle from the country, it being the chief occasion of my voyage to get some there: yet the next day I could get but three cows, and three goats, the former at eight bars a-piece. About noon, on the twenty fifth, I sailed for *Bandy* with these cattle.

The king of *Dony* is a very good-natur'd civil man, speaks *Portuguese*, and seems to have been instructed by *Romish* priests, who are sent over from time to time, from *St. Tome* and *Brazil*. The first time he came aboard our ship, which was on the seventh of *July*, we presented him with a hat and a firelock; he invited us to traffick at his town, and we promised to send now and then some of our goods thither.

[*John Grazilbier's* voyage to *Dony* in 1704.] Mr. *Grazilbier* told me he was once hunting of elephants at *Dony*, in the moon-shine, with the king, and above an hundred *Blacks*, armed with muskets, cutlances, lances and saws, &c. They saw several elephants come near them about eleven at night, who were going



The English Isd<sup>l</sup>  
Redonda at ab<sup>t</sup> 5 Leagues distance



a Sturgeon 5 Foot Long Caught in Southton River

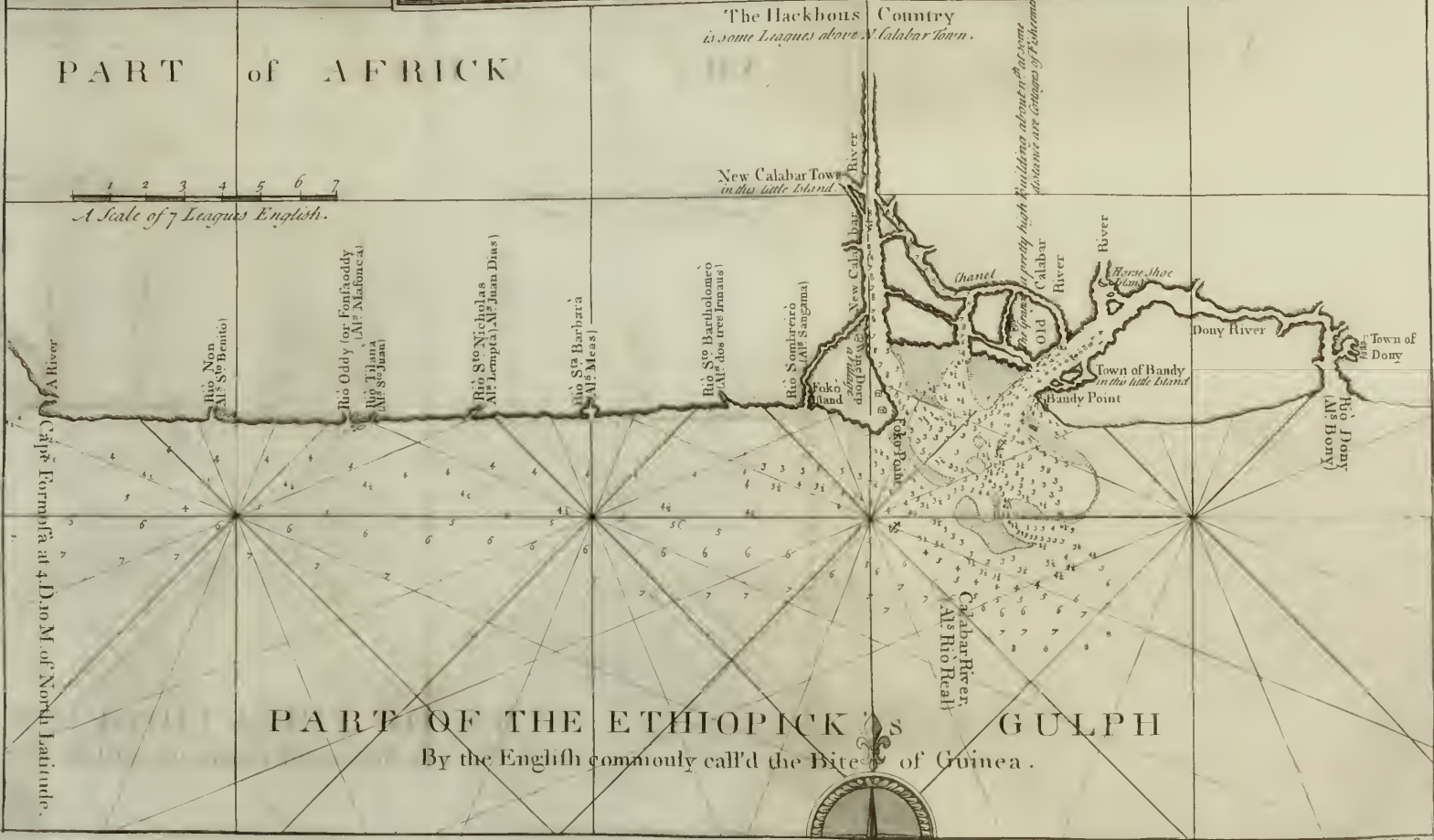
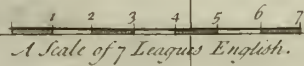




**A NEW CORRECT MAPP of CALBAR RIVER**  
 vulgarly call'd CALABAR. And by the Portugueſe RIO REAL. And alſo of the Coast  
 of GUINEA about it, from CAPE FORMOSA to DONY RIVER.  
*Drawn very exactly on the ſpot in the Year 1699 by ſeveral Pilots Jointly.*

PART of AFRICK

The Hackbous Country  
*is ſome Leagues above N. Calabar Town.*



PART OF THE ETHIOPICK'S GULPH  
 By the English commonly call'd the Bites of Guinea.





# A VOYAGE to New Calabar.

40

going to the river to drink, some of them were monstrous tall and large; but the *Negroes* durst not attack any, those animals making such a dreadful noise, that he was frightened at it.

Elephants.

When the *Blacks* happen to kill an elephant, they cut him in pieces, and divide the flesh among all the town's-people, who approve of it as good food, and have a natural hatred for this bulky creature; which does them much mischief, sometimes entering their villages, and overturning twenty or thirty houses, and killing all such of the inhabitants as are not nimble enough to make their escape betimes.

The river of *Bandy* falls into that of *Dony*: the mouth of this latter being to the southward of the town, discharging it self into the great ocean. This town is divided into three parcels.

The town of *Great Bandy* is seated in a little island, much as that of *Calabar*, being a marshy swampy ground, and somewhat larger, but like it in buildings, and the inhabitants of the same manners, temper and religion, so that it will be needless to say more of them; but I proceed to some general observations concerning the river of *New Calabar*, and the trade there.

Map of the river taken

Whilst we were by degrees taking in our compliment of slaves at *Great Bandy*, our mates, with the assistance and advice as well of captain *Edwards*, and the *Portuguese* master that lay there by us for a time, as of some of the most experienced native pilots of *Bandy* town, employed several days in our pinnace and canoes, to sound the channels, and depths of the bar and banks, that lie athwart the river's mouth, betwixt *Foko* and *Bandy*-point; with all necessary exactness and caution; and drew a map thereof, and of the rivers of *New Calabar* and *Dony*, which is here annexed, for the benefit of sea-faring men trading thither.

PLATE 27.

Feasting.

It is customary here for the king of *Bandy* to treat the officers of every trading ship, at their first coming, and the officers return the treat to the king, some days before they have their compliment of slaves and yams aboard. Accordingly, on the twelfth of *August*, we treated the king, and his principal officers, with a goat, a hog, and a barrel of punch; and that is an advertisement to the *Blacks* ashore, to pay in to us what they owe us, or to furnish with all speed, what slaves and yams they have contracted to supply us with, else the king compels them to it. At that time also such of the natives as have received from us a present, use to present us, each with a boy or girl-slave in requital. According to this custom we treated the *Blacks* ashore on the fifteenth of *August*, and invited the *Portuguese* master to it, as also the *Black* ladies; the king lend-

ing us his musick, to the noise of which we had a long diversion of dances and sports of both sexes, some not unpleasing to behold.

BARTON.

On the eighteenth, being fair weather, we sent the sloop to look for an anchor, which captain *Edwards* had left behind, near the bar, at his going out, his cable having broke; and at the same time to sound the skirts of the bar, and set marks.

On the nineteenth, towards night, the sloop returned, not being able to find *Edwards's* anchor, but found a channel pretty wide, that runs south-east, where there is no less than three fathom, and three and a half at low water, and not above two foot of fall; which rejoiced us very much, being near the time of our departure.

On the twenty second, we let fly our colours, and fired a gun, for a signal to the *Blacks*, of our being near ready to sail, and to hasten aboard with the rest of the slaves, and quantity of yams contracted for.

On the twenty sixth, came in a *Zealand* interloper of sixteen guns and forty men, in two days from *Prince's* island last, with a west south-west and south-west by west wind; and from *Zealand* in *March* before, having traded at the *Ivory*, and *Gold Coast*, and thence gone to *St. Tome* to set his effects there ashore in trust, came hither to look for teeth; and thence, was afterwards to proceed to traffick along the coast of *Gabon*, *Congo*, and *Angola*, for more elephant's teeth.

We got an anchor of about eleven hundred weight of him, for our sloop, with her masts, tack-sails, &c. A high extortion, if ever any was; for we could have got four hundred pieces of eight for the sloop at *St. Tome*: but necessity forced us to comply to so hard a bargain, in the condition we were reduced to, having but one only small anchor left us in so tall and rich a ship. And accordingly, on the twenty eighth we exchanged the sloop for the anchor, with the *Zealander*, and at six in the evening we sailed from *Bandy* with the tide of ebb, and a south-west wind, tacking and working the ship down, keeping constantly near the shore of *Bandy*-point, to avoid the banks that lie west of it, on which are some rocks; and at ten at night we dropped anchor within the said point, in nine fathom water, having *Foko*-point west by north of us, and that of *Bandy* at north-east, about half a league from land, and two *English* miles from the breakings of the sea, through which are several passages of channels. The channel at south-west and north-east of *Bandy*-point is found, there being fifteen to sixteen foot at low water; but being very narrow, it cannot be well sailed through, unless with a land wind; and at this time of the year such

Directions for sailing.

are

**BARBOT** are very rare. Wherefore we resolv'd to get out the next day through the channel that stretches to south-east; which is wide, and much more easy to sail in with the south-west wind now reigning.

On the twenty ninth, at break of day, we set sail, the weather fair, and little wind from south-west, we tack'd three or four times with the ebb. At seven in the morning we came near to the breaking, the point of *Bandy* then being at north north-east, about a mile from us; and *Foko* point west north-west, sounding six, five, four and a half, then three and four and a half; four, three and a half, and three fathom and three quarters. Having brought *Bandy*-point to north by east, we got three and a quarter, three and three quarters, and three fathom on the skirts of the bar; *Foko*-point being at west north-west, and *Bandy*-point north by east, half east, we found four, and then five fathom water.

It is to be observed, that there are two high grounds or bars to pass over; the first is betwixt two shoals of a breaking sea, where, when you have got *Bandy*-point at north-east, and *Foko*-point west north-west, there is no danger at all to range the banks of the south-west very close, the better to make sure the channel; which also is the deepest, for there you have four, four and a half, and five fathom. Coasting along the said bank for some time, and having got the same aboard, steering south south-east for a while, to weather the breaking sea at larboard; and then proceeding to the south-east by south, until you bring *Bandy*-point to bear north; then, in a very short time you'll get three and a half, three and a quarter, three, three and a half, three and a quarter, three and three quarters, &c. for a mile's course. And when *Bandy*-point bears north, somewhat west, you are past the dangers, and may boldly steer south by east for a time; for so then you'll come on three and a half, three and three quarters, and somewhat farther four, five, six, and seven fathom.

By this course it is easy enough to carry a ship out or into this river.

To carry a ship in, as coming from *Foko*-point, on five and four fathom and a half, at east and east by south; and having brought *Bandy*-point to bear north, and *Foko*-point to west north-west in four fathom, if you have an ebb, you must anchor, if the ship draw above ten foot water: and at the beginning of flood sail again, steering to north north-west, which carries you directly betwixt the two banks, ranging that which lies at west; the bottom there being level, flat, hard sand.

We were assured here by the natives, they had never seen so tall a ship, drawing near fifteen foot water, get into their river: and

really it is almost a miracle we escaped so well, and so narrowly at our going in, as has been observed before.

Mr. *Grazilbier*, who, since his voyage in the *Albion* frigate, has made three more thither, commander of *English* and *Dutch* ships, assur'd me at *Southampton*, in 1705, that the *Dutch* then made nothing of fetching slaves from *Calabar*, with ships of three or four hundred tuns burden, that nation having now the greatest trade there of any *Europeans*, as well for slaves as for elephants teeth; and that by the knowledge he has acquir'd, by often sailing to new *Calabar* river, he will carry in a ship of six hundred tuns, without any danger, having found a passage of between four and a half and five fathom at the lowest water.

In *October* 1700, he sail'd from the *Downs* directly to this river, in two months time, in a little *English* ship, where he purchas'd two hundred slaves at twenty-four and twenty six bars a man, and proportionably for a woman, because of the great number of ships, sometimes ten, or more together, that were then trading, which quite drain'd the upper markets; and arriv'd at *Barbadoes* in *April* following. He has since made several voyages in the service of the *Dutch*, being of late marry'd and settled in *Holland*.

In 1703, or 1704, the price of slaves at *Calabar* was twelve bars a man, and nine a woman.

The slaves got there, says he, are generally pretty tall men, but washy and faint, by reason of their ill food, which is yams at best, and other such sorry provisions. A very considerable number of them is exported yearly from that river, by the *Europeans*; he having, as has been said above, seen there ten ships at a time, loading slaves, which is the reason the price of them varies so much, being double some years to what it is others, according to the demand there is of them; the natives being cunning enough to enhance the price upon such occasions. He computes there are also exported from thence yearly, from thirty to forty tuns of elephants teeth, all very fine and large, most by *Dutch* ships.

The most current goods to purchase slaves at *New Calabar*, in 1704, were iron bars, copper bars, of which two sorts, a great quantity, especially of the iron; rangoes, beads goosberry-colour, large and small, *Indian* nicanees, little brass bells, three-pound copper basons, and some of two pounds; *Guinea* stuffs, ox-horns for drinking cups, pewter tankards great and small; blue linnen, blue long beads, or pearls, spirits, blue perpetua few.

Mr. *Grazilbier* told me farther, that in the months of *July*, *August*, and *September*, he observ'd the breaking of the sea did rise, and

and pitch from fifteen to twenty foot high, all about the mouth of *New Calabar* river, and without it, over the banks of the bar ; which is a good mark to all such ships as design to enter it, being so shown the danger. But it is quite otherwise during the following six months of *October, November, &c.* when the bar is cover'd with seven, eight, and nine foot water, and no breaking seen ; wherefore the more caution must be us'd in sailing in. He added, that in the months of *August* and *September*, a man may get in his compliment of slaves much sooner than he can have the necessary quantity of yams, to subsist them. But a ship loading slaves there in *January, February, &c.* when yams are very plentiful, the first thing to be done, is to take them in, and afterwards the slaves.

Food for slaves.

A ship that takes in five hundred slaves, must provide above a hundred thousand yams ; which is very difficult, because it is hard to stow them, by reason they take up so much room ; and yet no less ought to be provided, the slaves there being of such a constitution, that no other food will keep them ; *Indian* corn, beans, and *Mandioca*, disagreeing with their stomach ; so that they sicken and die apace, as it happened aboard the *Albion* frigate, as soon as their yams were spent, which was just when it anchor'd at *St. Tome*, after a fortnight's passage from *Bandy-point*, at *Calabar*. Besides, those poor wretches, the slaves of *New Calabar*, are a strange sort of brutish creatures, very weak and slothful ; but cruel and bloody in their temper, always quarrelling, biting and murdering one another, without any mercy, as happened to several aboard our ship ; and whosoever carries slaves from *New Calabar* river to the *West-Indies*, had need pray for a quick passage, that they may arrive there alive and in health. To that purpose I would advise, so to order matters at *Calabar*, as to be in a condition to proceed directly to cape *Lope*, and not to *St. Tome*, or *Prince's* island. All the ships that loaded slaves with the *Albion* frigate at *Calabar*, lost, some half, and others two thirds of them, before they reach'd *Barbadoes* ; and such as were then alive, died there, as soon as landed, or else turn'd to a very bad market : which render'd the so hopeful voyage of the *Albion* abortive, and above sixty per cent. of the capital was lost, chiefly occasion'd by the want of proper food and water to subsist them, as well as the ill management of the principals aboard.

At old CALABAR, in 1698.

THE ship *Dragon* traded there in *April*, for two hundred and twelve slaves, men, women, boys and girls, the ship being but a hundred tuns burden ; a hundred and two men, from forty to forty eight copper bars

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per head ; fifty three women, from twenty eight to thirty six of the same ; forty three boys, from twenty to forty bars ; and fourteen girls from seventeen to thirty, according to their age and constitution, for the following goods.

Iron bars seven hundred and seventy one ; copper bars four hundred and fifty two ; rangoes seven hundred and thirty ; beads five hundred and forty six pounds, four pounds making a bunch ; pewter tankards fifty two ; basons N<sup>o</sup>. 1. thirty six ; N<sup>o</sup>. 2. twenty six ; N<sup>o</sup>. 3. forty two ; N<sup>o</sup>. 4. forty seven ; linen two hundred and twenty yards ; knives ninety six ; brass bells, N<sup>o</sup>. 1. eight hundred and forty one ; N<sup>o</sup>. 2. sixty two ; N<sup>o</sup>. 3. sixty nine ; N<sup>o</sup>. 4. fifty six. These goods reduced to copper bars, as follows.

Copper Bars.

|                                       |   |   |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| One Bar iron                          | — | — | 4 |
| One bunch of beads                    | — | — | 4 |
| Five rangoes                          | — | — | 4 |
| One tankard                           | — | — | 3 |
| One bason, N <sup>o</sup> . 1.        | — | — | 4 |
| The other numbers less in proportion. |   |   |   |
| One yard of linen                     | — | — | 1 |
| Six knives                            | — | — | 1 |
| One brass bell, N <sup>o</sup> . 1.   | — | — | 3 |
| The other numbers less in proportion. |   |   |   |

Purple copper armlets, made at *Loanda de S. Paola*, in *Angola*, are a very good commodity here, and at *Rio del Rey* ; and the *Portuguese* carry a great quantity of them.

Paid for provisions here.

Forty baskets of plantains, sixty copper bars.  
 Twenty copper bars to duke *Apbrom* for game.  
 Sixty to king *Robin* for the same.  
 Twenty to captain *Thomas*, at *Salt-Town*, for the same.  
 Twenty to captain *Thomas* at the watering-place, for the same.  
 Twenty to *Meltonin*.  
 Forty to king *Ebrero*.  
 Forty to king *John*.  
 Twenty four to king *Oyo*.  
 Seventeen to *William* king *Agbifhera*.  
 Seventeen to *Robin* king *Agbifhera*.  
 Twelve to duke *Apbrom*.  
 Thirty to old king *Robin*, at the watering-place.

ST. TOME.

THE principal person to be made use of there, in 1699, to contract for provisions, &c. was one *Raphael Lewis*, an eminent *Portuguese* merchant ; but at the time when the *Albion* frigate was there, all sorts of provisions were excessive dear, and *European* goods very cheap, as for instance.

A thousand ears of *Indian* wheat four pieces of eight, or four *Akies*.

Pease two *Akies* a bushel.

6 C

Ea.

Their temper.

BARBOT. *Farinha da Pao*, or *Mandioca* meal, two *Akies* and a half a bushel.

A hundred coco-nuts one *Akie*.

A middle-sized hog, four *Akies*; the largest, six pieces of eight.

An ox, twelve pieces of eight, and a very poor one eight.

One *Alkier* of beans, one *Akie*, at that time, by reason of the great drought.

The prices of *European* goods were

One piece of sayes, ten *Akies*.

Perpets, four *Akies* and a half.

Beads, three bunches two *Akies*.

Proportionably for other goods, being scarce the first cost in *Europe*.

Note, That an *Akie* of gold is valued there at one piece of eight.

The *Albion* frigate paid the following duties in 1699.

To the governor for anchorage forty one *Akies*.

To the captain of the sea, one *Akie*.

To *Raphael Lewis*, for his commission, ten *Akies*.

In all fifty two *Akies*.

*Paris Gazette*, November 9, 1709.] We have received advice, that the sieur *Parent*, commanding four frigates, arm'd for privateers, after having taken the *English* fort in *Gambia* river, in *Africa*, and a ship loaded with *Black* slaves, afterwards sailed thence to the island of *St. Tome*, belonging to the *Portuguese*, and had taken the town and the castle, defended by above three thousand men well arm'd, took there a great booty, and carried away thence six ships of several nations, richly laden.

#### A N N O B O N.

IN 1701, there were above a thousand *Blacks* <sup>Grazil-</sup> in the island, on the several *Portuguese* <sup>hier's</sup> plantations, to cultivate all manner of <sup>journal.</sup> *Guinea* provisions, and breed small cattle, which turns to a very good account to the proprietor, who is a *Portuguese* lord, that owns the island. There we got in abundance of water, wood, hogs, goats, tamarinds, *Mandioca*, meal, *Guaiavas*, oranges, lemons, &c. The island produces a very great quantity of cotton. We anchored on the north side of it.

A

## D E S C R I P T I O N

O F T H E

## L O W E R E T H I O P I A.

## The P R E F A C E.

*I* Ended the description of the coasts of Guinea at Rio de Fernan Vaz, which is the greatest extent of the coasts properly so called, according to the most common and general acceptation among European travellers, who at most extend them no farther than cape St. Catherine, some leagues south of the river Fernan Vaz.

Now in order to compleat the description of the trading ports and coasts of the Blacks, both in Guinea, and the Lower Ethiopia, adjoining to it, for the satisfaction and benefit of sea-faring men, and adventurers to those parts of Africa, which has been the principal design of this work; I will add to the aforesaid description, a short account of the coasts of Brumas, Sette, Loango, Cacongo, Goy, Congo, and Angola, as far as the coast of Benguella, or the kingdom of Butua; all these, and other regions east and south, being comprehended in the Lower Ethiopia, or South Guinea, stretching out about a hundred and eighty leagues from north-west to south-east, in a direct course, from cape St. Catherine to the river de Moreira, which is in ten degrees and a half of south latitude, about thirteen leagues to the southward of cape Ledo in Benguella.

*What I am to say on this head, I have partly collected out of Dapper, and partly from the maps of the coasts of Africa, made by express order of the kings of Portugal, in whose reigns the first discoveries of those coasts were made; the late M. d'Ablancourt, whilst he resided at the court of Portugal, with the character of envoy from the king of France, having found means to get exact copies of those maps, so carefully kept by the aforesaid kings for their private use, and after the said M. d'Ablancourt's death they were published at Amsterdam, by Peter Mortier, anno 1700. I have also made use of Carli, Merolla, de la Croix, Robbe, du Plessis, and other modern travellers and geographers. To all this I have added a journal of a voyage to Congo, in the year 1700, by James Barbot, jun. my brother's son, supercargo; and John Caffeneuve, at first second, and afterwards chief mate in the ship the Don Carlos of London. And for the entertainment, and better information of the readers, I have thought proper to subjoin a short account of the inland countries, and neighbouring nations, from the aforesaid travellers and geographers.*

A

## A Description of the Lower Ethiopia, beginning West of Cape St. Catherine.

**BARBOT.** FROM cape *St. Catherine* to *Porto de Mayomba*, or *Mujumba*, in the jurisdiction of *Sette*, is about forty leagues along the coast from north-west to south-east, and south-east by south. There being only two rivers, streaming from the inland country of *Bramas*, from the east-north-east into the *Ethiopic* ocean, the first at north, being in the *Baya Comma*, but is a small river of no note; the other at the south of it, is *Rio Sette*, a pretty considerable river, gliding from a great way up the inland, on whose banks is situated the town of *Sette*, some say thirty two leagues, others only a day's journey from its mouth; and is the principal town of that jurisdiction, govern'd by a woman.

*Sette river and town.*

Ten leagues from *Sette* river, to the southward, lies *Cabo Segundo*; and ten leagues farther south of it again, is cape *Niger*, on the north side of *Porto Mayomba*, three degrees and a half of south latitude; and betwixt them up the inland, are the mountains of the *Holy Ghost*, by the *Portuguese* call'd, *Serras do Santo Spirito*, which take up a large compass of land; and beyond them north, are large woods, forests, and lakes.

*Mountains of the Holy Ghost.*

This province of *Sette* lies about sixteen miles north of *Porto Mayomba*, and yields extraordinary plenty of red wood, besides other sorts of timber. Of this red wood they have two forts, the one by those of *Sette* call'd *Quines*, which the *Portuguese* used to buy, but not esteem'd in *Loango*; the other *By-Sesse*, being much heavier and redder, bears both a good price and reputation. The root of this *By-Sesse*, call'd there *Angassy Aby-Sesse*, exceeds in hardness and deepness of colour, which makes it valu'd.

*Red wood.*

With this wood the natives drive a great trade, all along the coast from *Mujumba* to *Angola*, dealing very seldom with any other than their own people; being at first brought from *Sette*, where the governour receives the custom of ten in the hundred.

*False Blacks.*

The *Blacks* are here yet more deceitful and treacherous than those of *Loango*; of whom I shall give the proper character afterwards.

*Product.*

There grows in the country great and small millet, the first call'd among them *Massa Manponta*, and the other *Massa Minkale*. They have likewise great plenty of potatoes, call'd there *Iqua Anjotte*, and palm-wine, call'd *Ma'assa*, the trees *Mabba*, the nut *Imba*, and the pith or kernel *Inbonga*.

They have also poultry, but not many; but the woods afford all sorts of wild beasts. The rivers feed many water elephants, and divers fishes; but the land breeds few cattle, besides beasts of prey.

The inhabitants feed upon millet, banana, and wild creatures. *Food.*

Their language has some affinity with that of *Loango*, differing only in some few words; so that they easily understand one another. *Language.*

They make wars upon their neighbours, especially those of *Comma*, between cape *de Lope*, and *Goby*; this latter being a territory full of morasses, lakes, and rivers, all navigated by canoes.

The commodities brought out of *Europe*, hither, are, muskets, powder, bright copper kettles, white and brown linnen, and ordinary cloth. *Goods imported.*

Their arms are arrows, bows, and javelins, the first they call *Insetto*, the second *Matta*, the third *Janga* and *Zonga*. *Weapons.*

In all other customs, religion, and conjuration, they agree with those of *Loango*.

The port of *Mayomba* lies in three degrees and a half south latitude, as has been observ'd, and north of *Loango* and of *Rio Comby*, bordering westward on the sea; where appears a high black point, by the *Portuguese* nam'd *Cabo Negro*, black point, because it looks black afar off, by reason of the great number of trees planted on it very thick. *Mayomba port.*

Next this cape follows a road for ships, by sailors call'd the road of *Majumba*, about half a league in length; that is, from cape *Negro* to the opposite south point, which is low, and overspread with trees. Within the country you discover a red mountain, by the *Blacks* call'd *Metute*: not far off a great salt lake, a mile broad, out of which some waters about half a mile northward of *Cabo Negro* run into the sea; but the passages are sometimes choak'd up by the waves, which beat violently against them.

On the shore stands the village *Majumba*, built in one long row, so near the sea, that the incroaching waves often oblige the inhabitants to remove behind the village. On the north side of this port, lies a river full of oysters, that pours its waters into the ocean, and has in its mouth, at most not above six, sometimes but three or four foot water; yet farther in, is of a considerable bigness, breadth, depth and length, extending

tending at least fifteen miles up the land, to the great help and conveniency of those that fetch red-wood, which otherwise, they must carry much farther; whereas now they bring it in canoes down the said river.

The country about *Majumba*, is barren as to grain, but abounds in bananas, call'd there *Bittebe*, and *Makondo*, of which they make bread; there is also abundance of palm-wine, and the rivers have plenty of fish.

Here is no peculiar prince, but one of the counsellors of state to the king of *Loango*, call'd *Mani-bonne*, deputy of *Loangiri*, who governs the country for him; being only accountable to the king for the red-wood, brought down by the river from *Sette*, which pays him ten in the hundred, as has been observ'd.

The inhabitants drive a trade of this red-wood, which they call *Takoel*, to *Goy*, north of *Rio Zair*, to barter it for *Simbo* cloth, as shall be hereafter declar'd.

The women of this country fish for oysters, in the abovemention'd river, north of *Majumba*, fetching them up in great trays from the bottom; then opening and smoaking them, they will keep them good for some months. These smoak'd oysters, as all other fish or flesh so smoak'd, they call here *Barbette*.

Somewhat to the southward of *Majumba*, is a bay by the *Portuguese* named *Enseada de Alvaro Martins*, and some leagues farther again south, another, by the same call'd *Angra do Yndio*, having a cape at south, from which stretches off to sea a bank, call'd *Baixos do Yndio*; and some leagues south of this again, is a river, named by the *Portuguese* *Rio das Montas*, near to which, that is, eight or nine miles south of *Majumba*, lies the point call'd *Quilongo* or *Sellage*, the name of the next village. This tract of land appears to ships at sea, coming from the southward, with two mountains, in the shape of a woman's breasts, and thence call'd by the natives *Quanny*, and by the *Portuguese* *Aduas Montas*.

Two miles to the southward of these two mountains, glides into the *Atlantick* the river *Quila* or *Loango*, abounding in fish, precipitating it self with a strong water-fall into the sea, and over against its mouth somewhat off to sea, lies an island.

The *European* goods fit for the trade of this tract of land, are the very same as before mention'd, brought to the coast of *Sette*.

Far inland lies the country of *Dingo* or *Dingy*, which borders on the kingdoms of *Loango*, and *Vanquy*; a large country full of towns and villages, tributary to the king of *Loango*, yet has its peculiar lords, who rule by succession.

V O L. V.

*Description of the Kingdom of LOANGO.* BARBOT.  
Somewhat south of *Quila*, about a league from the shore, lies the great town of *Loango*, the metropolis and imperial court of this kingdom, in four degrees thirty minutes of south latitude: the natives now call it *Barra Loangiri*, and *Boary* or *Bury* was the ancient name they call'd it by.

The ground-plat of it takes as much in compass, as our famous city of *York* in *England*, but is much more widely built; it has large, strait and broad streets; of which the inhabitants take great care, that no grass grow, nor soil lie in them: they are very regular and neatly planted with palmetto-trees, bananas and bakoros, which stand in a line. Some of those trees are also behind the houses, and sometimes quite round them, and thus serve both for shelter and ornament.

In the midst of the city is a great market-place, and on one side of it the king's court, surrounded with a hedge of palm-trees, containing in circuit as much ground as some ordinary towns, beautify'd with many houses for his women, of which he is reported to keep seven thousand, that live six or eight together, not daring to stir from their appointed station, without the king's leave or the overseer's, who keeps a diligent and jealous eye over them.

The houses are built with two gable-ends, and a sloping roof, which rests on long thick posts, that lie upon stays about two or three fathom high; the breadth, length, and height of them near alike, that they may stand in equal and uniform distances; and within, they have sometimes two or three rooms or chambers, apart; in one of which they keep their riches, and that has a door at the hinder end, lock'd up with a double lock; some have round about, a fence of palm-boughs plash'd; others of bulrushes wreath'd; some make *Lebonge* or wickers braided together, which inclose six, eight, or more houses; and they dwell in them as in a precinct, being to each other very trusty, and in all accidents helpful.

Their household stuff consists chiefly in pots, calabashes, wooden trays, mats, a block whereon they put their caps; some small and great baskets of a neat fashion, into which they put their clothes, and other trifling things.

The kingdom of *Loango*, formerly call'd *Bramas*, according to *Pigafet*, and other geographers, begins below cape *St. Catherine* before mention'd, and extends southward to the small river *Loango* or *Louisa*, in six degrees of south latitude, by which it is divided from that of *Cakongo*. On the west it is wash'd by the *Ethiopic* sea, and borders at east, on the country of *Pombo*, about a hundred leagues from *Loango*.

6 D

Bruno

Smoak-  
dry'd  
oysters.

Quila ri-  
ver.

Dingo  
country.

Loango  
city.

The king's  
palace.

Houses.

Furniture.

Extent of  
the king-  
dom.

**BARBOT.** *Bruno* sets down for its boundaries, in the south the river *Zair* or *Congo*; and in the east, the people *Ambois* and *Anzikos*, who are man-eaters.

**Provinces.** This kingdom contains many provinces, among which, the four chiefest are *Loangiri*, *Loangomongo*, *Cbilongo*, and *Piri*.

**Loangiri.** *Loangiri* has the advantage of many small rivers, to water and refresh the soil, and by that means is very fruitful, and exceeding full of people. The inhabitants subsist by fishing, weaving, and the wars.

**Loango-mongo.** *Loangomongo* is a large and hilly country, abounding in cattle and palmetto-trees; so that palm-oil may be had cheap.

The inhabitants are either weavers or merchants. From this province the kings of *Loango* drew their original; yet time and the vicissitude of affairs had almost excluded them from it: but at last having fresh informations, and finding themselves more potent in arms, they invaded it, and reduced the country to their subjection.

**Chilongo.** *Cbilongo* exceeds all the others in bigness, being also very populous, in some places mountainous, and in others, carpeted with verdant and delightful plains and valleys. The people naturally rude and clownish; but have great store of elephants teeth.

**Piri.** *Piri* lies plain and even, full of inhabitants, well stor'd with fruits and woods, and stock'd with great abundance of cattle, besides innumerable poultry.

The inhabitants are a quiet people, averse from wars, and for their carriage well belov'd by their king, and surpassing all their neighbours in rich commodities; yet their chief maintenance drawn from pasturage and hunting.

*Loango*, according to the best information the *Europeans* can draw from the ancientest, and most experienc'd *Blacks*, has been divided into divers territories, as *Majumba*, *Cbilongo*, *Piri*, *Wansfi*, and *Loango*, each inhabited by several people, and ruled by a particular governor; who, at pleasure, warr'd upon his neighbours.

**Wild people.** In antienter times the natives were all wild, and man-eaters, as still the *Jagos* are, who dwell towards the east and south-east. They used bananas for bread, and fed on wild beasts, hunting elephants, buffaloes, wild boars, bucks, and such like; and fishing in the rivers and the sea. These countries, through the private feuds among the governors, were subdued by *Mani Loango*, who boasted his extraction from *Lerri* in *Kakongo*, and politickly made leagues with some, by their joint force conquering others, and then pick'd quarrels with the rest; but had much trouble with *Mani Wansfi*, and afterwards again with *Mani Piri*, and *Mani Cbilongo*; by whom he was twice beaten. But by his great power they were at last

made his vassals; upon which, *Mani Majumba* submitted himself: after whose example, all the places lying northwards, as *Docke*, *Seere* or *Sette*, yielded to him.

*Mani Loango*, thus triumphant, divided <sup>The first</sup> these countries among his chief counsellors <sup>conquerer.</sup> of trust, and committing the care of his own to a deputy, went and liv'd in *Piri*: but the place he first pitch'd on, not pleasing him, whether for its mountainousness, or that it lay too far from the water, he went thence, and settled in a place, where to this present the kings of *Loango* keep their court, the name whereof is *Banzat Loangiri*, or rather *Loango*; but the *Blacks* call it *Boary*, as has been observ'd, being situate in a part of *Piri*.

The inhabitants of *Piri* were call'd *Mouviffer*, or *Mouviri*, a compound word of *Moutfie* and *Piri*; *Moutfie* signifying people: so *Moutfie Piri* signifies people of *Piri*; and for brevity, pronounced *Mouviri*. So likewise, *Loangiri* is the contraction of *Loango* and *Piri*, which join'd together, makes *Loango-piri*, and for quickness of speech, *Loangiri*.

The better to secure his new-gotten dominions, *Mani Loango* settled his brothers and sisters in the greatest cities or towns about him, viz. in *Cape*, to have a vigilant eye over whatever might threaten danger from above; and in *Bocke*, *Cbilongo*, and *Salaly*, to supervise and prevent any sudden attempt from below.

The chiefest towns of *Loango*, are *Cape*, <sup>Principal</sup> the residence of the king's sisters, *Loango* his <sup>towns.</sup> own, *Congo*, *Piri*, two *Cbilongos*, *Jamba*, *Cotie*, *Seny*, *Gonno*, *Lanzzy*. The chief villages lie a day's, or a day and half's journey from *Loango*, besides many small ones farther in the country; as *Jamba*, *Congo*, *Cayt*, *Bocke*, *Piri*, *Cotie*, and the *Cbilongos*.

The country of *Loango* affords <sup>Product.</sup> *Massa* *Mamponta* or great millet, *Massa Minkale* or little millet and red millet, which they use instead of tares: also potatoes, call'd *Limbale*, *Ampaita*, *Bakovens*, *Injamms*, with *Imbale*, *Emtogisto* or ginger, and other strange fruits, as *Goebes*, *Mandonyns*, or *Dongo* and *Fonsi*; and some herbs, the chief of which they account *Insansy*, bitter of taste; *Imboa*, and *Insua*, purslain, and wild feverfew. They have also *Malanga*, or pom-pions; *Mampet*, or sugar-canes; *Mibenga*, a juicy fruit; and *Maye Monola*, or tobacco. Grain of paradise, or *Malaguette*, by them called *Indonga Anpota*; but in no quantity, because neither sown nor planted. Also abundance of *Bananas* and *Mandioca* or *Farinba de Pao*, of which they make bread. Of the leaves of *Majaera*, they make a pretty relishing food, dressing it with smoak'd fish, palm-oil, salt, and *Achy*, or *Brazil* pepper; but their common food is *Fondy*,



*Fondy*, or *Sonfy*, made of the flour of millet.

There are calabashes, or gourds, which when ripe they dry, and make dishes for several uses. They have *Kola*, whose leaf is aromattick, *Cassia Fistula* or *Pipe-Cassia*, which serves them in their witchcrafts, &c. but few oranges, lemons and cocoa-nuts, as not valuing them. Cotton, as well as *Brazil* pepper, grows wild. Their fields produce great wheat, or *Gabba*, growing under the earth: a second sort of grain, about as large as horse-beans, grows on trees eight or nine foot high in cods, which is eaten with *Enganga*; and a third sort, like a little bean, grows along the earth, in rows of white cods, resembling *French* beans. They have two other sorts, accounted so choice a dainty, that they are esteemed food only for the rich; one of them resembling our garden-beans, the other *Turkey* beans, both white, but somewhat different in shape. All these fruits continue the whole year throughout, except between *Majumba*, and cape *Lope Gonzalez*; whose inhabitants use bananas instead of bread, and fish for other provision.

Grain.

Matombe-trees.

*Matombe*-trees grow numerously; but yet exceeded by the vast multitude of palm-trees. These *Matombes* afford first good wine, which they drink instead of that of palm, but not so strong: the branches make rafters, and laths for houses, and couches to sleep on; the leaves are used instead of tiles, and fence off the greatest rains.

Garments.

All the garments worn in *Loango*, are made of these leaves, which they use instead of money, having no sort of metal coin'd: but because the *Matombe*-leaves are not so strong as those of the palm, the cloths made thereof are in less esteem, and seldom us'd but by the *Yagos*.

Their manur'd ground is so fertile, that it affords three crops, viz. small millet, little beans, and *Wigge*, which is sown with millet as rape with us. They do not plow the land, but break it up with an instrument like a hoe, or rather a mason's trowel, only broader and hollower. Some have their lands, one, two, or three miles; others a day or two's journey from their dwellings, whither they go at seed-time, and remain with their families, till they have sow'd them, and then return to their habitations again.

Birds and beasts.

Hogs, sheep, goats, cows, and all sorts of fowls, breed more plentifully here than in any other place on the coasts of *Congo* and *Angola*.

Natives.

The inhabitants are strong-limb'd, large of stature, and decent in behaviour, commonly jealous of their wives, yet themselves wanton and unchaste; covetous and greedy to attain riches, but generous and free-hearted one to another; very much addicted to

drinking of palm-wine, yet slighting our BARBOT. *European* wine; no zealots in matter of religion, yet extremely superstitious.

The men wear long garments, reaching from their middle down to their feet, and below border'd with fringe, but leave the upper part of their body naked: the stuffs whereof they are made, may be divided into four sorts, one of which none may wear but the king, and those he permits out of singular favour, or as a mark of dignity. They are call'd sometimes *Libongo*, otherwhiles *Bondo*, which no weavers are permitted to sell, upon pain of death. There are two other sorts usually sold, the best call'd *Kimbes*, being a habit for the greatest noblemen, made very fine, and with curious workmanship, flower'd, and beautify'd with exquisite imagery, each cloth holding about two spans and a half square, which a weaver with his greatest diligence may well spend fifteen or sixteen days in working to finish it. The second sort call'd *Sokka*, are less by one half than the *Kimbes*; yet many who have not much handled their work, would easily mistake the one for the other; for both are high and cut work, with images or figures on them, but the turn'd side gives the distinction, by the coarseness or fineness; six of the foremention'd pieces make a garment, which they know how to colour, red, black or green.

Apparel.

The two other sorts of clothes are for the common people, being plain without images or figures, yet have their distinctions; one being closer and firmer wrought than the other. These are often slash'd or pink'd from the middle to the knees, as old fashion'd *Spanish* breeches were wont, with small and great cuts.

Every man is bound to wear a fur-skin Furs used. over his clothes, right before his privities, viz. of a tame cat, otter, cat of mountain, great wood or wild-cat; or of an *Angali* or civet-cat, with whose civet they sometimes anoint themselves: besides these, they have very fair speckled skins, call'd *Enkiny*, of high price among them, which none may wear but the king and his peculiar favourites.

Some of those of high rank when they travel, wear six or eight skins for garments; others, as the king and his greatest nobility, cause five or six skins to be sew'd together, interlac'd with many white and black speckled tails, of the foremention'd *Enkiny*.

In the midst of the skin, they commonly fix round tufts, made of the aforesaid fur, and white and black parrots feathers; and at the edge, elephant hair, spread round in winding trails. Every one also wears a string about his middle, made of the peeling of *Matombe*-leaves, of which there are two sorts, one call'd *Poes-anana*, and the other

*Poes-*

BARBOT. *Poes-anpona*; with which they tye their clothes fast.

Girdles.

Besides, they have two girdles one above another, that is, one of fine red or black cloth slightly embroider'd in three or four places; the other of yarn wrought in flowers, and fasten'd together before with double strings, call'd *Pondes*. These girdles are commonly three or four inches broad; wherefore the cloths sent thither out of *Europe*, with broad lists, serve to be embroider'd and quill'd to make such girdles.

Some wear girdles of bulrushes, and young palm-branches, others of peelings of a tree call'd *Cotta*; and in other places *Emsunde*, which they weave and plait together. Of the same peelings they make match for guns, which stands the *Portuguese* in good stead.

Between the upper and lower girdle they set several sorts of ornaments, and about their necks white and black beads; the latter they call *Infimba Frotta*, but the former bears the greatest value.

Beads.

Others wear triangular breast-chains, brought thither out of *Europe*, and by them named *Panpanpane*; some ivory cut in pieces, and some sorts of flat scollops, which they polish very smooth and round, and wear them strung like neck-laces.

Ornaments.

On their naked legs they put brass, copper, or iron rings, about the bigness of the small end of a tobacco-pipe, or else trim them with black and white beads.

On their arms they wear many rings of several fashions, and light; which they temper in the forging, with palm oil.

Over their shoulder they hang a sack, about three quarters of a yard long, sew'd together, only a little opening left to put in the hand. On their head they have an artificial cap, made to fit close; and in their hands, either a great knife, bow and arrows, or a sword, for they never go without arms.

Womens apparel.

The womens clothes which come a little below their knees, are made of the same as the mens; over which they sometimes put a fine *European* stuff or linen, but without any girdles: the uppermost part of the body, and the head remains always naked and bare, but on their arms, legs and necks, many rings, beads and other toys. They must go always with their heads uncover'd, and wear four or five cloths of *Kimbi*, or *Libongo*, sew'd together, beneath their waist, before the belly, instead of a girdle.

Diet.

Their usual diet is fresh and smoak'd fish, especially pilchards, which they take with a hook, and boil with herbs and *Achy* or *Brazil* pepper. People of quality, eat with their fish some *Massanga*, or small millet, first bruised with a pestle, then boil'd with water, and so kneaded together.

They swear by the king, speaking these Oaths, words, *Fyga mani Lovango*; but the highest oath is the drinking of *Bondes* root, and never used but when something is presently to be undertaken or perform'd.

This *Bondes* is only the root of a tree, of *Superstitious drink.* a ruffet colour, very bitter, and astringent, and as they say, has by enchantment of the *Ganga*, or conjurer, a perfect power and vertue given it. They scrape the root with a knife, and put it into a pot of water, of which the accused person takes about a pint and a half, administr'd by some one appointed by the king for that purpose.

It would be tedious to relate, all the particulars for which this *Bonde* drink is made use of, in all casualties or mishaps; for they believe nothing befalls them by chance, but stiffly maintain some enemy has by his *Moquifies* or forceries, brought it upon them. I shall instance only these few examples: if a man be kill'd in a wood or by the way, by a tyger, or wolf, they firmly believe and say, the tyger was a *Dakkin*, that is, a forcerer or witch, who had by the *Moquifies*, or charms, chang'd himself into such a beast; and whosoever should endeavour to persuade them to think otherwise, would be laugh'd at, and taken for a fool. So if any man's house or goods happen to be burnt, they say one or other of the *Moquifies* has set them on fire; or if at any time they have a more than usual drought, they say some *Moquifie* has not his desire, and therefore keeps back the rain; and therefore they use the *Bonde* drink to enquire or find out who is the cause of those misfortunes.

Extrava-gant notions.

In like manner, if any weighty or criminal matter, either of forcery or theft, be laid to any one's charge, and it cannot be ascertain'd by the oracle of *Ganga*, or their conjurer, they forthwith condemn the suspected person to drink of the *Bonde* drink. The manner how it is administr'd, is tedious to relate, therefore I forbear mentioning it; but must say, the *Bonde* givers often use much juggling and imposture: for tho' the person accus'd be not guilty, they will by their forcery make him fall; if either the people hate him, or the accusers are great; or if a rich person is guilty, he may easily by bribes and gifts, be declar'd innocent; but the poor are sure of death, for then their accusers bring them naked, their caps and clothes being for the master of the *Bonde*, before the king's court, where they receive sentence of death, to be hew'd in pieces.

Corrupt judgment.

The women do all the servile works; for they break the ground, sow and reap, pluck up the millet, beat it into meal, boil it, and give it to their husbands to eat, who take care for nothing but drink. Much after

after the same manner, the natives of *Virginia* leave to their wives the whole care of weaving, sowing, reaping and planting, whilst they employ themselves in hunting and fishing.

Wives  
slaves.

When the husband eats, the wife sits far off and takes the leavings; and they are so slavishly subject to their husbands, that they dare not speak to them, but on their bare knees; and when they meet them, to show their submission, must creep upon their hands. They colour their whole bodies with *Takoel* wood ground upon stones, and so made fit for painting.

Trades.

There are many handicrafts among them, as weavers, smiths, carpenters, cap makers, potters, bead-makers, vintners or tapsters, fishermen, canoe-makers, merchants, and other traders.

They make a kind of hemp, taken out of the peel'd leaves of the *Matombe*-trees, about three quarters of a yard square. This hemp is of two sorts, the one call'd *Poesana*, fit only for coarse cloth; and the other, *Poesampama*, for finer: they have a peculiar way to beat this hemp, and to spin it.

Cloth for  
money.

The *Portuguese* buy abundance of these cloths, and carry them to *Loango St. Paolo*, where they are used instead of money: for in that place, they are the standard to value all commodities by. Every cloth call'd by the *Portuguese* *Pano Sambo*, and by the natives *Mollole Vierry*, consists of four pieces stitch'd together, called *Libonges*; seventeen such are valued at one piece of sleazy ticking; and every pound of ivory, bears the price of five *Libonges*.

In like manner, the inhabitants of *Loango*, instead of money, use slight-wove cloths made of the leaves of *Matombe*-trees, every cloth consisting of four pieces, each of about a span and a half square, of which one is worth a penny; but of late these cloths are fallen low, and consequently little used. Before the erecting of the *Dutch West-India* company, when all the inhabitants of the United Provinces were allow'd to trade here, the *Hollanders* exchange'd copper, ivory, and other *African* goods for those handkerchiefs, which enhanced the price thereof; at present, as the *Dutch* do not supply those people, they are extraordinarily lower'd, or fallen.

Most of the wealth of the inhabitants consists in slaves; for what other wealth they have, is lavish'd profusely in idle expences.

The commodities brought out of this country by the *Whites*, are elephants teeth, copper, tin, lead, iron, and other things; but the metals are gotten with great labour by the inhabitants, because of the great distance of the mines. Most of the copper is brought from *Sondy*, not far from *Abissinia*, or the empire of *Prestor-John*.

Towards *September*, many smiths resort <sup>BARBOT.</sup> to *Sondy* from several countries, to melt copper; who continue there till *May*, and then depart, because of the approaching dry season: but by the unskilfulness of the inhabitants, this copper is much debas'd, because they melt all metals one among another; to prevent which, some have been sent where the mines are, to teach them to distinguish and separate the metals; but they would never permit them to do any thing, or be persuaded to alter their own ignorant method.

Commo-  
dities  
of the  
Country.

The *Europeans* export also from this country elephants tails, which the *Portuguese* buy and carry to *Loanda de St. Paolo*, where they prove very good and rich merchandize; that is, an hundred hairs put together, they value at a thousand *Reis*, or six shillings. This hair the *Blacks* braid very finely, and wear about their necks; but the greatest and longest hair braided, they wear about their waist, of which fifty hairs are sold for a thousand *Reis*.

*Loango* uses to vend yearly abundance of ivory; but the quantity continually decreases, because the natives fetch it so far out of the country, and carry it on their heads. The chiefest place where the staple for this commodity remains, is call'd *Bakkemele*, or *Bukkemeale*, about three hundred *English* miles up the country; so that the *Blacks* are near three months on their journeys, forwards and backwards. But many of the elephants teeth carried from *Bukkemeale*, are of those which die naturally, and are found in the woods; and therefore look of a decay'd colour, as if they were rotten.

The commodities brought by those of *Loango*, are salt, palm-oil, broad knives made by themselves, coarse sleazy ticking, black looking-glasses, cushion-leaves, and some other trifles, besides slaves, and elephants teeth: they make use of these slaves to carry their goods from place to place, to save other extraordinary charge of carriage.

The roads from *Loango* to *Pombo*, *Sondy*, <sup>Robbers.</sup> *Monfel*, *Great Mokoko*, lying north-east and east north-east, are much infested by the *Jago* man-eaters; so that it is dangerous for merchants to travel that way, tho' they usually go in whole troops, or carravans under a chief commander, who is very faithful to them.

For obtaining of a free trade in *Loango*, <sup>so trade.</sup> the *Whites* give presents to the king, and for liberty his mother the queen, and two noblemen, appointed overseers of the factory, call'd *Manikes*, and *Manikinga*, and several others.

In trading, the *Blacks* use their own language; yet some fishermen on the shore speak broken *Portuguese*, and there commonly serve as brokers between the buyers and sellers, as in *Europe*.

BARBOT. The king of *Loango* has the reputation of a potent lord, being able to bring numerous armies into the field; and tho' not so much respected as dreaded, by the kings of *Calongo* and *Goy*, yet he lives in friendship with them, and holds good correspondence with those of *Angola*. His jurisdiction extends into the country eastward, almost as far as on the sea-coast, being known by the general name of *Mourisse* or *Maniloango*.

Power of the king of Loango.

This prince has a great council to advise in matters of state, composed of his principal officers; but particularly of six, who have the title of *Mani*, that is lord; and are governors of his six provinces: but it would be tedious to give all the particulars concerning these, as well as of the king's pomp, both in his own person, and state, in private or publick occurrences. And therefore I refer you to the large accounts given by other authors; and shall only say, it is more sumptuous and polite than whatever I have describ'd of any of the *Guinea* monarchs, these *Ethiopian* kings appearing better fashion'd in their behaviour than the former; which may perhaps be attributed to their continual commerce with the *Portuguese* of *Congo* and *Angola*, for a long time; and perhaps their being nearer to *Abissinia*.

I will here take notice of some extraordinary particulars of this *Loango* king's grandeur, and the veneration paid him by all his subjects, without any exception, as my authors relate it.

The king commonly wears cloth, or stuff, which the *Portuguese* or other *Whites* carry him. He and his great officers have on their left arm the skin of a wild-cat sew'd together, with one end stuffed round and stiff.

How the king eats.

This prince has peculiar forms, and customs in eating and drinking; for which he keeps two several houses, one to eat, and the other to drink in: and tho' he has many houses, yet by virtue of this custom, he may use no other. He makes two meals a-day, the first in the morning, about ten a-clock, when his meat is brought in cover'd baskets, near which a man goes with a great bell, to give notice to every one of the coming of the king's dishes; who, as soon as he is acquainted with it, leaves the company he is with, and goes thither. But the servants all withdraw, because neither man nor beast may see him eat, but it must die; and therefore he eats with his doors shut. How strictly they observe this custom, has appear'd in the two following instances.

All die what see him eat or drink.

A dog the king was extraordinarily fond of, not being well watch'd by his keeper, once thrust the door open with his nose, and got in, looking at the king; who instantly caus'd the servants to kill him.

Another time it happened, that a nobleman's child about seven or eight years old,

being with his father in the king's banqueting house, fell asleep, and when the king was drinking awaked; whereupon it was instantly sentenced to die, with a reprieve for six or seven days at the father's request; that time elapsed, the child was struck upon the nose with a smith's hammer, and the blood dropped upon the king's *Mokifies*, and then with a cord about his neck was dragg'd on the ground to a broad way, to which malefactors are drawn, who cannot bear the trial of the *Bonde*.

When the king has done eating, he usually goes in state, attended by the nobility, officers, and common people, to his banqueting house, the greatest and most sumptuous structure in all his court, standing in a plain, fenced with palm-tree boughs; wherein the most intricate causes are decided and determined in his presence.

This house has the fore-side open, to receive all advantages of the air; about twenty foot backward is a skreen, or partition, made a-cross one side, eight foot broad, and twelve foot long, where they keep the palm-wine, to preserve it from the sight of the people. This partition has hangings, from the top to the bottom, of fine wrought, tufted or quilted leaves, call'd by them *Kumbel*; close to which is a *Tial*, or throne, with very fine little pillars of white and black palmetto-branches, artificially wrought in the manner of basket-work.

The throne is a fathom long, a foot and a half high, and two foot broad; on each side stand two great baskets of the same work, made of red and black wicker, wherein, the *Blacks* say, the king keeps some familiar spirits for the guard of his person. Next him, sits on each side a cup-bearer; he on the right hand reaches him the cup when he is minded to drink: but the other on the left, only gives warning to the people; to that end, holding in his hands two iron-rods, about the bigness of a finger, and pointed at the end, which he strikes one against the other; at which sound, the people, who are commonly as well within the house as without, immediately hide their faces in the sand, and continue in that posture as long as the irons continue making a noise, which is till he has done drinking: then they rise up again, and according to custom signify that they wish him health, with clapping their hands, that being a sign of respect, as with us in *Europe* the putting off the hat.

Ceremony at drinking.

As none may see the king eat or drink without incurring certain death, so no subject may drink in his presence, but must turn his back to him: but the king seldom drinks there, except for fashion-sake, and that not till about six in the evening, or half

half an hour later, if any difficult controversy has been in debate. Sometimes he goes thence at four, and recreates himself among his wives.

About an hour after sun-set, he comes the second time to the afore mention'd place to eat, where his meat is again made ready as before. That ended, he visits his banqueting-house again, and remains there about nine hours, sometimes not so long, as he finds himself disposed or indisposed. In the night one or two torches are carried before him to light him.

None may drink out of his cup besides himself; nor any eat of the food he has tasted, but the remainder must be buried in the earth.

The king never comes abroad but on account of an ambassador from a foreign nation, or when a leopard is taken in the country, or on the day on which his land is tilled by his wives, or his chief nobility pay him tribute. For this his appearance, there is a place appointed before his court, being an even and great plain, in the midst of the city. He generally goes thither about three a-clock in the afternoon, and continues there till about four or five. The stool or seat he then sits on, is raised upon a foot-pace dressed with white and black wickers, very artificially woven, with other curious ornaments: behind his back hangs, on a pole, a shield, cover'd with divers party-colour'd stuffs, brought out of *Europe*. Before his seat is spread a great cloth twenty fathom long, and twelve broad, made of quilted leaves sew'd together, upon which none may tread but the king and his children.

The custom of sitting in the open air at publick ceremonies, or to deliberate on affairs of state, or to hear causes, may be deriv'd from the *Jews*, as we read 2 *Chron.* xviii. 9. That the kings *Josaphat* and *Achab* sat on their thrones in the place of *Samaria*, near the gate. In ancient times the towns were not so large as our capital cities in *Europe*, which can hardly be subsisted by the product of the lands for an hundred miles about them. They were then small, inhabited but by a small number of labourers and husbandmen, sufficient to till the ground about them. Thence it is, that the sole tribe of *Judab* reckoned a hundred and fifteen such towns within its precinct, each of them having some villages depending on it. The market was the general rendezvous for all affairs, and at the town-gate all publick concerns were managed, especially in the days of the patriarchs, *Gen.* xxiii. 10, 18. and xxxiv. 20. *Abraham* purchased his burial-place in the presence of all those who entered the gate of the town of *Hebron*. When *Hemor* and his son *Sichem* proposed to make

an alliance with the *Israelites*, it was at the gate of the town. For publick acts transacted at the town-gates, see the history of *Boaz*, how he took *Ruth*, the *Mabite*, for his wife, *Ruth* iv. It may be said, that the gate, among the *Hebrews*, was answerable to the market-place among the *Romans*. The same is still to be seen at *Sarum*, where the judges sit in an open place, in the great market, under the city-hall.

The nobility sit in long rows, every one with a buffalo's tail in his hand. Some sit on the bare ground, others on cloths made of leaves, and about them all the king's musick, consisting of three sorts; wind instruments of ivory, or elephant's teeth hollow'd, like trumpets; such drums as they have on the *Gold Coast*, and the third sort resembles such a sieve as is used for meal, but that the hoop is bigger and deeper, about which there are long holes cut, two and two together, each about the length of a finger. In each hole they put two brass bells, fasten'd to the wood with brass pins: this instrument shook, sounds like the bells on wheels.

The noblemen and others dance there, without any regard to civility or modesty, shamelessly discovering their nakedness, both before and behind; their dances being very unseemly and barbarous.

Before the king's cloth sit some dwarfs of a pigmy stature, but with heads of a prodigious bigness, who the more to deform them have the skin of some wild beast tied about them. These they call *Bakke Bakke*, or *Minos* indifferently; and say, there is a wilderness, where none but such dwarfs reside, who shoot at elephants.

There sit also certain *White* men by the king, with skins on their heads, and indeed at a distance they look like our *Europeans*, having not only great eyes, but red or yellow hair; their eyes as it were fixed in their heads, like people that lie a dying: their sight weak and dim, turning their eyes as if they squinted, but at night they see well, especially by moon-shine.

Some are of opinion, that those *White* men sprung from a great-bellied *Black* with child, having seen a *White*; as we read, that a *White* woman, being with child, upon seeing the picture of a *Black*, brought forth a *Black* child. However, this seems worthy remark, if true, as reported, that these *Whites*, of either sex, are incapable of generation.

The *Portuguese* call these *White* men *Abinoes*, and have attempted to take some of them prisoners in their wars, and to carry them over to *Brazil* to work; for they are very strong, but so addicted to idleness, that they had rather die than do any toilsome labour.

The

**BARBOT.** The like sort of men have been found by the *Netherlanders* and *Portuguese*, not only in *Africa*, but also in *India*, in the island of *Borneo*, and in *New Guinea*, call'd the country of *Papous*, says *Vossius*.

The king uses them in most of his religious ceremonies, as in making *Mokishes*, from whence they have generally that name among the natives, which in our language properly signifies field-devils. The king has, as the *Blacks* report, near seven thousand wives; for after the decease of one king, his successor keeps all his wives, and adds many more to them: these wives have no great respect paid them; for they must work no less than other women. Some few of them he selects for his amours, and with them spends much time; the others are shut up like nuns in cloysters.

*Wives.*

*Trial of  
ebem.*

When one of these proves with child, some man must drink *Bonde* for her, to know whether she has had to do with any other but the king. If the man who has so drank be well, they judge the woman upright; but if the man falls, she is condemn'd and burnt, and the adulterer buried alive.

The king makes choice of one to be as a mother, a grave matron of tried reputation, whom they call *Makonda*; and her he respects more than his own natural mother. This *Makonda* has very great prerogatives at court, none daring to controul her, even in satisfying her own unruly appetite, as often and with whom she pleases; and whatever children she gets by such means, are accounted of the royal race: but if her gallants meddle with other women, they are put to death, unless they make their escape in time.

*Adoptive  
mother.*

*Women  
sow.*

The seed-time being usually every year fix'd, from the first to the fourth of *January*, all the wives of this nation, the king's not excepted, must break their lands to be sown, for the space of about two hours going in length, and one hour in breadth; the Men being then most of them under arms, and in their best apparel, going constantly to and fro, to warn the women to work, and to take care that no violence be done to any. There also the king shews himself at three in the afternoon, in his highest state, to encourage them to work; and in the evening they all eat at his charge: so that those days are accounted high festivals.

*Justice.*

The administration of justice, and punishing of vice, seems to be according to *Lex Talionis*: for theft is not punish'd by death, except it be against the king; otherwise the thief being taken in the very act or afterwards, the things stolen must be made good by him or his friends, and he expos'd

bound, to publick scorn and derision in the midst of the street.

If any embassador or nobleman of the country desires to speak to the king, he must first give notice thereof by the sound of two or three claps with the hands, which every one present answers after the same manner; then the suppliant cries out aloud, *Empoo lausan biau Pongo*, that is, *bearken for God's sake*; whereto the people about him answer *Tiesambie Zinga*, which signifies *long live God*. After which the petitioner begins his speech with the word *Wag*, usual among them, and ends with the words *In mama Wag*, which is as much as to say *I herewith conclude*: whereupon those that have any thing to say against it, begin and end in the same manner. And this form of speech they use in all their matters of justice, warrants, and orders of the king.

When the inhabitants of *Loango* have lodg'd a leopard in the woods, every one is warn'd by the sound of horns or trumpets to be ready to attend the king at the game; if it be far off, the king is carried in a square seat about two foot deep, made of block-tin, and artificially wrought, by four men, two before, and two behind, holding two poles, on each side one, cover'd with blue cloth: when come to the leopard's den, they instantly beset it round, every one being ready, some with bows and arrows, and others with lances and darts.

Before the king, who stands a little rais'd above the rest, they spread long nets encompass'd by the people, who, to rouse the beast, make several sorts of strange and uncouth noises, with horns, drums, shouting, and the like; and the leopard having in vain tried all means to escape, tired out and over-power'd with multitudes, falls a prey to his eager pursuers, who forthwith bring him into the plain before the king's palace, where the hunters triumph over the carcass with dancing, leaping, singing, and all kinds of revelling pastimes. Afterwards the king appoints divers noblemen, to oversee the stripping of the leopard, and to bring the skin to him; but the flesh, together with the bowels, the gall only taken out, they bury very deep in the earth, that it may not be dug up again. The gall, which they reckon to be a most venomous poison, they cut up in the presence of many, and fling into the midst of a river, that none may make use thereof to the damage of another.

When any nobleman has shot a leopard, he brings, as a token of it, the tail to the king on the top of a palmetto-pole, and pitches it in the earth, without any noise or further ceremony.

The

*Funerals of kings.*

The ceremonies at the funeral of a king are these: First, they make a vault under ground, where they place the dead king in his richest habit, on a stool; and by him all manner of household-stuff, as pots, kettles, pans, clothes and garments.

Then they make many little images of wood, and red earth, and set them round about the corps as representatives of his servants and household goods.

Next, the bodies of many slaves are set by the corps, either in the same, or some adjoining vault, to serve the king, as they believe, in the other world, and to shew when they shall come to the great monarch, what manner of person he has been here: for they believe after this another life, yet in general deride the resurrection of the dead. They hold several opinions concerning the soul: for those of the king's family believe, that the soul, when any one dies, is born again in some of the same family; others, that the soul and body have one determinate end; some, like the *Greeks* and *Romans*, place the soul among the heroes, or else bring it into the number of their tutelar *Lares*; others give them a common place of resort under the earth, while another sort make for them little receptacles under the roofs of their houses, about a span in height; before which places, when they eat or drink, they make some offering.

They further believe, that none can die of a natural death, but all come to their end by mischance, or by the power of conjuration; and that the authors of those mischances may make the deceased to come out of their graves, and keep them for their service: these (as they say) are fed daily by the conjurers, with food boil'd without any salt; for if any salt should come in or near it, the bodies would follow them openly.

*Merolla* says, that in the year 1663, the then king of *Loango* was converted to the romish religion, with his whole court, consisting of above three hundred persons, by father *Bernardino Ungaro*, who in the space of a year he liv'd there, had baptiz'd upwards of twelve thousand people; but the father dying, and after him the king, and a tyrant setting upon the throne, the missionaries lost ground by degrees, and the *Cacongojans* are all return'd to their former condition, and the kingdom, as formerly, bury'd in idolatry.

*Religion.*

The natives of *Loango*, *Cakongo*, and *Goy*, have no knowledge of God at all, or of his word, but only the bare name, which in their language is *Sambiano Ponge*; and neither care nor desire to learn any more.

All acts of devotion they perform to the field and house-devils, represented under

the shape of idols, of which they have great numbers, to each of which they give a particular name, according as they attribute to them power, having their distinct jurisdiction. To some they ascribe the power of lightning, and the wind; and also to serve as scare-crows, to preserve their corn from fowl, and other vermin; to one, they give the command over the fishes of the sea; to another, over the fishes in the rivers; to a third, over the cattle, &c. Some they make protectors of their health and Safety; others, to avert evils and misfortunes: to another again, they commend the charge of their fight; of some, they beg to be instructed in the mysteries of hidden arts, or magick, and to be able even to fore-judge of destiny; neither do they believe them at large, but circumscribe them to limited places, and shew their figures in several shapes; some like men; others only poles with small irons on the top, or else a little carv'd image; some of which shapes and representations they carry commonly with them, wherever they travel to or fro.

Their greater idols are stuck with hens or pheasants feathers on their heads, and with all sorts of tassels about their bodies: some make them in the fashion of long slips, which they wear about their necks and arms; others of cords, trimm'd with small feathers, and two or three *Simbos*, or little horns, with which they adorn their middle, neck, and arms; some are nothing but pots filled with white earth; others, buffaloes horns stuffed with the same matter, and at the small end have some iron rings.

Another sort yet more ridiculous, is to fill an ordinary round pot without feet, with red and white earth kneaded together with water, pretty high above the upper edges; which they mark on the out-side quite round with white streaks, and stripe it on the top with variety of colours.

One of these idols, they say, is jealous of another; insomuch, that when they have made one, they presently go to work on another, and several times are necessitated to make many, lest they should offend such as seem to be neglected; but still making their addresses to all with equal indifference, as their protectors and guardians.

They have particular masters to instruct them in the making these idols, and call them *Enganga*, or *Janga Mokisfe*; whose skill therein they much admire, and account them devil-hunters. When any one requires the *Enganga* to direct him in making an idol, the petitioner invites his whole tribe, acquaintance, relations, and even his neighbours; and they being assembled together, the *Mokisfe* or solemnity continues for the space of fifteen days, in a house of palm-boughs, nine of which he

**B**ARFOOT must not speak, and during the whole time, have no converse with any-body. On each side of his mouth he wears a parrot's feather, and may not clap his hands if any one salutes him; but as a sign of greeting, strikes with a small stick on a block in his hand, made sloping narrow at the top, and in the middle hollow, and on the end a man's head carved: of these blocks, this devil-hunter has three sorts, of different sizes.

Much more might be said of this manner of conjurations, and witchcrafts, and of other ridiculous and impertinent stories of men possessed by the devil by conjurations; and the way of driving the devil out of them, as also of all their various injunctions of forbidding to use this or that meat, or this or that liquor, or this or that sort of garments, which these poor wretches observe as exactly as *Recabites*; making it an article of the highest faith, that when a *Mokisie* is offended, or when injunctions or promises made to him are not fully perform'd, he has power to kill. But I forbear adding more on that head, for fear of becoming too tedious.

If a man at any time comes into a house, and sits down unawares upon the corner of a bed, where a man and a woman have lain together, as soon as he is told of his fault, he must go instantly to a smith, who commonly sits with his tools in the open air, and tell him the cause of his coming: he then blows up a fire, and taking him by the little finger of his left hand, turns it over his head; then striking two or three strokes with his hammer, and blowing with his mouth upon his hands put together, he pronounces some words with a loud voice, wherewith the fault unwittingly committed is cleans'd. This ceremony they call *Vemba Momba*, that is, a purification, or a benediction.

*Their priests.* All priests or conjurers, that is, their prophets and divines, are call'd *Ganga*, or *Ganga Mokisie*; each of them having his particular denomination, as *Ganga Thiricko*, *Ganga Boefy Batta*, *Ganga Kyzokoo*, *Pansa Pongo*, *Mansi*, &c. and innumerable other such names, either given to, or assum'd by them from the *Mokisie* they serve; and each *Ganga* is dress'd after a several manner, and practises different ceremonies, which are said to be as comical, as ridiculous and apish.

*What Mokisie is.* By the word *Mokisie*, they mean a natural superstition and firm persuasion they have of something to which they ascribe an invisible power, in working good to their advantage, or evil to their prejudice and detriment, or from which they expect to learn the knowledge of past or future things: which induces some authors to say, it cannot be properly call'd idolatry in them, because they have no knowledge of any deity,

or diabolical spirit, having no particular name for the devil, but calling all *Mokisie*, where they suppose an overruling power. And therefore even the king has the general stile, or additional title of *Mokisie Loango*, Power ascrib'd to the king. as a distinction, which admirably well expresses that unlimited power by which he can with a word impoverish, enrich, humble or raise, put whole countries into confusion, destroy men, cause rain or drought, good or bad weather, transform himself into any shape whatsoever, and many more such like absurdities invented by their *Ganga Mokisies* or priests, to strike an awe into the people, not only in favour of the king, but even of themselves as *Mokisies*.

To instance in one of their idols, *Likokoo Mokisie* is the chiefest of them, being a wooden image, carv'd in the shape of a man sitting, at *Kinga*, a town near the sea-coast, where they have a common burial-place. Power of an idol. They have a thousand ridiculous rhimes concerning this *Likokoo*; as that he preserves from death, that he saves from hurt by *Doojes*, as they call forcerers; that he makes the dead rise out of their graves in the night, and forces them to labour, helping to catch fish and to drive canoes in the water, and in the day forces them to their graves again; with many more such fictions, which the old folks make the young believe, and imprint in them from their infancy.

The lords or great men in the country are also reputed to have their share of *Mokisies*, Of lords. which makes them honour'd and esteem'd by the people; and they have more or less of it, according to their degree of power, and their nearness to or distance from the king.

According to their *Mokisie* rules, the Observances. king's sister's son, whilst he is an infant, lives at *Kina*, and is forbid hog's flesh; when past his infancy, he is to reside at *Moanza*, and to eat no *Cola* in company. *Cola* is a fruit I have describ'd in the account of *Guinea*. As soon as the down appears upon his cheeks, he is put to the *Ganga Simega*, a famous priest, who teaches him he is to eat no pullets, but what he kills and dresses himself. Afterwards as he advances towards the royal diadem, he obliges himself to other sorts of abstinence and ceremonies; till being ascended the throne, he gives a full loose into all the ocean of *Mokisies* and observances.

They here circumscribe all the males, merely out of custom; being able to give no Circumscription. other reason for so doing, than that it is of ancient usage, and has been deriv'd to them from one generation to another for many ages.

The most common and general weapons of the *Loangians*, are bows and arrows, and Weapons. javelins.



DESCRIPTION of the Kingdom of ANSIKO.

IT reaches on the south to the territories of *Sunde*, *Songo*, and *Congo*, and on the north to *Nubia*. The inhabitants are of two sorts, *Anzikos* or *Anzinguis*, and *Jagos*.

Product.

There grow in it two sorts of sandal wood or Sanders, viz. Red call'd *Tawilla*; and white *Zikengo*; with which last, being the best, beaten to powder, and mixt with palm-oil, the inhabitants anoint their bodies, for the preservation of health. They have rich copper mines, with whose metal they furnish the kingdom of *Kongo*. The woods breed lions, and many other beasts, common with *Loango*.

Natives.

The natives in general are a nimble, active, and well-shaped people, climbing the craggy mountains with notable agility.

They take little care for their living, and dare attempt any thing without apprehension or fear of danger. Among themselves they are unanimous; to strangers, with whom they converse, upright and true-hearted; but have, by reason of their bestial nature, little trade with the *Whites*.

Man-eaters.

Their common food is man's flesh, inso-much that their markets are provided with it, as ours in *Europe* with beef or mutton; all prisoners of war, unless they can sell them alive to greater advantage, they fatten for slaughter, and at last sell them to butchers, to supply the markets, and roast them on spits, as we do other meat.

Inhuman barbarity.

This savage barbarity is so natural to them, that some slaves, whether as weary of their lives, or to shew their love to their masters, will proffer themselves freely to be kill'd and eaten. But that which is most inhuman, and beyond the savageness of beasts, is, that the father makes no difficulty to eat his son, nor the son his father, nor one brother the other; and whosoever dies, be the disease ever so contagious, yet they eat the flesh immediately, as a choice dish.

The nobles and other women of quality cover themselves from head to foot with mantles; but the common women wear only a cloth hanging down, girt about their middle, and go barefoot.

Habit.

The habit of the men of the common sort, differs not much from those of *Loango*, but people of rank have garments of silk, or cloth, and on their heads red or black caps, of their own making; or else *Portuguese* flannel bonnets.

They have neither houses, goods, towns, or settled dwelling-places; but rove like the wild *Arabs*, or *Scythians*, from place to place, neither sowing nor mowing, but living wholly by rapine and pillage; eating the fruits of other mens labours, wherefoever they come, devouring and spoiling all before them.

Their weapons, for they love war, are <sup>BARBOT.</sup> short wooden bows, cover'd with divers colour'd snakes-skins, so that they seem to be made of one piece; which they do to strengthen, and that they may hold them faster in their hands. They make these bows of a kind of rough black canes, which prove very lasting and serviceable. The arrows are short, light and thin, made of hard wood, which they commonly hold together with the bow in their hands; in the use whereof, they are so dextrous, that they can discharge twenty eight arrows, before the first falls to the ground, and kill a bird flying. They use also a sort of pole-axes, whose handle having a knob at the end, is cover'd with snakes skins. The head shines very bright, being fasten'd in the wood with copper pins, and like those in use formerly among us, has at one end a sharp edge like a hatchet, and at the other a hammer. In fight they defend themselves from the enemies arrows, with the flat sides thereof, instead of a shield, and turn every way, with such readiness, that they void all the shafts aim'd at them.

Arms

They wear also poniards in scabbards of serpents skins, hanging by bells of elephants hides, three fingers broad, and two thick. Some have shields made of wood, cover'd with the skin of the beast call'd *Danta*.

They worship the sun as their chief deity, <sup>Religion.</sup> in the shape of a man; and next the moon, in the figure of a woman. Besides which, every one has his peculiar idol. When they go to battle, they sacrifice to their idol, and fancy their devil speaks very plain and tells them what they are to do.

The *Anzikos* live under a peculiar king, <sup>Their king.</sup> call'd the *Great Makoko*, whom they report to possess thirteen kingdoms, making him the most potent in *Africa*.

The *Jagos* have three governors, the first <sup>Jagos.</sup> entitled *Singe*, the second *Kobak*, and the third *Kabango*, each of which leads a distinct army. They maintain continual wars against other *Blacks*, and eat, as has been said, all the slain, but sell the prisoners; and for want of buyers, kill and eat them too. Such as desire to lift themselves in their bands, must first receive the usual marks, viz. knock out the two upper and the two lower teeth before, and make a hole through the middle of their noses, into which they thrust feathers.

There are at present no *Jagos* to be found of the first race; but those who now assume that name, derive their extraction from the several countries where they have warr'd, and been victorious, and are yet far more savage, and worse cannibals than the former; admitting none among them but what are of a wild savage temper, whom they train from

BARBOT. from their youth to all incredible inhumanity.

They possess not only this country of *Anfiko*, but wander almost through all *Africk*, tho' they have now their chief residence there, and in the south of *Angola*.

Their language differs wholly from that of *Congo*, which they endeavour to learn and become very expert in, tho' they make little use of it, by reason of their savage and unconvertible nature.

*Description of KAKONGO.*

THIS is a jurisdiction beginning in the north at the river *Loango Lovisa*, in about five degrees twenty minutes south latitude; borders south and west, on the kingdom of *Goy*, and ends at the river *Sambo*, some miles up the country.

The chief city is pleasant and well built, abounding with all sorts of provisions, and the country yields great plenty of *Talc*, especially about *Chiovachianca*, but it is not allow'd under severe penalties, to be carry'd to other parts. About the year 1685, a *Black* priest, by name father *Leonard*, in a few days, as *Merolla* reports, baptiz'd above five thousand children; as a recompence for which, he obtain'd a canonship in the bishoprick of *Loanda*, in the kingdom of *Dongo*, or *Angola*.

From *Cacongo* southwards, all the country by the sea-coast for thirteen miles, and for two and a half northward of the before mention'd river *Loango Lovisa*, lies very low; but afterwards grows mountainous. The *Blacks* call it *Kaskais*, and the *Whites*, the high-land of *Kaskais*; about which place, a mile to the southward, a great water falls into the sea, and is the only good river in the kingdom call'd also *Kakongo*, in five degrees thirty minutes south latitude, and by the *Portuguese* named *Rio de Se*, being in the center of the *Kaskais*, gliding eighteen leagues through the country.

Melimba  
village.

A mile southward of which river lies the village *Molemba* or *Melimba*, upon a great bay, making a convenient haven or road for ships. The country thereabouts call'd little *Kaskais*, forms the bay of *Cabinde*, in five degrees thirty-five minutes south latitude; being all along very rocky and full of cliffs, yet between the chief city of *Cacongo*, and the river *Sonbo*, full of woods, pleasant fields and high mountains, but cannot boast of any fertility, because for the most part untill'd, tho' so populous that it dares number inhabitants with *Loango*.

Natives.

The natives are treacherous and revengeful, turbulent and quarrelsome, and yet shew but little spirit in the wars; all their neighbours, especially those of *Goy* or *Angoy*, continually infesting them, but that the king of *Loango* interposes in their behalf; whose mediation in such cases, prevails much with all his neighbours.

Trade and handicrafts are common with <sup>*Trade.*</sup> these people and those of *Loango*; such as are husbandry, fishing, and dealing in cloths, black stitc'd caps, broad irons, beetles, hammers, mattocks, tobacco, redwood or *Takoel*, and linnen; which commodities they carry to *Congo*, *Sonbo*, and other places, and there exchange for slaves.

The commodities carry'd thither, out of *Europe*, and desir'd by the inhabitants, are the same with those sold at *Loango*; but the presents given for the permission of trade, are less.

Their customs, shape, clothing, riches, administration of justice, inheritance, government and religion, differ little or nothing from what is already said of *Loango*; only this is remarkable, that the king of *Cacongo* <sup>*Ridiculous custom.*</sup> may not touch or wear any *European* wares, nor dares any man who is cloth'd in them touch him, because it is so order'd by the *Mokisie*. In all other things they agree with the former.

The kings of *Loango* and *Cacongo* continually keep a guard upon the river *Sonbo*, to receive the customs of the travelling merchants, and to observe that none act any thing prejudicial to the country.

On the side of the river *Cakongo*, lies the <sup>*Serre territory.*</sup> territory of *Serre* or *Zarri*, subject to the king of *Cacongo*; but was, for a mutiny and rebellion against him, in a manner totally laid waste.

On the edge of this, and near to *Goy*, is a territory call'd *Lemba*, being a high land, comprehending only one village of the same name, whither the *Whites* come to trade for elephants teeth, slaves and copper; the last of which they bring from adjacent mines, which every year yield no small quantities.

*Description of the dominion of GOY or ANGOY.*

ANGOY, as *Merolla* reports, is a kingdom rather in name than in dominions, being but a very small territory. Here formerly a certain *Mani* happening to marry a *Mulatto*, daughter to a very rich *Portuguese*, his father-in-law would needs make him king of *Angoy*; and for that purpose caused him to rebel against the king of *Cacongo*, his lawful sovereign. The manner was thus. The king of *Cacongo* having sent a viceroy to govern the kingdom of *Loango*, that person being rather ambitious to reign absolutely, than to rule under another, got himself proclaimed king of all that country; and took in so much more land, belonging to his master, that his dominions were much the larger, and wholly independent of *Congo*. *Cacongo* lying in the middle, between *Congo* and *Loango*, that *Mani* declared himself neuter, and set up for king of *Angoy*, rebelling against his lawful sovereign, the king of *Cacongo*. It

It borders westward on the sea, southward on the river *Zair* or *Congo*, and northward on *Cacongo*. The chief city, delightfully situated on a plain near the shore, has many inhabitants; and there several small rivers have their outlets into the sea, whose waters both refresh and fatten the soil they pass through. On the coast, by the river *Zair*, you discover *Ponta de Palmerinba*; and six hours journey onwards the bay of *Cabinde*, where the *Portuguese* ships take in fresh provisions, passing to *Loanda de S. Paolo*. This is a good road for ships, in regard they may be plentifully furnished with provisions, at reasonable rates, upon condition that the governor be well presented.

Both men and women give themselves wholly up to wantonness; yet towards strangers they are churlish and uncivil; not only exacting from them beyond reason, but defrauding them by many subtle and sly methods.

Trade.

The country abounds in millet, beans, and fish; but the *Portuguese* have a storehouse to buy cloths, call'd *Panos Sambos*, the proper commodity of this place, because made no where else; made like our plushes, but without flower or imagery. To barter for these, they bring out of *Majumba* red-wood, which the natives chuse at the highest price, before the richest *European* merchandize, continuing in their original simplicity, without desiring to learn better from abroad; for they never travel from home, but only when the king sends them as agents to any of his neighbours, with whom he is in amity.

This kingdom of *Goy*, in the year 1631, was entirely subdued by the duke of *Sonbo*, who establish'd his son in the place of the deceased king, by whose assistance the father afterwards got a great victory over the *Cacongians*, whose chief city he ruined and burnt. The king of *Congo* takes upon him the title of lord of both those last mentioned, but has neither tribute nor subjection from them; for each of them has an absolute and independent sovereignty within his own dominion.

Description of the kingdom of CONGO.

Its extent.

THE true extent is not exactly known, geographers being at variance about it; but the most certain account that can be given of it is, that it reaches a hundred and twenty leagues up the inland, and seventy two leagues along the sea-coast, being every where cut by large rivers: that of *Zair* on the north, *Coango* river in the east, *Rio-Berbele* at south-east, and *Rio-Coanza* at south; and bounded at west by the *Ethiopic* ocean.

The common division of it is into six dukedoms and earldoms, viz. *Bamba*, *Songo*

or *Sonbo*, *Sundo* or *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Batta*, <sup>BARBOT</sup> and *Pombo*.

The grand dutchy of *Bamba*, lying in the north part, reaches westward to the banks of the rivers *Amaois* and *Dantis*; in the south to *Angola*, and borders at east, according to *Pigafet*, on the lake *Cbelande*, or *Aquilande*, in the territory of *Sissina*.

The lord of *Bamba* is very puissant, bearing the highest command at the *Congoian* court, being captain-general of all the forces there; yet holds his place *ad placitum regis*. The inhabitants are christians for the generality, and keep among them divers jesuits, *Mulatto* and *Black* priests, to officiate and instruct them.

The earldom of *Senbo* or *Sogno*, the second principality in *Congo*, borders upon the rivers *Zair* and *Lebunde*, on the south-side surrounded with a wood, call'd *Findenguolla*. Some extend it from the river *Ambois*, in seven degrees and a half of south latitude, to the red mountains, which border upon *Loango*; so that according to this last account, it reaches on the north to *Anfiko*; on the south to the river *Ambris*; and on the west to the sea.

This territory comprehends many petty lordships, heretofore absolute, but now made tributaries to *Congo*. The chief town *Songo* stands near a pretty large river.

A quarter of a mile from it is the village *Pinde*, which the duke has lent to the *Portuguese* to trade at.

The dutchy of *Sundo* or *Sundi*, beginning about eight miles from *San Salvador*, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, stretches beyond the cataracts of *Zair*, along both its banks to *Anziko*, towards the north. On the east side it runs to the place where the *Zair* unites with the *Baranka*, and from thence to the foot of the crystal mountains; and in the south touches upon *Pango*. The chief town also, call'd *Sundo*, the residence of the governor, is seated on the banks of *Pongo*, by the water-falls of *Zair*.

The dukedom of *Batta*, formerly call'd *Aghirimba*, to the north-east, or rather full north of *Pango*, about a hundred leagues up the country, reaches eastward above the river *Barbele*, to the mountain of the sun, and the salt-petre hill; and on the south runs to the burnt mountains, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Montes Quemados*; its metropolis call'd also *Batta*. This tract between *Pango* and *Batta* is fruitful, and yields all sorts of provisions for the support of life.

All along the way from *San Salvador* to *Batta*, stand hutts, the dwelling-places of the inhabitants.

About a hundred and fifty miles from *Batta* eastward, lies the territory of *Conde*, or *Pembo de Okango*, through which the strong running and deep river *Coango* makes its way; till meeting and intermingling with

**BARBOT.** the larger waters of *Zair*, it loses both name and current.

This country, from the prevalency of an ancient custom, always has a woman to rule it, who pays tribute to *Mani Batta*, or the prince or duke of *Batta*, and he receives it in the name of the king of *Congo*, tho' he reaps no benefit of it. To the eastward, beyond the river *Congo*, according to the relation of the *Condeans*, are found *White* people, with long hair; but not altogether so white as the *Europeans*. Some of them were taken in the country of *Sogno*, and presented to a missionary friar, who bestowed them again on the *Portuguese* governor of *Loanda*, not many years ago.

**Pango province.** The fourth province, stiled *Pango*, has *Sundo* on the north; *Batta* on the south; *Pembo*, the dwelling-place of the king, on the west; and the mountains of the sun on the east. The head city seated on the western shore of the river *Barbele*, was formerly call'd *Panguelongos*, but at present, *Pango*; heretofore free, but now acknowledging the king of *Congo*, whose protection they crav'd against the incursions and inroads of their neighbours.

East of *Pango*, beyond the river *Zair*, which is there call'd *Coanga*, are the marquisates of *Cama*, and of *Cuno Pango*; and southward of these, the kingdom of *Fungeno*, where the *Portuguese* trade for stuffs and bark.

**Pembo lordship.** The lordship of *Pembo* stands as it were in the middle of the whole, encompassed by all the rest, and contains the head city of the kingdom of *Congo*, formerly by the *Blacks* called *Banza*, that is, head; but at present by the *Portuguese*, *San Salvador*; and by *Marmol*, *Ambos-Congo*. It stands about the middle of *Congo*, on a very high mountain, eight and thirty *Dutch* miles, or, as others write, fifty *Italian* miles from the sea, south-east from the mouth of the river *Zair*, and delightfully shaded with palm, tamarind, *Bakovens*, *Colas*, lemons and orange trees.

The top of the mountain *Otreiro* yields a curious prospect of all the adjacent places, at a great distance, both west and north, without any interposing stop to the eye.

**City of Congo.** This town has neither inclosure nor wall, except a little on the south side, which the first king built, and afterwards gave that part to the *Portuguese* to inhabit for their conveniency. The royal palace is surrounded with walls, and between it and the town is a great plain, in the midst of which they have erected a beautiful church: noblemen's houses and others fill up the top of the mountain; for every grandee settles his dwellings as near the court as he may be permitted, and with his retinue takes up as much ground, as an ordinary town may be built on.

The common houses stand in good order, and appear very uniform; most of them large, well contriv'd, and fenced about, but generally thatch'd, except a few belonging to the *Portuguese*.

The king's palace is exceeding large, surrounded with four walls, whereof that towards the *Portuguese* part is of chalk and stone, but all the rest of straw, very neatly wrought: the lodgings, dining-rooms, galleries, and other apartments, are hung after the *European* manner, with mats, of an exquisite curiosity. Within the innermost fence are some gardens, plenteously stored with variety of herbs, and planted with several sorts of trees: within these again are some banqueting-houses, whose building, though mean and slight, is by them esteem'd rich and costly.

In the city there are ten or eleven churches, that is, one great one, being the chief of all; then the seven lamps church; the conception; the church of the victory or triumph; a fifth, dedicated to *St. James*; a sixth to *St. Anthony*; and a seventh to *St. John*. The other three stand within the court-walls, viz. the churches of the Holy Ghost, of *St. Michael*, and *St. Joseph*.

The jesuits have a college, where they daily teach and instruct the *Blacks* in the christian faith, in an easy and winning method.

There are also schools, where youth are brought up and taught the *Latin* and *Portuguese* tongues.

All these churches, and other publick structures, except the jesuit's college, have the foundations of stone, but cover'd with straw, and very meanly provided with utensils for celebrating divine offices.

There are also two fountains, one in *St. James's* street, and the other within the walls of the court, both yielding good spring-water.

A small river, or rather a branch of *Lelunde*, call'd *Vese*, affording very good and well-tasted water, flows at the foot of the mountain close by the city, to the great benefit of the inhabitants; for from thence the slaves, both men and women, fetch water daily to serve the town. The adjacent fields by this river are made very pleasant and fruitful, and therefore the citizens have all their gardens upon its banks. What cattle they have, are kept for the most part in the city; as hogs and goats, a few sheep, but no cows, which lie at night in fences joining to their houses.

The rivers which water this kingdom, from north to south, are first, *Rio de las Borreras-Roxas*, that is, the river of red-sand; another, at whose mouth lies a street, call'd in *Portuguese*, *Boca de las Almadias*, or the gulf of canoes.

Here

Here lie three islands, the greatest and middlemost of them inhabited, and provided with a convenient haven for small barks; but the other without people, harbouring only beasts.

To the southward of these, is the great river *Zair*, which, according to *Pigafetta*, derives its original from three lakes; the first by the same author, and others, entitled *Zambre*; the second *Zair*; and the third a great lake, out of which the *Lelunde*, and *Coanza* rivers run. But *Zambre* is the principal head that feeds the river *Zair*, being set as it were in the middle point of *Africa*, and spreading it self with broad streams into the north: to the east it throws out the great river *Cuama*, and *Coavo*; to the south those of *Zeila*, *Manice*, or *Manbessen*; and lastly, to the west, this of *Zair*; which dividing into several branches, moisten and fertilize the western part of south *Africa*, *Congo*, *Angola*, *Monomotapa*, *Mutamam*, *Bagamadir*, *Agasymba*, and so to the cape of *Goodhope*.

This is the account given by former geographers, but the new map of *Africa*, corrected from the observations of the gentlemen of the royal academy at *Paris*, and reprinted in *London*, in the year 1710, takes no notice of the pretended lake of *Zambre*, whence those ancienter geographers persuade us the river *Zair* flows. They lay it down there, penetrating with many windings, east north-east, as far as the town of *Pango*, in about nine degrees of east latitude from the meridian of *London*, where it changes its name into that of *Coanga*, and is carried on inland east south-east, betwixt the marquisates of *Cama* and *Cuno Pango*, the kingdom of *Fungeno*, where the *Portuguese* trade for stuffs and bark, and the territories of *Meticos* and *Jagos*, to the twenty ninth degree of the same east longitude, in the same parallel as *Coanza* and *Cuneni* rivers, to the south of it; but does not determine its course farther up in the kingdom of *Nomeamale* and *Monoenugi*, where very probably these rivers have their source.

Zair river.

The river *Zair* falls into the sea through a mouth, three leagues in breadth, in five degrees and forty minutes of south latitude, and with such force and abundance of water, that the stream running out west north-west, prevails upon the sea-water for above twelve leagues; and when you are out of sight of land, the water appears black and full of heaps of reeds, and other things, like little floating islands, which the force of the stream, falling from the high cliffs, carries away out of the country, and casts into the ocean: so that ships, without a stiff gale of wind, cannot sail up it into the road, within cape *Padron*, on the south side of the river.

From this great body branch out many small ones, to the great conveniency of the natives and foreign traders, who pass along them in boats from one town to another.

The islands *Bomma* and *Quintalla* lie in the mouth of this river, and others higher up, exceeding full of people, who rebelling against the king of *Congo*, have set up peculiar lords of their own.

That of *Bomma*, tho' well inhabited, shews few or no houses, because of the morassiness of the country, which for the most part lies under water; so that the *Blacks* with canoes go from tree to tree: among which, they have raised some places made of leaves and boughs, on which they reside and rest themselves without any coverture.

These islanders are strong, well-set, live after a beastly manner, are great forcerers, and converse with the devil; to this end they first come together all on a throng, then one of them runs about with a vizard on; this continues three days, which expir'd, they use another ceremony, and then the fiend speaks through the vizarded man. They live in peaceable times by bartering; in time of war, they deal in nothing but weapons, arrows, bows, and javelins or lances.

They have no marriage-ceremony; but men and women make use of one another, as their affections or lusts lead them, mixing merely like beasts without any solemnity; for they know nothing of chastity, but take as many concubines as they please: however, the first, as eldest, has the command and superiority over all the rest.

In the island *Quintalla*, is an idol made of money, which none dare approach, but the servants or minister appointed to attend, and take care to secure the way to it from being discover'd; themselves being obliged as often as they go thither, to take a peculiar path that no other may find. Many kings and people sacrifice to this idol, especially in sickness, several of their most costly and highest-priz'd goods, which none are permitted to make use of, but by length of time decay or rot: for as soon as they are dedicated, the attendant carries them into a great plain, where the idol stands, surrounded with a wall of elephants teeth instead of stone, and there hanging upon poles they remain till they are quite rotten. The island of *Zariacacongo* lies nearest to the dominions of *Sogno*, and was yielded up by the former king of *Cacongo*, brother-in-law to the count of *Sogno*, who had marry'd his sister to that prince, on condition he should embrace the christian religion; but that king soon after died, about the year 1685. The island is none of the smallest, and lies in the midst of the river *Zair*.

**BARBOT.** *Zair*. It abounds with all forts of provisions, and great numbers of inhabitants; is plain, rais'd eight fathom above the water, and divided from the kingdom of *Congo*, by a river over which there is a bridge.

The islanders have particular heads, and chief officers, chosen by most voices. Several other rivers with their streams increase the swelling current of the *Zair*; the most eminent are *Umbre*, *Brankare*, and *Barbele*.

**Umbre river.**

*Umbre*, by *Sanutus* call'd *Vambere*, rises in the north, out of a mountain in *Nigritia*, and loses itself on the east-side of *Zair*.

**Brankare river.**

*Brankare* as *Pigafetta*, or *Bankare* as *Sanutus* calls it, has its original in the same mountain, and after a long course, discharges its winding stream into the sea, says the same *Sanutus*: but *Pigafetta*, from the information of *Edward Lopez*, avers it mingles with the *Zair*, on the easterly borders of *Pango*, not far from the foot of the crystal mountain.

**Barbele river.**

The river *Barbele*, so call'd by *Linschoten*, and *Verbele* by *Pigafetta*, springs from a lake, which the same author falsely makes the *Nile* to flow from; after which, it shoots through the lake *Aquilunde*, and passing by the city of *Pango*, enlarges the *Zair* with the addition of its water.

**Cape Padrao.**

Southward of the mouth of the river *Zair*, shoots out a promontory, call'd in *Portuguese* *Cabo do Padrao*, from a small chappel and a cross they erected on it above a hundred years ago: and about five miles from *Padrao*, is the residence of the earl of *Sonbo*, where the *Netherlanders* trade. A little way within *Padrao* lies *St. Paul's*-point, affording a convenient road for ships. When *Diego Can* made the first discovery of this river *Zair*, about the year 1480, he erected on the south-point of its mouth a monument with an inscription, containing in *Latin*, *Arabick* and *Portuguese*, the names of the king *Dom John* the second, and of those of his officers, who had discover'd that country, of which they thereby pretended to be the lawful possessors. For that reason, says *Vasconcelos*, a *Portuguese* author, this river was for a long time after call'd *Rio de Padrao*, and now the river of *Congo*, from the kingdom of that name, which *Diego Can* discover'd in the same voyage.

A mile and a half from thence, lies a creek call'd *Pampus Rock*.

More to the southward, are the rivers *Lelunde* or *Lolongo*, *Ambris* or *Ambres*, or *Ambres*, by the *Portuguese* royal map; *Enkokoquematari* or *Serra de Banba* by the same; *Loze* or *Loza*, *Onza* or *Zanza*, *Libonge* or *Lolongo*, *Danda* or *Dande*, or *Dendi*, and *Bengo*.

*Lelunde* running between *Zair* and *Ambris*, has its head spring in the same lake *Lelunde* with *Coanza* or *Quanza*; so passing close by the foot of the mountain where the royal city *St. Salvador* stands, runs down from thence with many windings, west north-west to the sea, into which it falls with a strong current; but in the summer so shallow, that it is not passable in vessels of any burden: the *Blacks* frequent it with canoes, notwithstanding the hazard of crocodiles, which are there very numerous.

*Ambris*, which is next, lies in six degrees south latitude; is a great river and full of fish, but rocky at the entrance, yet passable enough for small boats. It has the same original with *Lelunde*, running not far from *St. Salvador*; the water seems muddy, caus'd by the swiftness of the stream, on whose bank begins the dukedom of *Bamba*.

Thirty miles up this river is a ferry, where every traveller for his passage over, must pay a certain toll to the king of *Congo*. On the south banks of it are many people, who get their living by making salt of sea-water, boil'd in earthen-pots, and proves grey and sandy; yet they carry it to *Pambo*, and several other places, and drive a great trade with it.

*Enkokoquematari* is the next, whose beginning is unknown to *Europeans*, and the whole in a manner of no use; great flats and sands stopping up the mouth, so that it will not bear a small boat, and within so scanty of water, that a canoe can hardly make its way.

*Loze*, another mean brook, yet up in the country passable for a boat. About twenty miles upward is a ferry, where all travellers pay a duty to the duke of *Bamba*.

*Onza*, or according to *Pigafetta* *Onzoni*, *Onza* is fordable, and not to be fail'd by any vessels because of its shallowness.

*Libongo*, by some call'd *Lemba*, can boast neither greater depth or better qualities.

*Danda*, a little more southward, has the mouth five or six foot water, is full of fish, feeds many crocodiles and sea-horses, and affords on each side fruitful grounds; somewhat high on the south-side, but on the north, for half a mile low.

*Bengo*, by some taken for a branch of *Danda*, with the *Quanza*, makes the island *Loando*; it is navigable in floops about fourteen miles upwards, and at the mouth has sometimes seven or eight foot water, notwithstanding the sands. It comes a great distance out of the country, and in the rainy season, viz. *March*, *April* and *May*, overflows with the violence of its stream, and sometimes carries away much of the earth on one side, which either joins again on the other, or else is driven into the sea.

The

Seasons.

The winter there bears almost an equal temper with our summer, so that the people alter nothing of their apparel, nor require the warmth of fire at that season of the year; for the difference between winter and summer is scarce discernable, only that the Air, when it rains, is a little cooler; but the wet season once past, the heat is almost intolerable, especially two hours before and after noon.

The winter commences in mid-March, and the summer in September; in the former the great rains begin and continue, March, April, May, June, July and August, during which time they have scarce a clear day; less rain in September and November. The summer, as has been said, is exceeding hot and dry. The year of these Ethiopians commences with their winter, in March. Their month is lunar, and the seven days of the week are distinguish'd by seven markets, held successively at several places; but they do not know how to reckon the hours of a day.

The land-winds on this coast and Angola, are east north-east, the sea-winds west south-west.

This country from the several rivers, has great store of water; so that the inhabitants are very curious in their choice of it: for they will not drink the nearest, but the freshest and best, as appears by those of St. Salvador, who make no use of such as the adjoining plains afford them; but cause their slaves to fetch it from the fountains, a little lower on the north-side.

The lands in the rainy season, by the muddiness of the water, are made exceeding fruitful, and fit to bring forth all manner of things. But from November till the latter end of March there falls not a drop of rain, which makes the soil very dry and hard.

Batta dukedom.

The dukedom of Batta, and others lying round about, have a fat and fertile ground, affording all manner of provisions.

Pembo territory.

The territory of Pembo, especially about St. Salvador, because of the fresh and serene air, abounds in rich pastures, and produces many flourishing and thriving trees.

Here grows a kind of grain, by the natives call'd Luko, not unlike our rye, but smaller: this they grind into meal with hand-mills, and make bread of it.

Produci.

There is also abundance of millet, which the Blacks call Mazza Manputo, or Portuguese corn; as also Indian wheat, where-with they fat their hogs; and rice in such plenty that it hardly bears any price.

Lemons and pome-citron trees grow in every corner, bearing fruit of a pleasant and brisk taste; also bananas, dates, cocoa-nuts, and palm-trees, producing two or three dif-

ferent sorts of wine distinguish'd among them by peculiar names, as Melaffo, Embatta, Tamgra, Maneba, Manecha, Bordon. The wine of grapes they call Melaffo Manputto; the Embatta wine is very refreshing. There are also cola-trees, which the inhabitants chew as the Indians do Betele. The trees call'd Ozeqbes yield a fruit like yellow plums, delightful in smell and delicious in taste; and with the branches they make fences, pallisadoes and arbors, to shelter them from the scorching beams of the sun; nor do they want melons, cucumbers and citrons, common and china-oranges of an extraordinary bigness, and pleasant taste, and several sorts of pulse. The missionaries in Bamba cultivate in their convent's gardens all those sorts that are common in Brazil, besides those peculiar to Africk and Europe, grapes, fennel, cardoons or thistles; all sorts of fallowing, gourds, and many other sorts; but no pears, apples, nuts, or such like fruit, as require a cold climate.

BARBOT

The shore of the river Lelunde, going to St. Salvador, is beautify'd with abundance of cedars, which the ignorant people make no other account of than to make canoes and fire-fuel.

Cassia Fistula and other drugs, fit for the use of apothecaries, also tamarinds, which grow plentifully, and have the repute of being a good remedy in fevers.

In the towns near the sea, they have store of kidney-beans, by them call'd Cazalaza, millet and poultry, which the English, Netherlanders, and other traders buy for Simbo-cloths, little looking-glasses, and other trifles.

In Bamba, a province of Congo, and there especially, they have good stocks of cattle, viz. cows, oxen, swine and goats; besides plenty of fowl, as turkeys, hens, ducks, wild-hens of a delicate flesh, and geese. The elephants breeding there in numerous droves, grow to an extraordinary bigness, inso-much that some of their teeth have weigh'd above two hundred weight. In the Congo language they call such a tooth Mene Manzo; and a young elephant Moane Manzo.

Elephants.

The elephant, if we may believe the Blacks, do not cast their teeth; they hunt them with lances and darts, making a double advantage of them as merchandize and food; many scurfed or hollow teeth are found in the woods, which are decayed by lying many years in the rain and wind. This commodity, by reason of the infinite quantity brought from thence within these fifty or sixty years, begins to grow scarcer, and they are fain to fetch them farther out of the country.

**BARBOT.** The elephant when struck with a lance or javelin, will use all means to assault and kill the person that wounded him; but as if it would teach the beastly *Blacks* humanity, neither eats the body, nor insults over it: but making a hole with his teeth in the ground, throws it in, and covers the place again with earth and boughs of trees. Therefore the hunters, when they have wounded an elephant, hide themselves for a while, and then follow at a distance, till being weakened with loss of blood, they dare draw nearer and kill the beast. Those *Blacks* know not how to take elephants alive, as they do in the *East-Indies*.

*Killing of elephants.* In the country of *Sogno*, when the elephants are together in a herd, the hunter anointing himself all over with their dung, gets in dexterously with his lance in his hand among them, and creeps about under their bellies, till he has an opportunity to strike one of them under the ear, which is the best place to bring them down. The stroke being given, he immediately makes his escape, before the elephant can turn about to revenge himself. The other elephants deceived by the smell of the dung, take less notice of his roaring; and thus the rest of the herd walking on, and forsaking their wounded companion, leave him a prey to the successful hunter. If the elephant pursues him, he easily makes his escape by dodging, because the beast cannot turn so nimbly.

*Water of their bones.* The natives distil a water from the bones of the elephants legs, which is reckon'd very good against asthma's, sciatica's, or any cold humours.

*Their tails worship'd.* Some *Blacks* of those parts, and particularly the *Giaghi*, pay a certain religious worship to the elephants tail; for when their lords or sovereigns die, they commonly preserve one of those tails in memory of him, on which they bestow a sort of adoration, on account of the creature's great strength. They often go a hunting only for the sake of cutting off those tails, but it must be perform'd at one stroke, and from a living elephant, or else they do not reckon it has any virtue.

*They fly from fire.* The *Blacks* in *Congo* turn the elephants out of their way by firing some huts, or the fields, for those creatures take another way when they see the flame.

*Wild dogs.* There are no lions, tygers nor wolves, in the country of *Sogno*, or if any be seen, it is a great accident, tho' there are enough in the neighbouring parts; but there is a sort of wild-dogs, which go out to hunt in great numbers, and furiously set upon any elephant, or other wild beast they meet with, and never fail to kill it, tho' never so many of them be destroy'd in the attempt: those dogs, tho' wild, do little or

no harm to the inhabitants. They are red-hair'd, have small slender bodies, and their tails turn up on their backs like greyhounds. *Merolla*.

The buffalo, in the language of the *Buffaloes*, country call'd *Empakasse*, has a red skin and black horns, of which the inhabitants make musical instruments. It is a mischievous beast, and dangerous to be hunted, especially after they are shot, if not right struck; wherefore the huntsmen, who mean to shoot one, first chuse out a secure place, where they may not fear the furious assaults of the enrag'd creature. The flesh of it is very gross and slimy, yet the slaves eat freely of it cut in slices and dry'd. There breeds in the woods another creature, seldom to be found elsewhere; they call it *Zebra*, in shape like a *Zebra*, mule, with a skin striped; on the head and over the whole body, white, black, and bluish: they are very wild and swift, hard to be taken alive, and when taken, more difficult to be tamed; though the *Portuguese* say, that some years since they sent four of them to *Portugal*, for a present to the king, who used them for a coach, and rewarded the person who brought them over with the notaryship of *Angola*, to him and his heirs; but the whole is a fable.

*Empalanga* is a great beast like an ox, having two horns, and very favourable meat; they are of several colours, some brown, others, red, and some white.

*Envoeri* is a great beast like a stag, with two horns.

The *Makoko* differs little from a horse in bigness, but has long and slender legs, a long gray neck, with many white small stripes, and on his head long sharp horns wreath'd below; the dung of this creature is like that of a sheep.

Tygers in the *Congoish* language call'd *Tyggers*, *Engri*, never hurt the *Whites*; so that when they meet a *White* and a *Black* together, they will assail the *Black*, and let the *White* pass unhurt; therefore the king of *Congo* has appointed a reward for those that kill them, and bring their skin, with this proviso, that the hair of the lips remain upon them, because they account them a mortal poison.

The leopards generally prey upon cattle, so do the lions, but they are not so cruel as the tygers, nor so much dreaded; and tho' there are abundance of lions in *Congo*, yet the people are not so much terrified and molested by them, as they are by the tygers or leopards. They scare away lions, by setting fire to parcels of shrubs and weeds, when they spy any at a distance about the country, as they travel.

The *Quumbengo*, or wolves, are very numerous, have a thick head and neck, al-  
most



most like the wolves in *Europe*, but much bigger, grey headed, speckled with black spots like the tyger, but much more ill-favour'd; foxes, stags, deer, conies and hares, swarm in incredible multitudes, because they are never hunted as here with us.

*Civet-cats.* Civet-cats the *Blacks* catch, and tame for their perfume.

*Beavers.* The territory of *Batta* affords many beavers, whose skins are of great value, one of them being as dear as a sheep; so that none is suffer'd to wear them without the king's licence first obtain'd.

Apes and wild-cats are very troublesome by their numbers, especially in *Songo* by the river *Zair*.

In *Congo* the large monkeys or apes are call'd *Mocchacos*, and the little ones *Sagoris*.

*Serpents.* There is a multitude of monstrous serpents, commonly twenty five foot long, or more: one sort of which they call *Boma*; another sort, which kills with its tail, *Embambi*. In the ways to *Singa* many travellers are devoured by a sort of serpents, common in those parts, which they meet on the roads, as *Merolla* reports, and adds, that it once happen'd, that a person being thus assaulted by one of these prodigious serpents, had by a lusty stroke of a cymeter cut him in two, but not yet kill'd, the enrag'd monster lay upon the catch among the thick bushes; and soon after two persons passing by, it immediately crawl'd out, wounded as it was, and seized upon them, devouring them almost whole; but at last a number of men coming to the place with muskets, sent so many bullets into the monster's body, that they kill'd it. The natives eat of the flesh of serpents very heartily, chopping off the head and tail, and throwing away the entrails.

In this country they have also a sort of crocodiles, which they call *Alacardo*.

Wild-boars, by them call'd *Emgalo*, or *Engulo*, may be seen here, with two great tusks, wherewith they tear violently: the *Blacks* stand more in fear of them than any other beast, and if they do but hear it, will make away with all possible speed. The filings of their teeth, which the *Portuguese* highly esteem, and are very seldom gotten, taken in some liquor, are reputed a powerful antidote against poison; the teeth themselves rubb'd against a stone, and administer'd in a little water, are an infallible cure for an ague. They say, this beast, when sick, recovers its health by so rubbing its teeth upon a stone, and licking with its tongue.

*Roe-bucks.* Roebucks, call'd *Golungo*, breed here abundantly, but no bigger than sheep, of a brown colour, with some white specks, and two sharp little horns: several of the *Blacks* kill and eat them, but the *Congoians* and *Ambandes* will by no means taste their flesh;

they bear such an antipathy to it, that they will not touch any thing out of that pot where their flesh has been boil'd, nor come into the place where the fire was that dress'd it, nor lay their hands on any weapon wherewith it was slain; yet can give no other reason for it, but that the flesh is their *Quistilla*, that is, a food prohibited among them by authority and ancient custom, by tradition deliver'd from hand to hand, by their fore-fathers: for they firmly and undoubtedly believe, that if they should do the contrary, they should not only be lame in their bodies, but their fingers and toes would rot off.

Lastly, bears, foxes, wild cows call'd *Capassa*, and goats, frequent the woods, and some of them infinitely damage the people.

Besides these variety of quadrupedes, they have many sorts of wing'd animals; as,

First, peacocks, which none but the *Peacocks* king only may have; and he keeps them with great care in inclosed woods, upon the borders of *Angola*.

They have two sorts of partridges, tame *Partridges* and wild; as also pheasants, pigeons, turtle-doves, eagles, falcons, vultures, merlins, sparrow-hawks, pellicans, green and red parroquets, cranes, storks with red bills and red legs, and half white and half black feathers. As to sparrow-hawks, they are ignorant of the use we make of them in *Europe*.

There are abundance more of very beautiful birds of several colours, green, red, yellow, and some the finest of all, being *Ethiopian* parrots, with white feathers, and black fillets, looking like the scales of fish; their tail, eyes, beak and feet, of the colour of fire. These parrots will talk like those of *Brazil*, but are rarely brought into *Europe*; the hens they call *Coricas*, the cocks *Engussu*.

There are also owls, which they call *Carjampemba*, that is, devils, because their appearing presages ill-luck.

They have two sorts of bees, one that *Bees* hives in the woods, in hollow trees; and the other in the roofs of houses.

The pismires or ants, by them call'd *In-pismires*, are of four sorts, the biggest have sharp stings, with which they raise swellings upon men, the other three are somewhat smaller. It is incredible what trouble and damage these little insects occasion to the natives, as I shall hereafter observe.

*Engingie* is a little beast, with a skin speckled black and grey.

The *Entigiengio*, a small creature, very *A strange* curiously streak'd, slender bodied, with a *creature* fine tail and legs, never comes upon the earth, for the very touch thereof proves mortal to it, therefore keeps in the trees, and has always twenty black-hair'd creatures, call'd

BARBOT. call'd *Embis*, attending it; that is, ten before, and ten behind. They take the ten first in snares, and then the ten behind make their escape, by which means the animal bereav'd of its guard is also taken.

The skin of this little beast bears such a value, that none but the king may wear it, unless perhaps, by particular favour, some great lords obtain leave; among which are the kings of *Loango*, *Caongo*, and *Goy*.

Some have reported that there are gold mines about *S. Salvador*, but without any ground of probability; for the *Portuguese*, who have conversed so long in the country, would not have left them undiscover'd.

Copper-mines.

But they find many copper mines in several places, especially in *Pembo*, whose metal has so deep a tincture of yellow, that able artists have mistaken it for gold; but upon proof the error soon appears.

The like mines are found in *Songo*, yielding better copper than that of *Pembo*; whereof the purple armlets in *Loando* are commonly made, which the *Portuguese* carry to *Calabar*, *Rio del Rey*, and other places in the *Bigbt of Guinea*.

In *Bamba*, says *Linschoten*, there are silver mines, and other metals; and in *Sundo*, of crystal and iron, the last bearing the highest value, because it makes knives, swords, and other weapons.

Quarries of stone, call'd *Mattari*, are very common; as also rocks of red marble; besides many precious stones, as jasper, porphyry, jacinth, and the like: and yet common stones are rarely found through all *Congo*, as is reported by *Carli*, a missionary in *Congo*.

The inhabitants of *Congo*, known by the name of *Macikongen*, are very black, yet some few differ, being only of a sort of olive colour: their hair black curl'd, their bodies of a middle stature, and well-set; the white of their eyes of a sea-green, and their lips not so thick as other *Blacks*; wherein they differ more especially from those of *Nubia* and *Guinea*.

Tho' some be surly and proud, yet in general they carry themselves very friendly towards strangers, being of a mild conversation, courteous, affable, and easy to be overcome with reason, yet inclin'd to drink, especially *Spanish* wine and brandy: such as converse much with them, discern a quickness of reason and understanding, ordering their conceits and discourses so rationally, that the most knowing take great delight in their facetious humour.

The natives.

They show little courage in war, but generally come by the loss, unless assisted by the *Portuguese*; for twenty *Whites* will rout a thousand of them.

Those of *Songo* are a proud, lazy, and luxurious people, but have a winning be-

haviour, and a volubility of speech, beyond those that live on the north side of the *Zair*.

The people of *Bamba* are reckoned the *Travelling* best soldiers. The gentry of *Bamba* travel with abundance of attendants, and much state; some of them follow'd by twenty or thirty *Mulattos*, who are bold fellows, arm'd with muskets and cymeters, and the *Blacks* with bows, arrows, and lances; many musicians going before, making a great noise with their several instruments. The great duke of this country has a greater retinue in proportion. At night they build huttts, and enclose them with thorns, to secure them against the wild-beasts, which swarm about the country. Besides lions, tygers, wolves, elephants and rhinoceros's, there are pocasses, which roar like lions, and are white, with black and red spots, very long ears, and strait horns, much like the buffaloes. To drive away those creatures, the *Blacks* set fire to dry grass; which flame, with their shouts, makes them fly another way. Sometimes also travellers climb trees, with ladders of ropes, they have for that purpose, or otherwise, and thence shoot them with poison'd arrows; but sometimes, if not nimble enough, they become a prey to those ravenous beasts.

The people, for the most part, feed on *Food* kidney-beans, and other kinds, which the women sow, being very regardless of their diet, and as merry after a meal of insipid roots, which grow wild, as if they had been at a feast. At night the women return from the fields with their children, light a fire in the middle of the cottage, where they eat such as they have, and discourse till they fall asleep. This is the way most of the country people live, many of them going stark naked.

The country is prodigiously infested with *Ants* ants, which are so numerous and ravenous, that they are said to devour the carcass of a beast in a night. When they get into a cottage, the only way to rid them, is to set fire to straw on the floor, which destroys infinite quantities of them, but leaves an intolerable stench, and sometimes burns down the hut.

They have a sort of small monkeys, *Monkeys* which drive the rats out of their houses, there being a sort of antipathy between them. These monkeys have a musky scent, which perfumes a room, are very tame, and will learn any thing they are taught.

Several prime men, who are in disgrace *Robbers* with the king, sometimes lie in companies on the roads to the cities of *San Salvador* and *Loanda*, robbing all travellers, till they are again taken into favour.

They are said to be very guilty of poison-*Poisoning* ing, but perhaps it is more in talk than reality;

reality ; for if discover'd, they infallibly die for it, without mercy, and such strict enquiry is made, that it can scarce be concealed.

Clothing.

People of any note, especially in the cities, are decently clad, in long mantles of fine cloth, or black bays, under which they wear white shirts, appearing on the upper part of the body ; and on the lower parts they have long wide coats of satin, or damask, with rich borders, or embroidery about the edges. Some wear a sort of cloth made of the bark of the *Matombe*-trees, and palm-leaves colour'd black and red, but all bare-legg'd, and on their heads only white cotton caps ; but they adorn their necks and arms with gold and silver chains, or frings of the best red coral.

Those of *Songo* wear coats from the navel to the ankles, and mantles over the rest ; but the women cover their breasts.

Card-playing.

They play at cards for pass-time, staking little horns or shells, reckoned among them as current money.

The citizens of *Congo* live chiefly by trade, and the country people by tilling the land, and keeping cattle. Those about the river *Zair* live by fishing ; others by drawing of *Tombe*-wine ; and some by weaving.

When they travel from one place to another, they do not ride, but are carried by men in hammocks, lying down, others sitting on a board hanging to a pole, with one arm over the pole, and their feet resting on a sort of flat wooden stirrup, holding in the other hand an umbrella ; or else sitting on a kind of bier, made fast with a cord to a pole, resting on the shoulders of their slaves, or of hir'd people. For expedition they take many slaves, that when the first grow weary, they may be carried by the others.

Feasting.

There are two things very remarkable in these *Ethiopians*, and worth observing ; the first is, in their eating and drinking at feasts, which they commonly celebrate in great numbers, and at night. A great company being got together, they sit round in a ring, on the grass, then a large thick round wooden platter is plac'd in the middle of them ; the platter is called *Malonga*. The eldest of the company, whom they call *Maculontu*, or *Cocolocangi*, is to divide and distribute to every one his portion ; which he does with such exactness, that if there happens to be a bit better than ordinary, that is also divided proportionably among the company, so that every one is contented with his share. When they drink, they make use of neither cups nor glasses ; to the end, every person may have what is judg'd sufficient for him, and no more. The judge is the *Maculontu*, who holds the *Moringo* or flask to the person's mouth that drinks, and when he thinks he has drank enough, he pulls it away. This

is practis'd all along to the end of the <sup>R. POT.</sup> feast.

The other observable thing, is, that if any person, man or woman, great or small, tho' not known to them, happens to pass by where the company is feasting, he or she thrusts into the ring, and has an equal share with the rest, without making any compliments, or speaking a word. If the stranger happens to come after the portions have been divided, then the *Maculontu* takes something from every man's mess, to make up a share for him. If many uninvited guests come, they all have the aforesaid liberty, and may eat and drink as freely as if they had been invited. When the accidental travellers perceive the platter empty, they rise up and go their way, without taking any leave, or returning thanks to the company. And tho' the strangers have ever so great plenty of provisions along with them of their own, as it very often happens they have, yet do they forsake their own for that of these people. Another thing to be wonder'd at, is, that they never ask those intruders any questions, as whence they come, whither they go, or the like ; but all pass in silence. This charity of theirs is very commendable.

This sort of hospitality was very common among several of the eastern nations, in the first ages of the world ; and particularly among the *Israelites*, of which we have sundry instances in holy writ, as in *Abraham*, *Gen. xviii.* in *Lot*, *Gen. xix.* and in *Judges xix. 21.* And *St. Paul* commends hospitality in his epistles to the *Romans*, and to the *Hebrews* *xiii. 1, 2.* *Let brotherly love continue. Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertain'd angels unawares ;* that is, *Abraham* and *Lot*. *St. Peter* presses it also as a virtue and duty, in his first epistle, *iii. 9.* *Use hospitality to one another, without grudging.*

These people before the coming of the <sup>Names.</sup> *Portuguese*, who instructed them in the christian faith, had no particular or proper names ; but the common people call'd themselves by the names of herbs, plants, stones, fowls, beasts, and living creatures ; the lords bore the title of the lordship they commanded, as the lord of *Songo* was call'd *Mani-Songo*, that is to say, lord of *Songo*, *Mani* signifying lord, and *Songo* the country : but at this day both men and women, high and low, even the king himself, commonly receives a name in baptism.

They seem somewhat experienc'd in several handicrafts, but do not care to take upon them any hard labour.

*Congo*, *Songo*, and *Bamba*, vent few slaves, <sup>Slaves.</sup> and those the meanest of all ; because being used to live idly, when they are brought to labour they quickly die. The best come

BARBOT. thither from *Amboille, Gingos, Jagos, Casseudas, Quilax, Lembo*, and other territories thereabouts, above *Massignan* in *Angola*.

Trade.

The *Europeans* drive a little trade with *Simboes*: but the chief dealing in *Songo* consists in *Sambo-cloths*, palm-oil, palmetto-nuts, and such like. Formerly they brought thence many, and those very large elephants teeth; but of late that trade is fallen to nothing.

The city *St. Salvador* is the staple for the *Portuguese* merchants in those countries, of whom the natives chiefly buy *Cyprus-cloths* or painted table-cloths, call'd *Cape de Verdura* blue cans, *Biramks* or *Surats*, copper basons, *English* cloth; great *Simbas* of *Loanda*, *Baefier*, and other inconsiderable trifles, as rings, beads and the like. Their wealth consists chiefly in elephants teeth and *Simbos*, or little shells which pass instead of money.

The citizens of *St. Salvador* amount to near forty thousand, most of them gentlemen and nobles, yet wretchedly poor: for among them all, you shall scarce find ten or twelve that have a golden chain or small jewel. However, it may be said of this kingdom of *Congo* in general, that it is very rich, as having so great a quantity of metals; that tho' they should spare much to their neighbours, yet there would remain enough to reckon it very wealthy; as also considering the incredible number of elephants there are in it, whose teeth may much enrich it: likewise the civet-cats, which are very numerous, and may turn to a good account; whence it is easy to conceive that the prince of such a kingdom must be very potent. It is not possible to express what his revenues would be worth, if the product of metals, elephants teeth, and other commodities were well minded; but for want of industry, it is quite otherwise. To say something of this in general:

The king's revenues consist chiefly in yearly tributes paid him by the dukes of *Bamba, Batta, Sundo, Nambanganga, Bumby, Mussulo, Oando, Quingengo*; and others under the titles of earldoms, as those of *Pembo, Pango*, and many more, which are brought in on *St. James's* day, when the king rewards them with some small trifle, as a mark of his favour.

Money.

They have no coin, either of silver, gold or copper; but as has been often mention'd, make all their markets with little shells call'd *Simboes*, and another sort call'd *Bongbi* or *Libangbi*, which pass current; but in other countries are of no esteem or value: and the *Portuguese* use them in their passage, when they or their *Pomberoes*, that is, slaves, are sent with merchandize to *Pombo*, and other places lying up the country from *Angola* and *Loanda*, through *Con-*

*go*. They have no apothecaries or doctors, *Physick*. nor any physick but what themselves make of plants, barks of trees, roots, stones, waters and oil, which they administer for agues, fevers, and almost all other maladies.

Fevers, the most common distemper of this climate, they cure with the beaten root of sandal wood mix'd with the oil of dates, anointing therewith the body of the patient two or three times from head to foot. The pain in the head, by letting blood in the temples, with little shells sharpened, wherewith opening the skin, they suck with the mouth till they draw the blood.

The pox or venereal distemper, call'd *Chirangas*, rages among them extremely, which they cure with the red-wood call'd *Tavilla*.

The king appoints a judge in every particular province, to hear and determine civil causes and differences that happen; who, tho' there be no settled laws or statutes, may imprison and release, or impose a pecuniary mulct or fine upon them. But in more weighty matters every one may appeal to the king, before whom criminal causes are also brought; and he, as sovereign, gives a definitive sentence. *Justice.*

In matters of state, and such as concern peace and war, the king advises with ten or twelve counsellors, his favourites, who conclude for the welfare of the kingdom, and set forth and publish decrees by his order and in his name. *Council.*

These same punish idolatry and witchcraft with the greatest severity, condemning forcerers to the flames or to perpetual slavery in *Brazil*, or other parts of *America*, selling them to *Europeans*. However, there are several of the meanest sort, who pretend to forcery, and make the ignorant people believe they can work wonders, as procuring of rain or fair weather; being conversant in lions, tygers, serpents, or other mischievous creatures; can oblige crocodiles to carry them over rivers; are familiar with the devil, whom they call *Carabomba*, and many more follies, by which they gain a reputation among the unthinking multitude, and are much dreaded, particularly in the countries of *Sogno* and *Angoy*; and this, notwithstanding all the care taken by the missionaries, and the severity of the princes to destroy them, whensoever discover'd. *Sorcerers.*

Whosoever kills a man, has his offence openly read before him, and being convicted by witnesses, is condemn'd to die.

When an offender is put to death upon sentence pronounced by the king, he forfeits all his goods and slaves; so that nothing of what was his, descends to his relations. *Forfeitures.*

When

Soldiers.

When they march out with an army against their enemies, the commanders wear square caps or bonnets, trimm'd with ostrich, peacock, and other feathers; which they look upon both as an ornament, and to make them appear the more terrible. The upper part of their bodies is then naked; but on their shoulders they hang two chains, with links as big as a man's little finger.

Weapons.

The common soldiers use great broad swords, which they buy of the *Portuguese*; poyards with hafts like knives; bows six spans long, arrows, muskets, pistols and shields made of the barks of trees, and cover'd with buffaloes-hides. The whole strength of their battle consists in their infantry, for they have few or no horse.

Want of discipline.

They use little discipline, either in the onset or retreat; but upon the word of command, the drums beating and the horns blowing, they move forwards not in close order, but at a distance from each other, and so advancing, let fly their arrows: which done, they very dextrously wheel about, and leap from one place to another, to avoid the enemies arrows. Some bold youths commonly draw out before the front, to encourage the rest, with abundance of bells hanging about their middles, and ringing. When the first have fought till they are weary, upon the sound of one of their horns directed by the commander in chief, they retreat, and others instantly supply their places; and this continues till one of the armies is victorious.

If the general of the army happens to be kill'd, they instantly betake themselves to flight and leave the field; no force nor authority being able to make them rally.

They used to take little care to be furnished with provisions, so that very often they were forced for hunger to leave the enemy, tho' half conquer'd, and retire into their own country; but now they begin to take notice of these miscarriages, and by the instruction of the *Portuguese*, to mend their discipline.

Titles of governors.

Most of the territories and lordships of Congo have peculiar governors call'd *Mani*, whereto they add the name of the province, as *Mani-Vamma*, that is lord of *Vamma*, *Mani-Coansa*, *Mani-Hany*, *Mani-Kelle*, and several others: but *Bamba*, *Pembo* and *Pango*, have the title of dukedoms, and others of earldoms, wherein the *Blacks* imitate the *Portuguese*. When they shew themselves to the people, they appear very stately, sitting on great velvet chairs with velvet cushions, and spreading on the ground before them costly carpets; which the *Portuguese* also taught them, in order to strike an awful reverence into their subjects.

The titles the king uses to express his greatness are these; *Mani-Congo*, by the grace of God King of *Congo*, *Angola*, *Ma-kamba*, *Okanga*, *Cumba*, *Lulla*, *Zouza*; lord of the dukedoms of *Batta*, *Sunda*, *Bamba*, *Amboille*, and the territories thereof; lord of the earldoms of *Songo*, *Angoy*, *Cacongo*, and of the monarchy of *Ambondes*; ruler of the great and wonderful river *Zair*.

He has absolute power and sovereignty over his subjects, who never approach him, but in the most humble postures of reverence; and whoever fails of paying due respect and obedience, is punished with perpetual slavery.

When the king treats his nobility, it is thus: he causes them to be number'd, and then all the pots are brought before them, one with boil'd beans, another with flesh, and a third with millet, without any spice, but only salt, and some palm-oil. To the greatest lords he sends every one his part in a wooden platter, with a small flask of palm-wine; but those of less quality are by name call'd up, and mess'd by six, seven, or eight together, to whom the king directs such a great pot of millet, beans and flesh, according to their number.

When the feast is ended, they come all into the king's presence, and falling upon their knees, clap their hands, and bow their heads, in token of thanks and submission, and so depart to their own homes; only some favourites stay all the day, smoaking tobacco, and drinking palm-wine, till both king and nobles are so drunk, that they cannot go from the place.

When the king goes abroad, not only the nobility, but all those that dwell about the court, or happen to be there at that time, attend him; some going before, others following; but all dancing and tumbling with antick postures, to the musick of certain ill-tuned drums, and long ivory flutes like cornets, till the king returns to his house.

At his going to church, not only his own grandees, who at all times are ready, but the *Portuguese*, as well laity as clergy, must wait on him; and again from the church to his palace; but at no other time are the *Portuguese* oblig'd to such attendance.

When he shews himself to the people, he is always attir'd in his richest robes; that is, a great long mantle or cloak of silk, velvet, or fine cloth, richly laced or embroidered: on his fingers he has some gold-chains, intermixt with fine coral; and on his head a costly cap.

He has in his palace above a hundred waiters, who all have lodgings in the court. He eats his meat after the manner of *Europe*, at a high table, where he always sits alone, with some few pieces of plate for his use.

All

**BARBOT.** All his waiters are cloth'd in black mantles  
 of bays.

The chair on which he sits has covers of red or green velvet fasten'd on with great gilt nails, and costly tapestry spread before him, and cushions instead of a footstool.

*Dutch  
embassy.*

When the *Hollanders*, in the year 1642, came the first time to the king *Don Alvaro* as ambassadors from *Loanda*, immediately after they had taken it from the *Portuguese*, they had audience at night, in the dark, passing through a gallery two hundred paces long, set on both sides with two ranks of men, with wax candles in their hands, burning.

The king's apparel at that time was very glorious and rich, being cloth of gold and silver, with a long velvet mantle: he sat on a red velvet *Spanish* chair, over his head a canopy of white satin, trimm'd about with a deep gold fringe; on his head a white fine cap, and on his legs a pair of ruffet-boots. On his right hand an officer, who sometimes gently fann'd the air with a handkerchief; and on his left side another, holding a tin bow, and a tin scepter, cover'd with fine striped cloth in his hand; and right before him was spread a great *Turkey* carpet; and on the right side, kneel'd his interpreter.

*White caps.*

This king commonly wears a white cap on his head; as do the nobility that are in favour: and this is so eminent a token thereof, that if he is displeas'd at any of them, he only causes his cap to be taken off from his head; for that white cap is a cognizance of nobility there, as in *Europe* every order has a peculiar badge to distinguish it.

When the king goes abroad with all his nobles, adorn'd with white caps on their heads, he sometimes puts on a hat, and at pleasure lays that aside, and resumes his cap.

His wife is call'd *Mani-Mombada*, that is, queen, and for her a yearly tax is gather'd through the whole kingdom, by them call'd *Pintelso*; every house paying a certain rate for their beds.

*The queen.*

The queen hath her peculiar apartment in the palace with her ladies, who use little art to adorn themselves; yet they go almost every night abroad to take their pleasure, only some staving in their turns to wait on the queen.

*Funerals.*

Formerly when the king died, his relations perform'd his *Tambi*, or funeral ceremonies, putting the dead corps, call'd there *Affua*, into the grave, in a sitting posture, and a dozen of young maids used to leap into it of their own accord, and were bury'd alive to serve him in the other world; as believing, he should not remain dead, but go into that other world, and live there. Those maids were then so earnest and desirous of doing that service to their deceased prince, that for eagerness to be first, they

kill'd one another; and their parents and friends gather'd all sorts of costly clothes, and put them into the grave, to the intent that when they arriv'd in that strange country, they might buy such things, as they had occasion for.

The funeral of the king, instead of mourning, is celebrated eight days together, with continual eating and drinking; which they call *Malala*, and every year after solemnize it with an anniversary meeting, in the same manner.

This custom of eating and drinking, is not only used for the king, but also for the nobility, according to their quality, and continues to this day; but christianity has abolish'd the burying of people alive.

The coronation is perform'd after this manner. All the nobles and *Portuguese* assemble before the palace, in a square open court, formerly built for that purpose, encompassed with a slight stone wall, about five yards high; in the middle of which, stands a great velvet chair and cushion, with a stately carpet spread before it, and a crown wrought of gold and silver wire, as also three gold armlets, about the thickness of a finger, and a velvet purse, wherein is the pope's bull, or letters of confirmation to the new king; who being come into the place so prepar'd, one stands up, who in the nature of a herald pronounces these words:

*You who are to be king, must not rob, nor be covetous nor revengeful; but be a friend to the poor: you shall bestow alms for releasing of prisoners or slaves, and help the needy, and be charitable to the church, and always endeavour to keep this kingdom in peace and quietness, and fully observe and keep the same, without breach of league with your brother the king of Portugal.*

After this speech, the musick begins to play; which having continu'd some time, the last two noblemen go to seek him among the people, the rest of them sitting on the ground. The two having soon found him they sought for, and bringing him, one by the right arm, and the other by the left, place him on the abovemention'd royal chair, and put the crown upon his head, the gold armlets on his arms, and the usual black cloth, or bays cloak on his shoulders. Then he lays his hands on a mass-book, and the gospels, which the priest holds to him, having an alb on; and the king swears to do and keep all he has been forewarn'd of, by the herald aforesaid.

This solemnity being ended, the twelve noblemen and the king go to the palace, accompany'd by all those that were present at the coronation, who cast earth and sand upon him, in token of rejoicing, and as an admonition, that tho' he be now king, he shall be dust and ashes.

The

Homage.

The king, after his crowning, remains eight days in his palace without going forth; during which time, all the *Black* nobility, none excepted, and all the *Portuguese* come to visit and congratulate him. The *Blacks* do him a kind of homage on both knees, clapping their hands, and kissing the king's hand. The *Portuguese* kneel upon one knee, and so the priests and clergy by that humble posture acknowledge his sovereignty.

When the eight days are past, the king appears in the market, and makes a speech to the people, expressing his readiness for the performing of that which was propounded to him; with assurance to them, that he will seek nothing more than the quiet and welfare of his kingdoms and subjects, and the propagating of the christian faith.

The people of *Congo* take the oath of fidelity to their king, like other christians; besides which, there were formerly sundry sorts of oaths in use among those *Ethiopians*, which were administer'd upon several occasions; but as needless to mention here, as ridiculous and extravagant in their nature and design. Among the many sorts of them are these chief ones, viz. *Cbicongo*, a draught of physical purging wood; the *Cbilumbo*, the *Ganganzi*, a superstitious oath; others call'd *Orioncio*, *Oluchenche*; finally the oath of *Bulungo*, administer'd to supposed traitors, by a wizard, or *Scingbili*; a draught composed of the juice of herbs, serpent's-flesh, pulp of fruit, and divers others things.

Of the Earls of SONGO, or SONHO, in particular.

THIS earl is the most potent in all *Congo*, and was subject to the king; but considering the woods of *Findemguolla*, which surround his country like a bulwark, he fortified, and made it almost impregnable: so casting off the yoke, he scarce acknowledges the king of *Congo* for his sovereign, but only as a friend of *Songo*.

Product.

This province of *Songo* yields copper much better than that of *Congo*, and some cotton, but they vend little of it.

In the year 1636, the king *Don Alvaro* of *Congo*, assisted by eighty *Portuguese*, was routed by the earl of *Songo*, who took *Don Alvaro* prisoner, and he for his ransom was forced to give the earl two territories; the one a principality, call'd *Mokata*, a great land of tillage, lying where the river *Zair* borders nearest to *Songo*. Afterwards *Alvaro* renew'd the quarrel with the said earl, and again lost the day; but coming a third time against the earl with much superior forces, as he has innumerable people at command, he took severe revenge of the *Songos* for the losses before sustain'd.

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The old earl being dead, in the year BARBOT. 1641, there broke out a new and bloody war, between that king, and *Don Daniel da Silva*, the new earl, on account of the principality of *Mokata*, he had made over, as Wars betwixt Congo and Songo. has been said, to the late earl; and accordingly invaded *Songo*, in confederacy with his son *Alfonso*, whom he had establish'd in *Mokata*, using all the extremities of war both against the subjects and country. But the *Songos*, a very warlike people, in the year 1645, on the twenty ninth of *April*, in a pitch'd battle, defeated and put to flight the king's army, and took the aforesaid prince of *Mokata*, together with many grandes, prisoners; and, according to the custom of the country, chopp'd off all their heads, keeping only *Alfonso* prisoner, who was his cousin, but would not suffer him to depart from him.

The king provoked more than ever by this overthrow, came the next year into the field, with all his nobility, and three or four hundred *Mulattos*, having made the duke of *Bamba* general of that army; who being come near the borders of *Songo*, was unawares set upon by an ambuscade out of the wood *Emtin da Guolla*, on the last of *July*, and his army not only totally defeated, but the duke himself necessitated to yield to the earl some places and countries before wrested from him, for the release of prince *Alfonso*.

During this war the king sent ambassadors to *Brazil*, to count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, who then had the government of that country, for the states of *Holland*, with many slaves, and a gold chain, for a present; to desire his assistance to carry on the war against *Songo*: but two ambassadors, sent at the same time to the said count at *Brazil*, by the earl of *Songo*, being also arriv'd there, intreated him to give no assistance to the king of *Congo*, against *Songo*; to which the count consented, and accordingly writ to their governors in *Congo* and *Angola*, not to intermeddle in the wars of these two princes, for that they were both in league with the *Hollanders*: and thus dismissed the said respective ambassadors with equal civilities, and rich presents.

Before the coming of the *Portuguese* into Ancient idolatry. these countries, and their converting them to christianity, the people of *Congo* had several sorts of idols, every man making to himself a god, according to his own fancy. Some worshipp'd dragons, goats, tygers, serpents, and many other such living creatures; others ador'd fowls, plants, trees, and the very skins of the beasts stuffed with straw. Before these idols they paid their religious worship, bending their knees, lying flat on their faces, daubing themselves with dirt, and sacrificing to them of the best

**BARBOT.** best and dearest things they had. At length they were brought to light, out of this darkness of idolatry, in which they had remain'd for many ages, through the endeavours of the *Portuguese*, who made the first discovery of the river *Zair* in the year 1480, under the command of *James Can.* In 1484, king *John* the second of *Portugal* sent the same *James Can* with a fleet, to discover the eastern coast of *Africa*, and the *East-Indies*. He being come to the river *Zair*, sent agents to the king of *Congo*, who not returning, he took four of the natives, that came to see the ships, and after some time spent in coasting, return'd to *Lisbon*, where king *John* treated those *Congoians* very courteously, and immediately dispatch'd *Can* back to *Congo* with rich presents. He arriving on the coast, exchanged the four *Congoians* for his four *Portuguese*, who, during their stay in *Congo*, became so intimately acquainted with the duke of *Songo*, uncle to the then king, and a man of a generous spirit, that they instructed him in the christian religion, and so fully convinced him of the error of their idolatrous worship, that the said duke went to the king to give him an account thereof, and to advise with him about changing their religion. After several consultations, the king agreed to send one *Zacuten*, on an embassy to *Portugal*, with a great retinue, desiring the king of *Portugal* to send some priests to instruct them.

*Conversion.* *Zacuten* at *Lisbon* first learnt the *Portuguese* tongue, and soon after, with all his followers, receiv'd baptism; which so encourag'd king *John*, that, pursuant to the request of *Zacuten*, he dispatch'd him to *Congo*, with some priests and church ornaments, where they were received by the prince and people, with an inexpressible joy. The duke of *Songo* was first baptiz'd, with his son, in the year 1491, he taking the name of *Emanuel*, and his son that of *Antony*; as was afterwards the king by that of *John*, his queen was call'd *Eleanor*, and his youngest son *Alphonso*.

This good example prevail'd upon not only the nobility, but many of the commons, whose number daily encreas'd; since when, the *Portuguese* have not spar'd any hazards or labours to increase and confirm the new planted religion, which has met with suitable success.

Among the *Portuguese* there are many schoolmasters, who, besides reading and writing, teach the catechism, wherein they make their scholars very perfect, and they are generally very submissive to the rules of the church.

The churches are built like their houses, and served by many priests both *Black* and *Mulattoes*.

The *Blacks* of *Congo* call a *Capucin* friar *Gramga Fomet*; the word *Fomet* being a name of respect, importing father or master. A priest they call *Evanga*, baptism *Manimuncu*, and God *Zabianbunco*.

When the earl of *Songo* goes to church, he puts on his best apparel, adorn'd with many gold chains, and strings of fine coral; before, goes the musick: he is attended by a guard of musketeers, and follow'd by a great throng of people.

*Merolla*, in his account of *Songo*, informs *Persecution.* us, that some years before his arrival there, one *F. Thomas de Siftola*, a *Capucin* missionary in *Congo* and *Angola*, with some other missionaries of his order, underwent a cruel persecution from the then earl of *Songo*, who sent them away to *Angoy*, ordering they should be dragg'd out of his dominions, for the space of two miles, which was executed with the utmost rigour; the cruel officers dragging them along by their own cords, with their faces next the sands, all the way reviling and insulting them, in such manner, that one of them died soon after, and the others with much difficulty surviv'd.

The occasion of that persecution, he says, was, that a king of *Congo* desiring to be crown'd, ask'd the assistance of the *Portuguese* at *Angola*, promising to give them the country of *Songo*, and two gold mines. The army of *Congo* being join'd by some of the *Giagbi* and their *European* auxiliaries, easily routed the forces the earl of *Songo* had rais'd to oppose them, killing the earl, in whose place another was soon elected. He having rais'd new forces, instructed them how to behave themselves against fire-arms; exhorted them to die a glorious death, rather than to live a miserable life; and caused all the cattle to be kill'd and eaten by his troops, as well to strengthen them, as that there might be nothing for the *Portuguese* and *Congoians*. These contemning their enemies, fell into their hands; for marching without any order, they were led into an ambush. The first that fled were the *Giagbi*, whom the *Congoians* soon follow'd. The slave, whom they had before taken, finding an opportunity to escape, run in among their friends, and being by them unbound, fell furiously upon the *Portuguese*, who still stood their ground; who being over-power'd by numbers, were all kill'd but six made prisoners, and carried before the earl, who ask'd them, whether they would rather chuse to die with their companions, or live and be made slaves. They resolutely answer'd, *That Whites had never yet submitted to be made slaves to Blacks, nor would they.* No sooner were the words out of their mouths, than they were all kill'd upon the spot. All the artillery and baggage was taken by the *Songese* army,

*Victory of the earl of Songo.*



army, the former of which, with some other pieces of cannon bought of the *Dutch*, serv'd to furnish a fort built of earth, at the mouth of the river *Zair*.

His apology.

The *Sogneses* to justify their proceedings in this particular, alledg'd that the king of *Congo* had no right to give away their country to the *Portuguese*, since it was none of his, but a sovereignty of it self; therefore the *Portuguese*, who were no strangers, should not have been so unjust as to accept of it, and to endeavour to subdue it by force of arms. They farther urg'd, that when the *Dutch* some years before had got possession of the kingdom of *Angola*, a great number of *Portuguese* being expell'd from thence, fled to *Sogno*, where they were very courteously entertain'd by the count, who gave them the island of *Horses* to live in, and furnish'd them with all manner of provisions gratis; therefore they could not but admire, that those people, whom they had so hospitably receiv'd, should be so ungrateful as to endeavour to take their country from them.

The aforesaid count having receiv'd about thirteen wounds in the battle, died within a month; and the new one chosen in his stead bore such hatred to the *Portuguese*, that he resolv'd for the future to have no more to do either with them or the *Capucins*, whom he look'd upon as belonging to them. Sending therefore for some *Flemish* merchants, who were returning home, he writ by them to the pope's nuncio there, to furnish his dominions with new priests. That prelate sent him two *Franciscan* priests and a lay-brother, with strict orders, that if there were any *Capucins* in *Sogno* they should submit to them as their superiors. Those three religious men being arriv'd, were receiv'd with all imaginable courtesy, and conducted to the *Capucin* monastery. The count having thus got other priests, laid hold of several false pretences to send the *Capucins* away; and not being able to prove them guilty of any crime, had recourse at last to the most barbarous course that could be imagin'd, commanding them to be dragged out of his dominions, as was said above.

Upon this inhuman action of the count, the *Franciscans* who were come from *Flanders* withdrew to *Angola*, and would not return to *Sogno* any more. Thus the *Capucin* convent was totally abandon'd by religious men, for which reason the people arose in a furious manner against their prince, seiz'd and sent him bound to an island of his dominions in the *Zair*, and chose a new count. Afterwards, fearing lest the former should endeavour to reinstate himself with the assistance of other nations, as he was then actually contriving to do, they again

seiz'd and threw him into the sea with a great stone about his neck. BARBOT.

Some time after, one father *Joseph Maria* came from *Loanda* to *Sogno*, to carry away the church utensils belonging to the mission, but more particularly to sound the minds of the people; who, as soon as he arriv'd at cape *Padron* at the mouth of the *Zair*, resorted to him in great numbers, relating how they had dispatch'd the count, who had been an enemy to the *Capucins*, and protesting to him in the most solemn manner, that they would defend them for the future, to the last drop of their blood. This promise they again confirm'd by oath at the altar, and so father *Joseph* remain'd with them, and sent for father *Thomas* to return to *Sogno*, which he did, and ever since the *Capucins* have liv'd there unmolested; but the *Portuguese* have no footing in *Sogno* to this day.

In the year 1647, at the request of *Don Mission*, *Alvaro* the second king of *Congo*, the pope sent fourteen *Capucins* from *Sicily* and *Cadiz*, who landed in *Sogno*, and thence, with leave, travell'd to *Congo*; only leaving some of their number, to propagate the faith there.

In the reign of *Alvaro* the first of *Congo*, the christians receiv'd not only a check, but underwent heavy persecution; but providence never suffering such raging impiety to go unpunished, the *Jagos*, who had long possess'd the kingdom of *Ansiko*, a savage people residing in huts and woods without prince or government, like the wild *Arabs*, fell into the kingdom of *Congo* like an irresistible inundation, ruining the same with fire and sword. The province of *Batta* lay first in their way, where, on a certain plain before the city of *St. Salvador*, the king gave them battle, but with the loss of many people; insomuch that he was forc'd to retreat into the city, and afterwards fled for safety, together with many *Portuguese* and notable persons of *Congo*, to *Ilba dos Cavallos*, that is, *Horse-Island*, leaving the city to the *Jagos* for a prize; who burnt it, together with the churches, laying waste the whole, and carrying away the inhabitants, whom they killed and eat. The husbandmen fled to the woods and wildernesses, chusing rather to die there with hunger, than to fall into the hands of such inhuman cannibals: nor was that calamity confin'd to the woods, but the famine spread over the inhabited parts, so that a slave, at that time worth at least ten crowns, was given for a little meal; nay more, thousands sold themselves for slaves to the *Portuguese* of the island of *St. Tome*, to preserve themselves from starving; amongst whom were some of the blood-royal, and many of the chief lords.

The king of *Congo* finding himself too weak to withstand his enemies, by the coun-  
sel

BARBOT fel of the *Portuguese* sent an agent to *Don Sebastian* then king of *Portugal*, praying aid; who immediately sent him a supply of six hundred soldiers, many persons of quality going as volunteers, under the command of *Don Francis de Gourvea*, a man who had often been in *Asia* and *Africa*; and who, after a fortunate passage, arriving at the island of *St. Tome*, where by order they put in for recruits of ammunition, and to victual and refresh, they went over to *Congo*, and landed at *Horse-Island*, where the king of *Congo* then had his abode. Here the general having receiv'd fresh supplies of *Portuguese* and natives, went over to the continent and fought the *Jagos*, defeating them in several battles in such manner, that king *Alvaro* after a year and a half's exile was restored to his throne, and desir'd that priests might be sent him to re-establish the christian religion; and as an acknowledgement for the assistance receiv'd, obliged himself in writing to send the king of *Portugal* a yearly present of slaves, and to own him as his sovereign. The king of *Portugal* modestly refus'd it; answering, that he look'd upon the king of *Congo* as his brother; but assisted him in establishing the christian religion.

Christianity restor'd.

After four years residence there, the general departed, leaving behind him a number of *Portuguese* as a guard to the king, and to secure the peace for the future.

Father *Merolla* represents the hardships himself and other missionaries endur'd in labouring to propagate christianity in the *Lower Ethiopia* after this manner.

Hardships undergone by missionaries.

Grievous, no doubt, are the sufferings of the missionaries in these parts, whether we consider the length of their travels, their frequent want of necessaries; the various climates of the countries they pass through; the suffocating and intolerable heats, especially to us *Europeans*, who fry under our coarse cloth; the travelling over rocks and frightful precipices, the lying on the bare ground, the being persecuted by wizards and such sorts of wretches, and sometimes by bad christians; and lastly, the losing of so much blood as we are fain to do to preserve our healths, and a thousand other inconveniencies which cannot be here mention'd.

In another place, speaking of his journey from *Cacongo*, and *Cabinde* to *Congo* up the country, he says thus:

On the seventh of *March* 1688, having gone about two days journey by land, I arriv'd at the *Banza* of *Bomangois*, where being very civilly receiv'd by the *Mafuca*, and a canoe got ready to carry me up the *Zair*, the voyage prov'd very uneasy to me, by reason of the excessive heat of the sun then in *Leo*, which is the time of the rains. At night I was oblig'd to lie ashore on the wet ground, continually tormented with a multitude of gnats, which rather deserve the name of horse-leeches, for they never quit their hold till they burst, and so drop off. Otherwise I lay expos'd to the air in the canoe, which was a much greater plague; and to add to my misery, the *Blacks* who conducted me, having receiv'd money beforehand for my maintenance, would not allow me enough to subsist for four days; so that a little wine I had by me was all my support.

Some days after, he says, he perceiv'd he was poison'd in some broth, but recover'd by the use of some antidotes, as several other missionaries have been before in other parts.

By this account and many other instances, we read in *Merolla* and other missionaries at *Congo*, it appears they have endured infinite outrages and miseries in the execution of their priestly function among those *Ethiopian*s; besides the many accidents and dangers of the seas, rovers, tempests, &c. in their voyages from *Italy*, whence most of them are sent by the congregation *de propaganda Fide* to *Congo*, *Sogno*, *Angola*, and by the way of *Lisbon* and *Brazil*: all which hardships, *Merolla* says, are sweetned to those who undergo them, as being for the service of God, who can and will reward them.

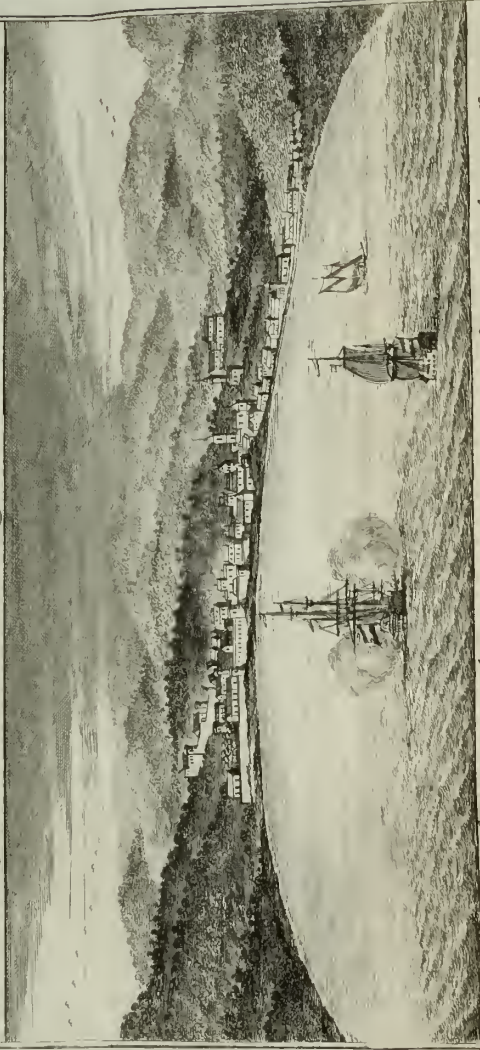
The following abstract of the journals of the voyage to the river of *Congo* and port *Cabinde* in the year 1700, is not only new, but contains many passages of great use, towards perfecting the intended description of the coasts of *Guinea* and the *Lower Ethiopia*; and is of no small advantage to traders unto those parts, as giving an account of the coasts, the navigation, the proper commodities, the seasons, winds, tides, duties, and places of trade in the said river of *Congo* and at *Cabinde*.



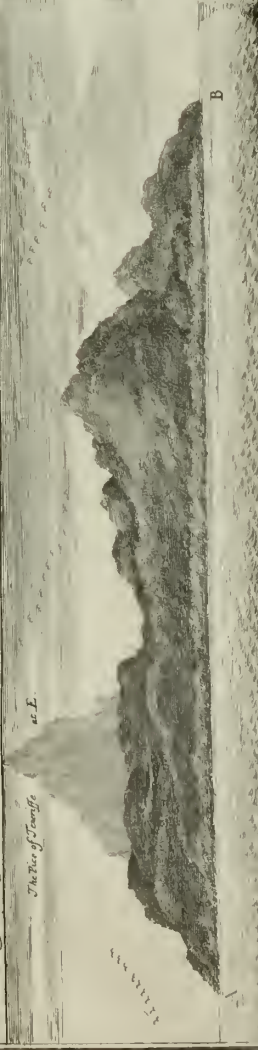
The Prospect of the two Small Islands. Las Desertas (in the NE of Maderus) at 3 Leagues Distance



The Prospect of the Town of Funchal, and of the Road, in the S. Land. Maderus, only South side



The Prospect of the West side of GOMERA, from A to B at 15 Leagues distance the Pico Tenriffe appearing over at East

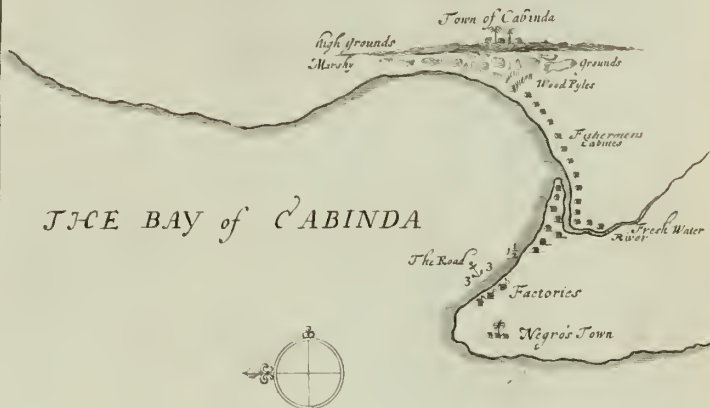


The Prospect of the Island Palma at 6 Leagues distance, Seen From the South



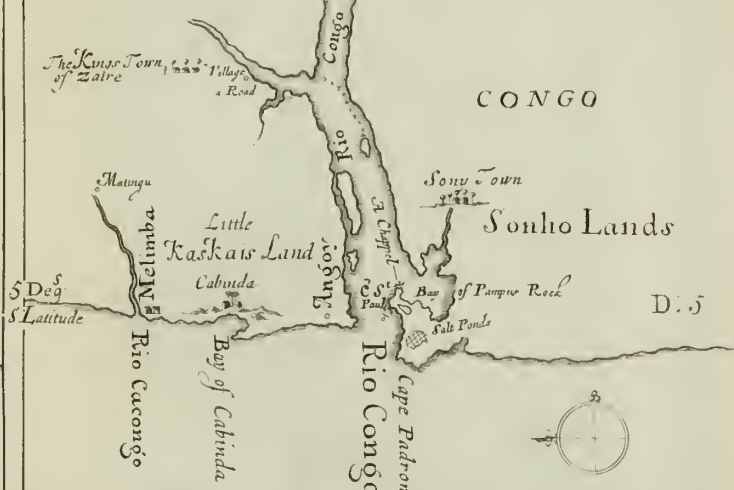


# LITTLE KASKAIS LAND



## THE BAY of CABINDA

# PART OF THE KINGDOM OF CONGO



The Sea Sun of 4½ foot Long  
Caught in y South latitude. 12 D: 25 m  
in sight of y Coast of Angola



### A Dorado



This Fish is call'd by the French  
A Germon



Sea Hogg a Porpoise  
Nostrills Spouting Water



AN ABSTRACT of a Voyage to Congo River, or the Zair, and to Cabinde, in the year 1700.

By James Barbot, junior, Super-Cargo; and John Casseneuve, First Mate, in the Ten per Cent. Ship *Don Carlos* of London.

WE fail'd from the Downs, on the eighth of April, 1700.

Arriv'd before *Madera* island, the eleventh of May, and proceeded immediately, after we had got some wine and refreshments aboard; the prospect of the town of *Funchal*, was drawn by Mr. Barbot, as in the

PLATE 28.

The variation there three degrees and a half west. May the fourteenth, had the island *Palma*, one of the *Canaries* in sight; the southerly point thereof at north-west, about nine leagues distance from it, and some hours after brought the island *Ferro*, another of the *Canaries*, to south-west by south; and easily perceiv'd the high mountain call'd *el Pico* of *Teneriffe*, at east-north-east of us, over the island *Gomera*; looking, as by the sketch drawn by Mr. Barbot, in the print. The latitude observ'd that day, being twenty-eight degrees fifty-five minutes, which is that of *Palma* exactly.

PLATE 28.

The eighteenth, wind north-east by north and north-east, in the night-time a whale gave a violent shock to our ship, rising from the deep, exactly under our keel, about the middle of it; as we discern'd her very plainly, and afterwards plung'd with a great noise: the man at the helm affirm'd, he could not move it any way for above a minute.

PLATE 29.

The twenty-third, we caught a dorado, of the form as in the print, drawn by Mr. Barbot.

The twenty-fourth, in the latitude of twelve degrees five minutes north, and in one degree sixteen minutes longitude of *Ferro*, the wind north-east by north, we saw two sails, one at north-north-east, the other at south by west. In the afternoon we hail'd one of them, who prov'd to be a *Londoner*, one *Fleet* commander, who afterwards came aboard us, and said he had been three days from the river *Gamboa*, steering for the *Gold-Coast* of *Guinea*.

The twenty-ninth, a brisk gale from south-south-west, in nine degrees four minutes north latitude, were surrounded by large shoals of porpoises or sea-hogs, and caught one with the cramp iron; who was no sooner wounded, but all the multitude left us, as if these creatures by the stain of blood of their companion, had an instinct of danger to themselves. Mr. Barbot drew the porpoise exactly, as in the print.

PLATE 29.

On the ninth of June, the wind south-east by south and south-east, in three degrees

twenty minutes north, we found the tide setting to the northward.

The nineteenth, wind east by south, we cross'd the line, the observation two minutes north: and on the twentieth, thirty-five minutes south-latitude; in five degrees two minutes longitude of *Ferro*, steering south by west and south-south-west, continu'd south-east wind.

The twenty-second, we clean'd our ship, which being grown foul, sail'd but heavily.

The twenty-fourth, in four degrees fifty-five minutes south-latitude, and six degrees fourteen minutes longitude of *Ferro*, wind east by south and east-south-east, were exactly in the latitude of *Cabinde*, our intended port, but six hundred leagues west of it; the east-south-east and south-east winds, forcing us to go about to the south a great way; rough sea, various wind.

The third of July, in seventeen degrees forty-six minutes south-latitude, and twelve degrees thirty-nine minutes longitude of *Ferro*, suspecting we were near the shoals that shoot out from cape *Abrolho* in *Brazil*, for fifty leagues to eastward at sea, we kept good watch on the fore-yard and fore-castle.

Winds continuing from south to east, variously every day, and now and then at north west, for a short time we proceeded, steering southwardly; and on the twenty-fourth, by observation in thirty-one degrees twenty minutes south latitude, and five degrees fifty-seven longitude of *Ferro*, wind north by west, saw many birds about us, some as big as turkeys, and others call'd *Pintados*.

“ They were then exactly in the latitude  
 “ of the bay *Osinuros da Pedra*, on the  
 “ coast of the *Caffres* in *Africa*, distant  
 “ three degrees north of cape *de Bonne*  
 “ *Esperance*; and thus had run to south-  
 “ ward about three degrees twenty-one mi-  
 “ nutes, more than did the *Dutch* fleet, un-  
 “ der admiral *Jol*, in 1641; which sail'd  
 “ the thirteenth of May from *Fernambuco*,  
 “ in *Brazil*, to conquer *Loanda* in *Angola*.  
 “ And two degrees twenty minutes more  
 “ to southward, than father *Angelo* did, in  
 “ sailing from *Fernambuco*, for *Congo* in  
 “ *Africa*. Father *Merolla*, in his voyage  
 “ from *Baya*, in *Brazil*, to *Congo*, went  
 “ so far to the southward, that they had  
 “ sight of the cape of *Good Hope*; so that  
 “ it must be concluded, that it is very  
 “ common for ships bound to *Congo*, and  
 “ *Angola*,

BARBOT. “ *Angola*, to be carried so far away to south, before they can get the trade-winds to serve them for those countries.”

The twenty fifth, the wind changed on a sudden from north-west, and north by west, to south-west by west; and some time after south south-west, variable to north-west, a fresh gale, rough sea, hazy, and then heavy rains for two days together; steered east north-east.

The twenty seventh, in thirty degrees six minutes south, wind west north-west, varying to west south-west, hail and rain, with lightnings, but cold weather.

From the twenty eighth *ditto*, to the ninth of *August*, variable wind from south to north-east and north-west, hazy, drizzling rain. We had a great multitude of birds about us on the ninth of *August*, being white under the belly, the wings long, sharp-pointed, about as big as pigeons, dark brown on the back, either flying about or swimming on the sea, so near the ship, as almost to touch it, and then took their flight again. Observation twenty three degrees twenty seven minutes south latitude, longitude of *Ferro*, thirty one degrees fifty four minutes. We passed the tropick of *Capricorn*, wind east by north variable to south south-east, and fresh gale, by judgment not above fifteen leagues from the land of *Africa*.

On the tenth, saw a floating palm-tree on the sea, with a multitude of the same birds.

The eleventh, the same multitude of birds, and another floating tree; the sea-water alter'd, wind south south-east.

The thirteenth, with the same wind, steering north-east by north, somewhat east. Observation sixteen degrees five minutes; we saw abundance of certain birds, call'd by the *French Gornets*, who keep always near land, which we guessed not to be far off.

The fourteenth, at half an hour after one got sight of the land of *Africa*, extending from south by east, to north-east by east, about five or six leagues from us; had much floating wood about; the land in several places doubling; the shore as high as *Berry-head*.

Mataman country.

This land is the part of *Africa*, commonly call'd *Mataman*, or *Cimbebas*, and shows some white cliffs here and there. For want of an observation, we concluded we had been about fifteen leagues to the southward of cape *Negro*, which, according to the most receiv'd opinion, is in sixteen degrees thirty minutes of south latitude, for most maps differ therein; some placing it in fifteen degrees fifteen minutes; others in sixteen degrees, and those reckon'd the best in sixteen degrees thirty minutes.

Whales.

The last two or three days we had a great number of whales and grampusses about

the ship; especially the night between the fourteenth and fifteenth, three or four of them kept at a small distance from us, making a prodigious noise, which we supposed were then assaulted by some sword-fishes, their mortal enemies.

The fifteenth in the morning we were about two leagues and a half, or three from the land, steering north north-east, the land pretty high at the shore, and double in many places, having several sharp-pointed hillocks on it, rising somewhat above the other land, and four or five table-lands. In the night founded twice, with seventy fathom line, and had no ground.

About noon spy'd a high, black, round mount, about three leagues to the south-east of us, which we concluded to be *Cabo Negro*. The land here is about the height of that between *Torbay* and *Plymouth*; that next the shore the lowest, but very steep, and of a reddish colour. We sail'd along it to north north-east, at about four leagues distance, and it appear'd cut in many small bays, with a sandy strand. The land flat, but dry and barren, only some shrubs scatter'd about it.

“ The kingdom of *Mataman*, had that name from its king, according to *Pigafetta*; its proper name being *Climbebe*, or *Zimbebas*. The most noted places in it along the coast are next the black cape, right eastward, where may be seen the beginning of the cold mountains, call'd also the snowy mountains, from the vast quantity of snow continually lying on some parts of them. Next are the crystal mountains, which shoot northerly to the silver mountains, and to *Molembo*; near which the river *Coari* has its course, and is a boundary to the kingdom of *Angola*.

“ On the southerly coast of *Cimbebas* appears *Cabo Negro*, or the black-cape, so call'd by reason of its blackness, whereas there is no other black land to be seen from twenty one degrees of south latitude. On the top of that point stands an alabaster pillar, with an inscription, but so defac'd by time and the weather, that it is scarce legible; and formerly on the top of it stood a cross, since fallen off, and now lying on the ground.

“ The coast from hence stretches a little north-east, and east north-east; the country about showing nothing but barren and sandy hills, without any verdure, and high sandy mountains without trees.

“ More to the southward, in eighteen degrees, you come to a point, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Cabo de Ruy Perez*; to the northward of which is a great inlet, with sandy hills, and the shore to the black point; but to the southward is a high land,



“land, altogether sandy, and reaches to  
“nineteen degrees.

Golfo Frio.

“Farther still to the south, in nineteen  
“degrees thirty minutes lies a gulf, call'd  
“*Golfo Frio*, with double land and full of  
“trees. Next you come to the open haven  
“of *Ambros*, in twenty one degrees. Beyond  
“that, still to the southward, the coast much  
“resembles that we mention'd in the north,  
“being high, with sandy hills, barren land,  
“and a bad shore.

“A considerable way to the westward of  
“*Cabo Negro*, or the black cape, is a great  
“sand in the sea, in *Portuguese* call'd *Baixo*  
“de *Antonio de Viana*, dangerous to failors,  
“being sometimes cover'd with water.

“The air is temperate, and the soil, tho'  
“sandy next the sea, yet affords all things  
“necessary for the use of man. The moun-  
“tains are rich, not only in crystal, but  
“other minerals. To the northward it is  
“more full of trees, as far as twenty two  
“degrees of south latitude, from whence  
“there drive into the sea a hundred and fifty  
“miles from the shore, certain green weeds,  
“call'd *Sargossa*; and serve for a mark to  
“seamen to know how near they are to the  
“main land of *Africa*. Abundance of  
“mews or sea-pyes are also seen at some  
“distance from shore, with black feathers  
“at the ends of their wings, which is an af-  
“surance to seamen, that they are near the  
“*African* coast.

“This country is govern'd by a king,  
“who is absolute; yet some great men,  
“who command near the sea-shore, take  
“the title of kings, tho' they have neither  
“wealth nor dominions to give them any  
“reputation among strangers.” I return to  
the journal.

On the sixteenth, we held the same course:  
the most northern land we could see at noon,  
bore north-east by east, distant eight or nine  
leagues; all the coast there appearing very  
barren, without any tree or bush for a great  
way up the inland. Last night we had for  
two leagues round us an infinite number of  
porpoises, driving to the southward for near  
an hour, very thick and close together.  
The night before we took aboard the ship  
a bird call'd a *Mosquito-hawk*, about as big  
as a lark, of the colour of a woodcock,  
with large eyes, a short bill, but very broad,  
the feet like a sparrow, and has its name from  
feeding generally on mosquitoes or gnats.  
There are great numbers of them in *New-*  
*England*. The land we coasted this day is  
not quite so high as that of yesterday. The  
weather being calm, brought the ship on the  
careen to clean it.

Mosquito-  
hawk.

The seventeenth, by observation, found  
twelve degrees fifteen minutes south lati-  
tude; little wind at south-west; course north  
north-east, six or seven leagues from land,

had abundance of whales and grampuffes <sup>BARBOT.</sup>  
about us. In the evening with the harping-  
iron, struck a large and hideous fish, call'd  
a sun-fish, the figure whereof Mr. *Barbot* <sup>Sun-fish.</sup>  
drew, as represented in the cut. It was <sup>PLATE 29.</sup>  
about four foot long and three in breadth,  
almost oval, with a monstrous head, large  
round eyes, and a little mouth, cover'd with  
a dark brown shagreen skin, extraordinary  
hard. On each side of it were two fins,  
moving very slowly, and not flat. Our  
failors boil'd the best part, and eat it, find-  
ing it excellent food. The flesh of it is milk-  
white, rising in flakes, like cod, and tastes  
like thornback; but very tough, perhaps be-  
cause too fresh. We boil'd the liver, and  
got about three pints of oil; our men also  
boil'd the entrails, and thought them very  
delicious.

The eighteenth, at noon, being east and  
west, with a little sandy bay, about four  
miles from it; and having for two or three  
nights before observed, that the *Blacks* made  
fires ashore, which we guess'd to be a signal  
for us to stay, some of our men were sent  
ashore in the pinnace, to take a view of the  
country; but the sea roll'd so violently all  
along the beach, that it was impossible for  
them to come near: but three men swam  
through the boisterous waves, and walk'd  
to and fro for some time, but only saw  
five or six very small huts, without any in-  
habitants, and in them some pieces of dry'd  
shark, and a few small fishing-hooks. It is  
likely those *Black* fishermen fled into the  
country, when they saw the pinnace making  
for the shore. The men finding thereabouts  
some very small canoes, call'd bark-logs,  
made use of them to get aboard the pinnace,  
which lay without the rolling sea waiting  
for them. They reported, that the country  
is very barren and stony, with only some  
few small trees and shrubs on it; and near  
the sea a sandy down, and the shore cut  
with white cliffs, pretty high and steep,  
and betwixt them some little sandy bays.

“Several *Portuguese* relations of voyages <sup>Man-</sup>  
“from *Brazil* to *Congo* and *Angola*, observe, <sup>eat-ers.</sup>  
“that the people inhabiting the western  
“*African* shores, from thirty degrees south  
“latitude, to cape *Negro*, which is much  
“more to the northward, are cannibals,  
“and that there are many fine large har-  
“bours, form'd by nature, and capable of  
“receiving two or three thousand ships each  
“of them. The *Portuguese* call those *Afri-*  
“cans *Papagentes*, that is, men-eaters, on  
“account of some accidents which have  
“happen'd there to their nation; one of  
“which, for its singularity, I will insert  
“here. A vessel coming to an anchor in  
“one of those harbours, the captain and  
“some of his crew went ashore, well arm'd,  
“and he straying a little farther than ordi-  
“nary

BARBOT. " nary from his men, saw two *Black* women naked, carrying wood; the women seeing him, stood still, which he perceiving, to encourage them, threw down several trifles, as knives, glass, coral and the like. The women laid down their burdens, and pick'd up those toys, leaping and dancing about the captain. This pleased him so well, that he was resolv'd to have as much of it as he could, and therefore sat down on the grass. They observing his security, continu'd their gambols for a-while; but at last one of them seizing him behind across the arms, and the other catching up his legs at the same time, they run away with him so swiftly, that it was impossible for his men, who both saw and heard him cry, either to rescue or come near him; and so return'd to their boat and ship, considering on the barbarous banquet those, rather beasts than human creatures, were to make that night."

The nineteenth at noon, we discovered north north-east of us a steep high head lowering to the eastward as it ran up the inland, not unlike *Portland-point* in *England*, but not so long out to sea. Our course north-north-east for several leagues, two miles or a mile and a half from shore; and having brought the aforesaid head to bear east south-east, about a mile distant, dropp'd anchor. We observ'd the land to the northward to form three points or capes, the one facing north-north-east half north, the middle one north-north-east, and the third north-east by north, and the high steep head like *Portland* head, east-south-east in the kingdom of *Benguella*; south of which we observ'd a sandy bay with some rocky shoals, on which the sea break with a terrible noise.

North of the cape we saw another bay of a more easy access than the former; but the country all about very wild and barren.

Here we lay at anchor all night, in twelve fathom water, mud, and sandy ground, resolving not to stir farther till we had sent ashore for intelligence. Our observation was by computation, eleven degrees thirty-nine minutes south.

Accordingly about six in the morning, our master went ashore in the long-boat with twenty-two armed men; but because of the sea breaking on the strand, they anchor'd without to sea, and some men swam ashore, where finding two bark-logs on the beach made of the wood *Mapou*, being small pieces of wood ty'd close together in the nature of a raft or float, the two ends pointed and rais'd on each side with pieces, for gunnills, about seven inches high, with those floats or canoes; they carry'd ashore our men, who being all landed after some trouble, every one having

*Bark-logs.*

been several times overfet, but without any other damage than the pains of drying their clothes. They march'd in arms almost three miles up the country, without spying any people or huts; only observed some pieces of ground fresh burnt, being still hot: they also saw some narrow paths or lanes, on which, says Mr. *Barbot*, who was of the company, we could plainly discern the prints of mens feet, for above a mile and a half; and afterwards came to a large rock forming a grotto or den like a vault, and went in all of us, but found therein only loose stones.

We had however proceeded farther inland, but that one of the company being scorbatick and not able to walk so much, was returning back to the beach by himself; we therefore thought it most proper to desist and accompany him, for fear he should meet with any savage natives, who might have lain conceal'd in some place or other. We found here and there some scatter'd little trees, some with a few leaves, others quite dry'd up.

Being thus return'd to the beach, where our long-boat lay at anchor, we observed at a little distance, a pond of brackish water richly stor'd with fish; whereupon we sent the boat aboard to fetch our dragnet, with which we caught near three dozen of indifferent large mullets, and might have got many more, had not the meshes of the net been so large, that the fish easily got out through it. We also took a good quantity of fine large shrimps, very sweet and delicate.

There we also saw abundance of birds, of a light grey colour, the neck, legs and bill very long, being of the same species we had seen all along, as we coasted along the countries of *Benguella* and *Matanaman*, that is, sea-pyes or mews.

The sea-breeze by this time had raised the waves along shore terrible high, and the tide was very rapid, which put our company to much trouble to get through to the long-boat, with our two little float-canoes, which were over-fet many and many times. That which I was in, with three of our men, was overturned four times successively; and not being a swimmer, I had undoubtedly perish'd, if the men had not taken care of me.

Being all got safe aboard ship, we hoisted sail at six in the evening, and set the course to northward, along the shore, which we kept in sight all the night, sounding sometimes in sixteen, and sometimes in twelve fathom water.

The twenty-first at eight in the morning, we spy'd a very steep point at north half by east of us, about seven leagues distant; and at noon, the same cape bore north-

north north-east about three or four leagues from us. All this coast is a sort of table-land, with very little green; we saw a great smoak ashore at east by north, and on each side of the smoak white cliffs on the strand of a reasonable height, with a sort of bay or inlet, which made us conclude, together with our other observations, that this was cape *Tres-Pontas* in *Benguella*. Cape *Falet*, or rather *Falso*, at six in the afternoon bore south-east by south of us, six leagues.

The twenty-second at noon, we brought cape *Ledo* east of us, about five leagues distance, which is indifferent high; and by estimation were then in nine degrees fifty-three minutes south-latitude, wind at south by west and south south-west, and at nine at night south and south south-east, and south-east by south.

#### Of BENGUELLA.

Modern geographers make this country to extend along the sea-coast from the river *Coansa* to *Cabo Negro*, in sixteen degrees of south-latitude.

About three miles from the south-point of *Coansa*, is *Mayfotte*-bay, before which a small rock is hid under water.

Three miles and a half farther is *Cabo Ledo*; five from that again, *Cabo de Tres Pontas*; two miles south of which is *Cabo Falso*, and five beyond that another.

Six miles and a half from cape *St. Blase* is *Hens* bay, so called from the abundance of hens about it; and between them *Benguella Velha*, that is *Old Benguella*, a champaign, and very fruitful country.

*Hens* bay is about a mile and a half in breadth, has ten or twelve fathom water and a muddy bottom.

On the south-side of it stands a great village on a hill, where large cows, sheep, hens, and elephants teeth may be had, but there is no fresh water.

Three miles and a half from that bay is *Rio Longo*, otherwise call'd *Rio Moreno*, in eleven degrees four minutes of south-latitude, so shallow at the mouth, that a small boat cannot go in or out without difficulty.

In former times the *Portuguese* attempted to mend the entrance into this river, but found it impracticable, by reason of the great water-falls and many rocks.

Five miles from *Rio Longo* is a great village call'd *Mani Congo*, on the ascent of a high mountain, where the *Portuguese* once had a store-house, and bought cows, hogs, and elephants teeth, for linnen and *East-India* printed cloths. The inhabitants are very fond of muskets

and powder.

Eleven miles from *Mani Congo* runs the salt river *Caton Belle*, dividing it self into two or three branches, safe against all winds, and has fifteen or sixteen foot water; so that great ships may lie before it.

About the north-point of *Caton Belle* is the good bay; so called, because of its good anchoring-ground.

The lands along the sea-coast are fruitful and low, but those higher up mountainous and over-grown with woods.

A mile and a half from *Caton Belle* is a fresh river, which falls into the sea only in the rainy season.

The bay of *Benguella*, which has good anchoring-ground, reaches from one point to the other, a mile and a half in breadth. On the north-side of it stands the fort of *Benguella*, built square, with pallisadoes and trenches, and surrounded with houses, shaded by banana, orange, lemmon, pomgranate and bakoven-trees; and behind the fort is a pond of fresh water.

About it are seven villages, which pay the tenth part of all they have, as tribute to those of *Benguella*. *Melonde* and *Peringe* are about a league from the fort, and a mile distant from each other; the other five are *Maniken*, *Somba*, *Maninomma*, *Manikimfomba* and *Manikilonde*, of all which *Manikimfomba* is the biggest, and can bring three-thousand men into the field. Formerly some *Portuguese* liv'd there; who afterwards, for fear of the *Blacks*, fled to *Massingan*, but were most of them kill'd by the way.

At the west-point of the bay of *Benguella* is a flat mountain, call'd in *Portuguese* *Sombreiro*, that is hat, from its shape; and by it a very good bay, on the south-side whereof is a sandy shore, with a pleasant valley and a few trees, but no water fit to drink.

Four miles from thence is a salt pan, yielding a grey salt like that of *France*, sufficient to serve the adjacent country.

The air of *Benguella* is very bad, the *Portuguese* who live there looking more like ghosts than men, being most of them persons banish'd thither for some crimes."

I return to the journal.

The twenty-third of *August*, being hazy weather, could make no observation of the land, but guess'd we were got to the westward of the south-point of the island of *Loanda de San Paola*, in *Angola*, a place belonging to the *Portuguese*, with the country about it; and by computation we took the latitude to be nine degrees eleven minutes south. The twenty-fourth, by noon, we were about nine leagues to the north-

BARBOT. ward of the island *Loanda*, and judg'd the point *Palmerino*, in *Congo*, to be eleven leagues distant. We had a quantity of whales and grampusses about the ship.

From the twenty-third to the twenty-fourth at noon, had no sight of land, but close gloomy weather; in the afternoon we spy'd land about six leagues off, steering our course north-north-east, and sometimes north, to the twenty-fifth.

That morning we had the land from the south-south-east to north by west of us, the nearest at north-east, the land all along very level and flat, but indifferent high, and cover'd with trees. Some way inland, it is rising ground, and farther shews double, some higher than other and woody. At night we sound'd with a twenty-five fathom line, but had no ground.

From the twenty-sixth at noon, till six at night, we ran about five leagues to north-west along the shore, three or four leagues distant; on seven, eight and nine fathom sandy ground, and thick water: for which reason the night approaching we drop'd anchor, in eight fathom and a half, having at north-east by north of us, about three leagues and a half, two round heads, looking at that distance like small islands, which however were not so, but held to the main.

At two in the morning we weigh'd with a small south-south-west wind, standing north for a while, till coming into six fathoms, we bore away to north-north-west, till eight in the morning, and were then in seven eight, to ten fathoms, and again return'd to seven fathom, about three leagues from land, which appear'd all overgrown with trees; the coast not very high, but double land inwards: and what we observ'd most, were two red cliffs or *Barreiras*, as the *Portuguese* call them, at east somewhat north from us; besides, a high lofty tree appearing above all the wood. By this day's observation, we had six degrees thirty minutes south-latitude.

The twenty-seventh at noon, had at the side of us, a very pleasant shore, richly adorn'd with wood, and a curious sandy beach before it; the country within all double land, and near the sea red cliffs.

At six in the evening anchor'd in six fathom, having at north of us, about five leagues distant a short point, shooting out to sea, which we supposed to be cape *Padron*, the south head or point of *Congo*-river, which the maps set down at six degrees south-latitude; this agreed exactly with our observation of this noon.

The twenty-eighth at five in the morning, we set sail with a south-east wind, which soon after grew calm, and the tide and the surges of the sea drove us on the land; we were forc'd to anchor in six fathom, about

half a league from land. But soon after the gale coming up again, we sail'd north-west till noon, and got cape *Padron* two leagues from us, bearing north-east by east, and observ'd abundance of *Blacks* walking along the sandy beach, where they had several canoes, and launched twenty-five or thirty to go a fishing; but none of them would venture to come aboard, or near our long-boat which attended us, sailing along the shore, for all the signals we made them.

The shore we had sail'd by all the forenoon, is more shaded with trees, than any we had seen before; cape *Padron* is a low flat sandy point, overgrown with trees, to a small distance from the beach, on which stands by it self one only palm-tree, which makes it the more easy to know the cape, from sea. *Lope Gonzales* having discover'd the river *Zair*, he, according to the orders of the king of *Portugal*, taken notice of in the description of the *Gold Coast*, erected on this low point, a stone base or pyramid, to shew or testify, he took possession of the coasts he had left behind; and from this it was named the river of *Padron*, and afterwards *Congo* river, because it traverses that kingdom.

In the afternoon, with a southerly breeze, we continu'd our course along the shore, about a mile distance; and having weather'd cape *Padron*, stood north-east by east and east-north-east, sometimes to east and east by south, in twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen fathoms water; and then on a sudden did not find ground with twenty-five fathom of line: observing *Palmerinba* point, on the north side of *Congo* river, bearing north-north-west of us, this cape being in the territory of *Goy*, at south of the bay of *Cabinde*.

East-north-east of cape *Padron*, is a point which we sail'd by at half a league distance, and being pass'd the same, presently discover'd another point, at east by north, continually sounding without touching ground with our twenty-five fathom line; and on a sudden came into five fathom, with a strong tide setting to shore; whereupon we presently drop'd anchor.

The third point in *Congo* river, bearing <sup>Congo</sup> east half north, half a league of us, being <sup>river.</sup> *Sony* or *Songo* point, where we saw a great number of *Blacks*; and soon after our master went ashore in the pinnace: after which, we moored the ship with the stream-anchor and cable, at north-north-west.

Soon after the pinnace return'd aboard, with two *Blacks* of the country, who spoke broken *Portuguese*, and assur'd us they had a great quantity of slaves to dispose of, at the town of *Songo* or *Sony*, the ordinary residence of the prince or earl of that name, lying about five leagues inland from this point;

point; and that there were only an *English* and a *Dutch* ship at *Cabinde*, which had almost got in their compliment of slaves.

Towards night we sent some men to fish ashore with the yaul; who being returned some hours after, brought a pretty quantity of fish, they caught in a pond, lying not far from the beach, hedged about with shrubs, and being help'd by the *Blacks*. The net was not long enough to be used at the beach. The *Blacks* dwelling about this point are all fishermen, and very good civil people, but could afford our men no refreshments besides some few pots of palm-wine, which they fetch'd from a good distance inland. They take pilchards in *Zair* as fat and large as herrings, using a very long round staff, made of a wood as hard as iron, and so thick, that as many darts are made fast to it, a small distance from each other, as take up six or seven spans in compass.

There are sea-horses in this river as large as two ordinary land-horses.

When we anchor'd, the tide was but small in comparison to what it prov'd to be about six in the evening, when on a sudden it came down from the river as swift as in the *Thames*, and continued so till almost ten at night.

The *Blacks* about this river's mouth are all *Roman Catholics*, some of them wearing a long string of beads about their neck, with a cross hanging at it; and on the point of *Sony* there is a little chapel dedicated to *St. Antony*. Every *Black* has a *Portuguese* name.

The twenty ninth, our master went in the pinnace, and the yaul was sent ashore to fish in the before mention'd pond; but they could not double *Sony* point, nor set ashore any where about it, the sea breaking so violently at the beach; and were obliged to return aboard: but at noon, the yaul towing the long-boat, and the sea-breeze being very strong, had much ado, by the working of sails and oars, to weather the said point, and return'd aboard at night, with a reasonable quantity of fish, among which were soles twenty inches long.

Sogno.

Our master and mate in the pinnace, conducted by two or three *Blacks* of *Sony* point, got up the creek of *Sony* twelve miles, rowing all the day; and being set ashore, walk'd about six *English* miles by land to the town, and were kept there a pretty while, before they could speak with the prince: at last being admitted to audience, according to the custom of the country, they presented him with six yards of fine chints, which he received favourably, and presently order'd a hen to be dress'd and serv'd up in a sorry pewter dish, to treat them. In the discourse the *Black* prince, or count, hear-

ing the captain say, he was come to trade BARBOT. for slaves, ask'd him, *Whether he would take due care that those slaves should be instructed in the christian faith; and whether he had waited on the Portuguese Padre there, which was requisite should be done:* and so dismissed him, after presenting him with a goat and six hens.

The captain return'd aboard at eleven at night, accompanied with *Manfouge*, that is, the receiver of the *Whites*, *Manchingue*, and *Mananbache*, three men of quality, sent by the prince to inspect our goods aboard, the mate being left at *Sony* as an hostage for them.

The thirtieth, those persons examined all the goods, and liked them very well; at dinner they fed on bread and cheefe, it being friday, and consequently a fast for *Roman Catholics*, the prince of *Sony* and all his court being such; and maintaining there two *Portuguese* friars, of the order of *Bernardins*, one of whom was but lately dead. Those noble *Blacks* wore long beads and a cross, with some *Agnus-Dei* at their neck.

At three in the afternoon they return'd to *Sony*, the captain accompanying them thither, in order to treat with the prince; but could do nothing, the said prince telling him, that neither he nor his subjects could well trade with him for slaves, unless he had first satisfied the *Portuguese Padre*, pretending it was not in his power, to let him purchase slaves in his territories, without having obtained his licence to that effect. The captain was forced to comply, tho' with much reluctance at first.

The *Padre*, when he waited on him, hearing of his design, started some difficulties; alledging chiefly, that the *English* carried the slaves to *Barbadoes*, to the hereticks, where he was sure the poor wretches should never be instructed in the christian faith: whereupon the captain shew'd him his commission, but the father not understanding *English*, desired to have it render'd into the *Portuguese* or *Latin* tongue, which none there could do, and so the father seemingly consented to his request.

Then the prince of *Sony* order'd the same They examine the three gentlemen *Blacks*, adding to them his goods. secretary, who could read and write *Portuguese*, and by his post of far greater dignity than the three others, to return aboard the ship, to examine yet more nicely the nature of our cargo, and to return him an exact account forthwith.

These being arriv'd aboard, were entertained as well as we could; and we drank with them their prince's, the father's, and their own healths successively and separately, and each health was saluted by firing of five guns.

They

BARBOT. They staid aboard till the second of *September*, and then returned to *Sony*, with a certain quantity of our merchandize, to store the lodge we were to set up there, on the assurances they gave us, that in two months, or ten weeks at farthest, we might there buy five hundred slaves; and upon this persuasion we had our lodge settled, being a house in *Sony*, contrary to the usual custom there, to settle the lodge near the creek, or river of *Sony*.

Price of slaves.

The fifth, they persisted to settle the price of slaves at eight pieces a man, and seven for a woman slave; and for boys and girls proportionably, according to their age and strength: but fearing what did happen afterwards, that these *Sony Blacks*, being bigotted to their *Padre's* opinion, as to the use of the slaves, would only amuse us, we sent our long-boat to *Cabinde*, to observe the trade of slaves there; having been told by a *Black*, who spoke indifferent good *English*, and shew'd some certificates of *British* commanders of trading ships, of his good-nature, and readiness to serve the nation, that we should have a more ready dispatch at *Cabinde*, than there, he could but advise us to send a message to the duke of that country, as he stil'd him.

The seventh we had a canoe aboard, with three indifferent large elephant's teeth, weighing about a hundred and fifty pounds, for which they ask'd eleven pieces; we offer'd seven, and they would not sell them at that price.

Fishing.

The eighth of *September*, our men went out a fishing near the breakings, and brought as much fish as could serve all our crew three or four days. We observed this day, yet more remarkably than before, the flood to have little or no force, but the ebb to be incredibly swift, especially at certain times for three or four hours, and may be said to run downwards continually, carrying out with it not only stumps and trunks of trees, but even whole parcels of ground, overgrown with small trees and shrubs, floating like little islands; so that sometimes it is impossible for our boats to get beyond *Sony*-point, and are forced to land on this side, and afterwards hale over the point, which is very narrow, into the water on the other side of it.

The first mate left as factor at our lodge at *Sony*, sent us word, there was no likelihood of any trade till we had adjust'd with the prince the price of slaves, and the standard of our merchandizes; as also the king's customs.

Presents for liberty of trade.

Whereupon the fifteenth, Mr. *Casseneuve* went up to *Sony* town, and there first waited on the *Portuguese* friar, and presented him with some small refreshments of *Europe*, (such as they were, after a five months passage thither) which he received with great satisfaction, and

return'd him his present; being some fine sweet oranges and bananas, and treated him with wine.

Then he waited on the prince, who was sitting on a great chair, his head newly shav'd and naked; having a kind of black cloak over his shoulders, but very short; and a clout of the same black stuff as his cloak about his middle; his legs bare, but slippers on his feet. When *Casseneuve* enter'd the room, he made a sign to him with his hand, to sit down opposite to him; after some discourse concerning trade, he call'd for a large pot of palm-wine, which he caused to be presented to him, after drinking himself in a great silver cup, on a plate instead of a salver.

This prince's apartments are divided with *King's and friar's houses* boards into several low rooms, some of which are painted of various colours and figures. But the father's is much better and larger, having also a very good garden, curiously planted with great variety of *African* trees and plants; and made up into fine pleasant walks, most of them shaded like groves. His chapel has three bells.

We privately agreed with the prince about the trade of slaves, at eight pieces for men, and seven for women; and for the measure of our goods, six foot two inches to each fathom for his, and of five foot only for the people; this prince generally making a better bargain for himself than for them.

The crew of our long-boat that went on the seventh for *Cabinde*, as has been observed, return'd aboard the sixteenth, in the yaul of an *English* ship that lay there; for it had not been possible for our men to have stemm'd the violent tide, by failing the boat; and the captain, who went thither in it, returned, being indispos'd, over land, from *Cabinde* to *Bomangoy*, and thence by water in a canoe; complaining much of the rude temper of the *Blacks* of *Cabinde*. Our pinnace had before made that voyage with our chief carpenter and four men, who had been sent ashore in the yaul to hew wood, unknown to us all, upon the persuasion of the *Black* of *Bomangoy*, before spoken of, that it was not very far, and we might make a short voyage, before we could ever miss of them; but coming near *Cabinde* late in the night, and the breakings being very great, they got on land there with much trouble, and often in hazard of splitting the yaul against the rocks, and sands of the bay; but were very joyfully receiv'd by the captain of the inhabitants, who caused some guns, they have there, to be fired, to salute them: all the *Blacks* seeming much pleas'd to see them.

As we suspected with great reason, that we should have but an indifferent trade at *Sony*, finding more and more by the discourses

Cannot  
trade at  
Sogno.

courses of the natives, that they were possess'd with an opinion, that we were not christians, and that we used to carry the slaves to the *Turks*, and other infidels and hereticks, where they were never baptiz'd; thought proper to lose no time, in looking out for a better place to settle a lodge or factory, in *Congo-river*: and being inform'd, that on the northern shore, at or near a point several leagues up that river, called point *Gitaar*, lying eighteen or twenty leagues farther eastward, we might settle one, and traffick with the inhabitants of the circumjacent territory, call'd *Zairy* or *Serry*;

On the twenty-first of *September*, Mr. *Casseneuve* went thither in the pinnace; where being landed, he was very courteously received by the captain of the village *Gitaar*, situated on the south-west side of a creek, somewhat to northward of the point, where the river *Zair* joins that of *Congo*. He advised him, after he had procured him a proper house there, to be made use of for a factory, at two pieces *per* month rent, to wait on the king of *Zair*, and petition him for a permission to trade with his subjects, as a thing always practis'd and of absolute necessity: which being resolv'd, the old *Black* captain about ten at night dispatched up to *Zair* by land, one *Menlemebe*, brother-in-law of the king, to inform him of the design, and to request he would send some of his officers

Remov'd to  
Gitaar.

to *Gitaar*, to serve as guards to our lodge, and have it enclosed for its security. The twenty-third, *Casseneuve* being in the factory, with the old captain of *Gitaar*, to settle it in order, they heard a noise of skirmishing, and the sound of a trumpet and of a drum, who preceded the *Black Menlemebe*, and the king's officers. These stop'd first at the governor's house, and afterwards came to the factory. The *Mangove*, one of the king's first officers, walked at the head of all the others, under an umbrello carry'd over his head by a servant, and followed by about thirty other *Blacks*, besides the king's officers. As they enter'd the factory, *Casseneuve* caused them to be saluted with some small arms, to welcome them, according to their way; to sit down on some mats, laid on the ground after the fashion of the country, to be treated with drams of brandy; and after a little stay, in the way only of a formal visit, they retired to the village, the *Mangove* being presented with a flask of brandy.

Liberty to  
trade.

The next morning, being the twenty-fourth, they came again to the factory, and presented *Casseneuve* with a hog, and two clusters of bananas; and after a short stay returned to the town, without taking any no-

tice of trade; these people being full of BARBOT. such civilities and formalities. But some time after they return'd again to the factory; the *Mangove* told *Casseneuve* he was sent by the king, with the officers present, to assure him he was well pleased the *Whites* should keep a lodge there; and at the same time to declare to the inhabitants, they might freely deal with him; and to charge them in his name not to disturb or molest the *Whites* any manner of ways.

After which, those officers obliged the factor to take five servants into his pay, to attend the service of the factory, and to be the keepers of the slaves we should buy there till they were sent aboard. Two of these servants belonged to the *Mangove* himself, one to the *Manchingue*, one to old *Gitaar*, and one to the *Malebucke*. We were to pay them for their attendance one fathom measure in merchandize *per* week, for the five men, but no victuals; and they promised to make good whatever loss or damage we might incur, and to do all manner of service as required: for it is the custom there, that such servants are to answer for whatever is committed to their custody, and what slaves the *Whites* have, they are to pay for, if stolen or run away; or be made slaves in their room, if not able to pay. However, the *Blacks* having a natural propensity to stealing, at which they are very dextrous, it is requisite to have a watchful eye over their behaviour, and not trust them too far, under the specious pretence of their securities; for if they can lay hands on any thing they like unperceiv'd, they will run away with it, and never return to the factory.

The *Mangove* and the officers examined all the merchandize we had in the house, and lik'd it very well; and afterwards returning again to the lodge with a great pot of palm-wine to drink with the factor, and having given him new assurances we should meet with a brisk trade of slaves and provisions, they went home, the *Mangove* being presented by the factor with a fathom of chints; and all the other grand officers, as they stiled themselves, each with two knives and a dram of brandy: it being resolv'd by all those *Blacks*, that the factor should wait on their king at *Zair*, the next day with a present.

The twenty-fifth, Mr. *Casseneuve* set out by water in canoes, in company of those officers, and being landed again at a place three or four miles higher up the little river of *Zair*, than *Gitaar*-point, they offered to have him carried to *Zair* in a hammock, as is the way of travelling in that country; but he chose rather to walk it, being seven or eight miles distant: and being ar-

**BARBOT.** riv'd at the town of *Zair*, rested a little at the house of one of the king's officers, where he was waited upon by three of the king's noblemen to welcome him, and at the same time to complain, he had not caused the small arms to be discharged at his coming into town, as is customary there to do, upon visiting any person, and much more the king; which he excused, alledging his ignorance of that custom, as he was a great stranger: and added, for further satisfaction, that he was much afflicted at the ill condition one of his near acquaintance lay in aboard the ship, when he departed from him; which answer seemed to satisfy them.

*Audience given by the king.*

At two in the afternoon he was conducted to audience in this manner; the *Mangove* placed him on his right hand, and behind him a servant covering his head with an umbrella held to keep off the scorching heat of the sun. They were preceded by four noblemen; the other officers walking in their ranks, behind the *Mangove*, with many other inferior *Blacks*: and being come near the palace, they halted for a while, being told the king was paying his devotions to his idols; which being over, they moved, passing through two enclosures or courts, made after the fashion of the country, into a large one, beyond the two, where were above three hundred *Blacks* sitting on the sandy ground, being either the king's domesticks, or the principal inhabitants of the town, whom curiosity had brought to see the *Whites*.

The king sat at one end of this spacious court, with his back to the wall, or enclosure, on a seat raised about fifteen inches from the ground, and under his feet an antelope's skin carpet-wise; he being dress'd in a long scarlet cloak, which had been presented him some time before by one *Moncriff* an *Englishman*, as was afterwards known: his head, legs, and feet bare, with a clout of *Matombe*-bark about his middle, and before him was a lance standing in the ground, he being an old man of a very indifferent mien.

Mr. *Casseneuve* was made to sit down, about ten foot distance opposite to the king; and by the king stood a woman having by her a large pot of palm-wine; and about ten paces farther were ten or twelve *Blacks* in a sitting posture, arm'd with muskets, and in the midst of them one with a scarlet cloak, adorn'd with gold fringe, standing there so richly dress'd to honour their idols. The woman presented the old king with a cup of palm-wine, and every time he drank, all the *Blacks* there present clapped their hands, in token of respect and veneration.

In the space betwixt the king and the *White*, the royal interpreter placed himself on his knees, but nearer to the king; and an oath was administered, that he would

faithfully say what the *Whites* had to deliver; the manner whereof was: The interpreter rubb'd one hand on the earth several times, and every time carry'd it to his forehead and rubb'd it; after which, he took one of the king's feet in his hands, spit on the sole thereof, and lick'd it with his tongue. This formality being ended, the interpreter turn'd himself towards *Casseneuve*, and required him to deliver his errand; which being done, he interpreted it to the king in his own tongue. After which, he adjusted the price of slaves; for a man eight pieces, for those the prince should sell him; and but seven and a half for all others had of private persons: and six and a half for a woman, and the king to have the same measure of merchandize as all other private people, which is four fathom to each piece, and each fathom to be four foot and a half measure. This done, the king told him he was well pleased the *Whites* had settled a factory at *Gitaar*; and further assur'd him there were many slaves in his dominion. *Casseneuve* presented him with two fathom of black bafts, and a case of *Aqua-vitæ*; which he received very gladly, and fell a singing some verses in his language, which he repeated three times successively; at each repetition the *Blacks* about him clapping their hands as before, to testify their approbation of his fine performances. The king caused *Casseneuve* to taste before him of all the flasks of the brandy he had presented him, as is their constant practice there, when they offer any liquor, or sell it to one another, to taste first themselves, to prevent any suspicion of poison.

After the audience, he walked out of the town, with some of the king's gentlemen, who shew'd him nine or ten roads about the country, leading to several large towns, all plentifully stor'd with slaves; as also the high way to the kingdom of *Congo*, by which vast quantities of slaves are yearly conducted to *Cabinde*; and that as soon as those of *Congo* should be inform'd, as it is not very distant from *Zair*, that the *Whites* had a factory at *Gitaar*, they would immediately flock to it from many parts with their captives, to save them the fatigue of a journey to *Cabinde*, which lies five and twenty or thirty leagues farther downwards at the sea-shore.

The twenty-seventh two of the *Black* servants of the factory at *Gitaar* came to *Zair*, and reported that the under-factor there, had received an order from Mr. *Barbot* and the captain, to leave the factory, and carry all the goods away down to the ship, which waited only for their coming, in order to sail out of *Congo*-river for *Cabinde*, where they had fresh assurances of getting their compliment

*Manner of swearing.*



compliment of slaves in a short time; which being reported to the king, he sent two of his gentlemen to *Casseneuve*, to know the truth of the report, which he declin'd to answer positively, fearing some ill consequences, after the agreement he had just made with him the day before, out of spight or revenge: and told them, the under-factor was a sort of Lunatick at certain times, and he could not rely at all on what he had said. About eleven a-clock he waited on the king, and persuaded him to give no credit to what he had been told, about breaking up the factory at *Gitaar*, and after that took his leave of him in order to repair thither, taking along with him four slaves, *viz.* a man, a woman, and two boys, the king trusted him with, to be paid to his officers at *Gitaar*: but having found many inconvenient places and waters to pass through, as he came up to *Zair* a-foot, being often oblig'd to be set on some *Blacks* shoulders to pass those waters, he caused himself to be carried in a hammock, to the nearest landing-place in *Zair* river, being attended all the way by three gentlemen on the part of the king; and the slaves conducted a-foot, by some *Black* servants; who being all come to the place where the canoes had set him ashore at his coming up, they were by the same carried down to *Gitaar* creek, and arriv'd at the factory about seven in the evening; where there were but two slaves bought since his departure.

As it is the usual custom among *Europeans* that buy slaves in *Africa*, to examine each limb, to know whether sound or not; the king of *Zair* observing *Casseneuve* thus trying the four slaves he had sold him, burst out a laughing, as did likewise the great men that were about him. He ask'd the interpreter what was the occasion of their laughter, and was answer'd, it proceeded from his so nicely viewing the poor slaves; but that however, the king and his attendants were so much ashamed of it, that he requir'd him, for decency sake, to do it in a private place: which shows those *Blacks* are very modest.

The under-factor having shewn *Casseneuve* the orders come from on board ship to break up the factory forthwith; they resolv'd to execute it that very night, while the *Blacks* were asleep. Accordingly at midnight they caused their goods to be carried out in small parcels, thro' the roof of the house, which was all of a piece, and supported only by forked poles, to the pinnacle in the creek; and as all this could not be done without the knowledge of our *Black* servants, and they had alarm'd all the people of *Gitaar*, on account of our design to leave the place; and several being come to the factory, we appeas'd them as well as we could, by telling them we had no such design as they sus-

pected, and so went away each to his <sup>BARBOT.</sup> home; and at break of day we had the rest of the goods carried to the pinnacle, leaving only as much there as would pay the rent of the house, and our *Black* servants wages for a month, tho' we had kept it but a week.

We also left there the four slaves brought down the day before from *Zair*, because we had not paid for them; and so ordering two *White* men in the pinnacle to carry it out of the creek, for fear if we had all gone in it, the *Blacks* might have fired at us, through the shrubs that cover the creek on each side; and the factors, with some more *Whites* in arms walk'd along the banks of the creek as a guard to it, till being come to a point that is dry at low water, they all got into the pinnacle, and so proceeded unmolested aboard, where they arriv'd at one in the afternoon, to the great satisfaction of our superiors, who fear'd we might have been all cut in pieces by the *Blacks* in this attempt.

Mr. *Casseneuve's* journal goes on thus.

Whilst I was at *Zair* town, I was us'd with abundance of civility by the *Blacks*, and visited by most of the *grandees* about the court, each presenting me, some a chicken, some bananas, another a calabash of palm-wine, &c. and had besides a hen boil'd at every meal; of which I eat the wings and legs, not having a stomach for the rest, as being boil'd, with the entrails, as is their fashion.

The inhabitants of *Zair* mind nothing but trading, being very lazy, and according to the custom of the country, leave all other things that concern house-keeping, to the care of their wives; who therefore are properly no better than slaves to them: for they must do every thing at home, and besides, till the ground, sow corn in the proper seasons, get in the harvest, make bread, dress victuals for the whole family, and look after their children and husbands; whilst the men sit and club, several of them together, most of the day, drinking of palm-wine; the women not daring to join them, unless particularly call'd upon: and when so invited, they repair to them in a very submissive posture; and when wine is presented them, before they take the cup, or return it, clap their hands several times, as a token of their gratitude; and never receive the cup otherwise than on their bended knees, withdrawing as soon as they have drank, unless commanded to stay longer.

This custom, establish'd here, and at most other parts of the country, is taken from other ancient nations of the east: for among the *Jews* in former times we read, that women work'd in the house, making clothes, dressing eatables, grinding the corn, as is evident from *St. Luke* xvii. 35. *Two women shall*

BARBOT. *shall be grinding together, the one shall be taken, and the other left.*

The like in 1 Samuel viii. 13. *And he will take your daughters to be confectioners, and to be cooks, and to be bakers; speaking what the king they would have to be given them, would do with them, as the kings of other nations used to do with their people.*

*Anna, the mother of Samuel, made him a little coat, and brought it to him from year to year, ibid. ii. 19. Tamar, daughter of king David, took the cakes which she had made, and brought them into the chamber to Amnon, her brother. 2 Sam. xiii. 10. We see in Homer the examples of Penelope, of Calypso, and Circe, weaving cloth and linen with looms. The like is seen in Theocritus, in Terence, &c. And what is more remarkable is, that the custom was yet kept up at Rome, among the principal and best dignified ladies, though in a corrupt time; whilst Augustus usually wore clothes made by his wife, his sister, and his daughters. See Solomon's description of a virtuous woman, Prov. xxxi. 10. to 19.*

These women are chaste when married, but when any prostitutes herself, it is in the injur'd husband's power to put her away, and not only to deprive her of what goods soever he may have endow'd her before, but also to have a fine imposed on her gallant.

*Marriages.* The marriage-ceremonies here are soon perform'd; for a young man who has but a yard of painted callico, or other linen, to make a clout for the young woman he designs to marry, and something to buy her a house, has no more to do but to ask her of her parents or relations, and his request is granted. Some who can earn a little money among the *Whites*, take a pride to have their wives wear another clout about their breast, hanging over that at their waist. The wives of the rich or dignified *Blacks*, adorn their arms and legs with bright copper-rings and armlets; several of which weigh ten pound apiece, which is chiefly the reason why these women usually walk very slow, and in a sort of stately way.

*Funerals.* When any person here dies, his family deposite his corps under a sort of pavilion or tent, upheld by a pole, in a sitting posture, with a tobacco-pipe in one hand; laying round about him, all the best goods and utensils he possessed in his life-time. Thither all his relations and the inhabitants of the town or village repair morning and evening about the pavillion, walking round it, sighing and lamenting, and even howling most intolerably, and others weeping very bitterly; and the aged persons of both sexes, but more commonly the old women, make some discourses and exhortations suitable to the occasion, with many extravagant gestures and motions.

Every one who assists at this spectacle, brings a present to the deceased, which is accounted among them not only a decency and civility, but also redounds to their own honour and reputation. These presents consist in *European* goods, such as tapseils, chints, calicoes, black bafts, nicanees, &c. of which one gives a fathom of one sort, and another of another; which they wind about the dead corps, one upon another, till it looks monstrous, like a meer lump of stuffs of fundry species and colours, roll'd and plaited over one another to the bulk of a large cask. This done, when the corps begins to corrupt, they rub this lump with a reddish colour, and afterwards, still in the same sitting posture, he is carried to his last home: but as I had no occasion to assist at such burials, I can say nothing more of it.

*Casseneuve* adds, that it griev'd him much that he was order'd to leave this place so suddenly; not only because he had all possible probability of a brisk trade for slaves and provisions, but also because the inhabitants show'd him abundance of civility. And for the satisfaction of all persons who hereafter may attempt to purchase slaves in the great river *Zair* or *Congo*, he directed the author to draw the map or chart of that river, as here annex'd. It is above six leagues broad within the capes or points, and by degrees grows narrower, to half of that breadth, just over-against the point *Gitaar*, at the conflux of the river that goes towards *Zair* town, situated some miles from its western sides, being an indifferent large place, of seven or eight hundred houses; with another village lying near to the river *Zair*. PLATE 29.

The road from this village to the town of *Zair* is very incommodious, by reason of the many ponds and brooks lying about it, some of them two or three foot deep. About half way are some little villages and hamlets, on each side, at a small distance from the road, in an open, barren, dry country.

At the village of *Gitaar*, the king of *Congo* has a collector, to receive his dues out of all the fish caught thereabouts; the territory of *Zair* being tributary to him. The reason that oblig'd us to break up our factory at *Sagno* was, that the gentry there, and other *Blacks* of note, would have the same measure of our commodities which the prince had adjusted with us for himself alone; as also because the prince, perhaps to please his subjects, and bring us to their terms, sometimes alledg'd, he was very unwilling to let us have any of his slaves, because we were no christians, and that he was assur'd we carried them into *Turkey*. This made us resolve to leave that place, and try what could be done at *Bomangoy*, on the other side of the great river *Zair*

*Zair*, before we would sail out of it for *Cabinde*, where we had a better prospect of getting our compliment.

Pursuant to this resolution, we brought down all our goods from *Sonbo*, on the twenty third, paying all our charges at a double rate, as well as anchorage, and some very unreasonable charges, which the *Blacks* there extorted from us through spight, seeing we had broke up our factory; but they being an hundred to one, we thought it prudence to swallow the pill calmly.

The town of *Sonbo* consists of about four hundred houses, built after the country manner, and takes up a large compass of ground, the houses being built at distance from each other, in a straggling, irregular manner. It lies about a mile inland from the end of the river, or rather creek of *Sonbo*, which is very narrow, and cover'd all along the banks with small trees and shrubs, very thick and close together; so that boats cannot well pass up to the end of it, near *Sonbo* town.

Our factory stood on a rising ground not far from it.

The inhabitants here are generally of a middle stature, and have commonly handsome faces, their legs and arms slender; so very crafty and cunning, that it is impossible to deceive them; they understand the way of measuring cloth and linen so nicely, and are so suspicious, that when we measure it, they constantly observe us with such attention, that their eyes seem to pierce into the hearts of the *Whites*, and often cause us to measure it over again; and in their dealing will ask often double the price of a slave, or *Moufi*, and stand two hours contesting to have a knife or two above the set price.

However, the *English* and *Dutch* repair often hither to trade for slaves and elephant's teeth.

The most current *European* goods, in our time, were these: black bays, paper-brawls, brass or copper-basons, *India* chints, powder, muskets, coral, &c. As to knives, the *Europeans* have so stored them, that they do not care for any more at present; nor even for ivory teeth, will they be persuaded to take any quantity, as they did in former times: nor do they much value brandy, in small cases, which heretofore they were extremely fond of.

Towards cape *Padron*, on the south side of the great river *Zair*, is a large salt-pond, where daily all the women of an adjacent village, situated in the center of the wood, work constantly at making of salt; which is the chief maintenance of all the inhabitants of that part of the country, carrying it to inland markets.

VOL. V.

It happen'd on the fifteenth of *September*, BARBOT. say the authors of the journals, that we being ashore on *Chappel-point*, with nine of our men, walking about to seek for some refreshments, Mr. *Casseneuve*, with two other *Whites*, and their servant interpreter, a *Black* native of *Zair*, having walk'd along the water-side, for near two *English* miles, they spy'd a path leading to the wood, which they follow'd for almost another *English* mile, where unexpectedly they found themselves near the before-mention'd salt-pond, where above an hundred women were at work, to get salt; who, as soon as they saw us, fled shrieking, and redoubled their noise, seeing us pursue them, as we did, to see the village at the end of the brook; but were hinder'd by above two hundred arm'd *Blacks* falling out of it upon us, some with bows and arrows, others with cudgels, and some with muskets and cut-laces; the musketeers clapping the muzzles of their pieces to our breasts, and threatening to shoot us. *Casseneuve* show'd them such toys as we usually carry to those parts, but to no purpose.

They took from us our interpreter, in order to have him punish'd for conducting of us to that place. Thus were we forc'd to turn back, leaving the interpreter to their mercy; and being come to the point, where our pinnace waited for us, found there above fifty of those arm'd fellows, who had used us so roughly in the wood, and were got thither another way, to see what arms we had in the boat; and finding none, abused our companions, till seeing us return, they were quiet. We assur'd them we would complain to the prince of *Sonbo*, which we did the next day, and both he and the *Portuguese* father told us, these were a sort of wild men, who ever since some *European* ships had carried away several of their companions, would never be reconciled to, or converse with any others; besides, that they are very jealous of their wives: but the prince added, he would command them to restore the *Black* interpreter. It is very reasonable to believe the women fled and set up such cries, upon the remembrance of those *Europeans*, who had formerly basely carried away the people from those parts, as fearing the same usage from us; and the men might very well be upon their guard, to prevent what they justly apprehended.

The twenty eighth of *September*, an hour after Mr. *Casseneuve* was return'd from *Zair*, with our goods, and only two slaves he had purchased there, it was resolv'd, before we sail'd for the bay of *Cabinde*, to try what trade we could have at *Bomangoy*, the chief *Banza* or town of *Angoy*, on the north side of the *Zair*, at the request of the *Blacks*,

6 O who

Sonbo  
town.

Goods im-  
ported.

Europeans  
that stole  
the natives

BARBOT, who now and then came aboard to sollicite us to settle a factory there; and accordingly Mr. *Casseneuve* was sent thither, with our first mate. The captain of the town receiv'd them very civilly in his house, and afterwards accompanied them to the *Man-gove* of the country, with whom they conversed for an hour, without concluding any thing. He insisted upon high customs, and no less for himself than eight pieces; for the *Manfoque* six, for the *Melemebe* six, and for the toll of the factory three pieces; besides twelve other pieces to two other absent officers of *Bomangoy*; and his order was, not to allow any more than three pieces for every score of slaves we might purchase there; which however was too little, but five to twenty had been reasonable; and they have seldom taken less. Thus we left *Bomangoy*, and arriv'd aboard the twenty-ninth in the afternoon.

The thirtieth, at six in the morning we weigh'd, and set sail for *Cabinde*, with a south south-west wind, steering north and north by east upon a tack; but the tide was so swift, that the helm could not work the ship about in the opening of the river, which lasted till noon, when we came in sight of the breakings north of *Congoriver*, off which we were then about two miles out, having founded all the while in eight, nine and ten to fifteen fathom water, hard sandy ground. Between six and seven in the evening we cast anchor in eight fathom and a half, about two leagues from land, fearing to over-shoot *Cabinde* in the night-time.

All the coast from *Bomangoy* to *Cabinde* is foul, being full of sands, some shooting out to sea three leagues west, but leave a channel betwixt the banks and the shore for boats and floops only.

The first of *October* we sail'd at six in the morning, with a gale at south-west by south, steering no nearer the breakings than on seven and six fathom water, till we came near the south point of the bay of *Cabinde*; to enter which, we rang'd the south shore, on five, four, three and a half, and three fathom, and through an oversight, came into fifteen foot water, about eleven a-clock, when we dropp'd anchor, and moor'd with the stream-anchor, out to sea, in three fathom water; having the point of the bay aforesaid, at west of us; and the land towards *Malimba* at north, about six or seven leagues. We fired five guns, as usual, to salute the king of *Angoy*; from whom some servants came aboard, to know whether it was the same ship that had been for some time at *Sonbo*; and to acquaint us, they had a great number of slaves at hand, if we would settle a factory ashore, and pay the customs, we should be welcome. Towards night they return'd to their prince, with our

answer, that we did design to try what they reported; and had not the captain been sick, he would have waited on him in person that very instant.

We found in *Cabinde* road, a little *English* ship, having a hundred and twenty slaves aboard, and was to compleat its cargo, to two hundred and fifty. The *Dutch* interloper, that was there when the captain first went to *Cabinde*, had since been carry'd away as prize, by another belonging to the *Dutch West-India* company.

The third of *October*, we adjusted with the king's officers for the customs, which we paid in this manner.

Pieces of sundry sorts of goods.

|                           |   |                  |                       |
|---------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------------|
| For the king's customs    | — | 47               | Duties at<br>Cabinde. |
| That of <i>Mausouco</i>   | — | 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ |                       |
| For the <i>Manbins</i>    | — | 17               |                       |
| For <i>Mafuco Mabouco</i> | — | 17               |                       |
| For <i>Manabele</i>       | — | 17               |                       |

The forty-seven pieces paid to the king, consisting of;

|                                                         |   |       |         |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---|-------|---------|
| <i>Tapfeils</i> holland,                                | — | piece | 1       |
| <i>Annabasses</i>                                       | — | —     | 10      |
| <i>Nicanees</i> holland                                 | — | —     | 1       |
| Black bafts holland                                     | — | —     | 1       |
| <i>Pintadoes</i> holland                                | — | —     | 1       |
| Cafe of spirits                                         | — | —     | 1       |
| Paper, <i>Slesia</i>                                    | — | —     | 1       |
| Brass pan                                               | — | —     | 1       |
| Knives, dozen                                           | — | —     | 2       |
| Four sticks of scarlet, at twenty-nine inches per stick |   |       | 4       |
| Six sticks black bafts, at twenty-nine inches per stick |   |       | 6       |
| Half cafe of spirits fine                               | — | —     | 2       |
| Powder barrels                                          | — | —     | 4       |
| Muskets                                                 | — | —     | 2       |
| Coral string,                                           | — | —     | piece 1 |
|                                                         |   |       | 47      |

And so proportionably, of the same species of goods, for the fees of the officers; as above said.

The fourth, we began to send goods ashore, to settle our factory, paying beforehand five pieces for the rent of the house, for all the time we might keep it; and Mr. *Barbot*, assisted by two *Whites*, gave constant attendance there. Besides the *Black* servants we had hired to assist him, the king gave us two of his own, and each of the before-named officers one; being in all ten or eleven gromettoes or hired men, to whom we are to pay one fathom in goods per week for all of them, to buy their provisions; and when we shall break up the factory, each servant is to have three pieces of goods: one of them is to serve for an interpreter, and is besides employ'd to keep off the mob, from insulting us. This is practised commonly here, as well as at *Zair*.

We

We did not adjust a settled price for the slaves, as is customary at *Sonbo* and *Zair*, but bargain'd daily with the owners of them, as they were brought either aboard the ship or the factory; sending also along the bay, some goods in the boat, to trade with the inhabitants of the adjacent villages: so that Mr. *Casseneuve*, who had the care of the commerce in the bay, and aboard ship, bought forty-five slaves, from the seventh of *October*, to the seventeenth of *November*. The twenty-ninth, he was sent to take care of the factory, Mr. *Barbot* being sick; where he purchased to the sixteenth of *December*, forty-eight slaves, making in all ninety-three, viz. sixty-five men, sixteen women, nine boys and three girls, for seven hundred seventy-one pieces of sundry goods, the first cost whereof upon invoice, amounted to three hundred seventy-two pounds six shillings six-pence sterling; and so amounted to four pound sterling a head, one with the other.

Goods used  
in trade.

The particular goods were, *Annabasses*, brads basons, muskets, powder, black bafts, *Tapseils*, *Pintadoes*, *Guinea* stuffs, paper slesia, *Nicanees*, knives but a few, scarlet, coral, cases of spirits, black bays, black beads, pewter basons, spoons of ditto; of these seven last mention'd sorts, but very few.

After this they were oblig'd to give one piece more for a slave than before, because the *Blacks* saw five other *English* ships come one after another, in the space of eight or nine days time, to purchase slaves and elephants teeth; and therefore brought no more slaves to the factory, but oblig'd us to give them ten pieces for a man, and nine for a woman. But by good fortune, we had then got our compliment within thirty or thirty-five slaves: which we had soon after, and in all aboard, four hundred seventeen men, women, boys and girls.

Being short of provisions for our slaves, we bought a hundred baskets of *Indian* wheat, tho' at an excessive dear rate, viz. at one piece of our best sorts of goods, brads basons and *Annabasses*, of an *English* captain *Eriford*, necessity having no law; which we fetch'd aboard the thirty-first of *December*.

Mr. *Casseneuve* being ill since the sixteenth of *December*, as was Mr *Barbot* before him, their journals contain but a very short account of this country and of the trade there. What they observ'd, may be reduc'd to this following account.

Measures.

For the better understanding of the measure used here, to value *European* goods in trade; we must observe, that it consists of three sorts, call'd a piece, a fathom, and a stick. The stick is eighteen inches; three sticks are accounted a fathom, and four fathom make what is here call'd a piece.

The rate of slaves is uncertain, as de-BARBOT: pending on the scarcity or plenty of them, and the number of foreign ships trading there together.

We esteem slaves here at a reasonable price, when they are at seven or eight pieces a man, and six or seven a woman, *Indian* piece, as the *French* stile it.

Many of the *Blacks* of *Cabinde*, who dwell near the shore, speak some *English*, and are commonly call'd *Portadors*, being a sort of brokers to the natives up the inland, to whom they repair, when any ships are in the bay, and bring merchants down aboard or to the factory, and there usually buy and sell for them; but very often taking advantage of their not understanding *English*, make them pay a piece, and sometimes two, above the price they contract for with *Europeans*, which they fetch off after they are gone home again: for here, as well as at the *Gold Coast* of *Guinea*, the factors must in some manner wink at their knavery, in order to forward their commerce.

The bay of *Cabinde* lies very convenient for trade, wooding and watering, on the sea-shore; it is in some places marshy ground and flat, but rising gradually to about three *English* miles up the land, and then forms it self into a ridge of hillocks, stretching out in length; on the ascent of which is situated, the king of *Angoy's* father's town. This man, just at the foot of those hillocks, constantly keeps a stock of wood, in piles ready cut, to sell to foreign ships at a reasonable rate, and will get it carry'd to the beach afterwards, to be ship'd off.

Cabinde  
bay.

From those wood-piles, to south-west along the bay, lie several straggling fishermens huts, on each side of a little fresh-water river, that falls into the sea of the bay. Thence we fetch'd all our fresh-water, rolling the casks a-cross over the beachy point of the mouth of it, to fill them, and return'd them full the same way, to ship off in our boats at that beach, not far to the eastward of the road lying near the shore.

The factory stood to the south-west of the road, at some distance, and north-east from the village *Cabinde*, which lies on the round point of the bay, looking to the west.

The *Blacks* fish here at the beach with drag-nets, as also in the bay; and have good store of fish.

The fresh river is only to be enter'd with a yaul, carrying a cask or two, but it must be just at full flood.

As to the country, in several places it lies barren, the *Blacks* being naturally very lazy in point of tilling and sowing; tho' the soil is very good. For which reason, provisions are often very scarce, but some other times, when there are few foreign ships in the road, they may be had at reasonable rates.

They

BARBOT. They have no cattle except some hogs, of a middle size, which are commonly sold at two or three fathom a head; but poultry, especially chickens, are plenty enough: they have also parrots to be had for three or four knives a-piece; and a monkey for half a piece, and sometimes for less. Mr. Casseneuve says, he saw at Cabinde a sort of baboon, that had been brought down from above an hundred leagues up the inland country, which much resembled a human creature, his head and face being like an old woman's. It had long hair on the back, but none at all on its hands and feet; and when it cried, it was hard to distinguish the noise from that of a child.

“ The kingdom of *Angola*, or *Dongo*, produces many such extraordinary apes in the woods; they are call'd by the *Blacks* *Quojas Morrow*, and by the *Indians* *Orang autang*, that is, fatyrs, or woodmen. They are also found in the country of the *Quojas*, as I have observed in the description of *Guinea*, to which I refer for the representation of this animal. I shall only add, that some of them have been brought over into *Europe*, and I have seen one in *London*, publickly show'd behind the *Royal Exchange*; which when it drank, lifted up the cover of the can with one hand, and afterwards wiped the wet from its lips, with a singular dexterity; it laid itself to sleep, with its head on a cushion, and covered the body over with clothes very decently; and when indispoused, held one hand very handsomely on its forehead, so that it might have been taken for a man, and would point where his distemper lay; it groaned like a man, that is troubled with an intolerable head-ach: soon after it died there. The *Blacks* in *Guinea* and *Angola* fancy, this beast is of human mixture with an ape; 'tis neither fat nor slender, but well set, and proportioned, and very nimble, with black hair on the back, but the stomach and belly of a white skin.

“ This creature seems to be the very fatyr of the ancients, written of by *Pliny*, and others, and is said to set upon women in the woods; and sometimes upon armed men.”

For the satisfaction of travellers, I have annexed some familiar words of the *Angoy* language, spoken at *Cabinde*; and their numbers, taken out of the said journals.

|              |            |
|--------------|------------|
| <i>bays</i>  | fire       |
| <i>bouse</i> | umfo       |
| a White      | mondelle   |
| a Black      | fiote      |
| a knife      | bele       |
| a woman      | inquinte   |
| a cutlace    | bele tanse |
| a musket     | tabonpoute |

|                      |               |
|----------------------|---------------|
| a ship               | combe         |
| a gun                | itende        |
| to sleep             | lala          |
| a sick person        | bele          |
| to drink             | nova          |
| to eat               | lea           |
| to dance             | chyna         |
| come hither          | cui-fa        |
| <i>nicanees</i>      | fanfeninginbe |
| blue bafts           | boulbonge     |
| black bafts          | bondefiote    |
| a powder barrel      | pinpafoula    |
| <i>pintadoes</i>     | fongeer       |
| scarlet              | fina          |
| <i>tapseils</i>      | mongolabaffa  |
| paper-brawls         | longuemafagne |
| coral                | macolado      |
| <i>Guinea-stuffs</i> | toffo         |
| beads                | mefango       |
| black bays           | bayeta        |
| a chicken            | foufou        |
| a hen                | furfu         |
| a goat               | incubu        |
| tobacco              | fumu          |
| a young lad          | muleche       |

NUMBERS.

|           |   |             |    |
|-----------|---|-------------|----|
| mose      | 1 | evoua       | 9  |
| wale      | 2 | coumy       | 10 |
| tatou     | 3 | coumy mose  | 11 |
| quina     | 4 | coumy wale  | 12 |
| tano      | 5 | coumy tatou | 13 |
| fambano   | 6 | coumy quina | 14 |
| fambouale | 7 | coumy tano  | 15 |
| innana    | 8 |             |    |

And so of the rest to twenty, which is *Macoumy-mose*; twenty-one, *Macoumy-mose*; twenty-two, *Macoumy-wale*, &c.

I subjoin here some *Conghese* words, taken out of *Merolla*, for the benefit of travellers.

|                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| the earth                    | toto        |
| the fire                     | tubia       |
| the water                    | masa        |
| a mother                     | eguandi     |
| a son or daughter            | muana       |
| a sloop or smack             | somacca     |
| glafs-coral                  | misangas    |
| a flask                      | moringo     |
| a wooden platter             | malonga     |
| a pot, or pipkin             | chinsu      |
| a governor                   | mafucca     |
| a garment                    | modello     |
| a man                        | accala      |
| all sorts of flesh or fish   | dongo       |
| a cloth girt about the waist | euraga      |
| eating                       | guria       |
| mill-t-flower                | fuba        |
| a wild-cow                   | impanguazze |

On the first day of *January*, *Casseneuve's* journal takes notice of their sailing out of *Cabinde*

*Cabinde* bay, in the morning, in order to proceed to *Jamaica*, and towards night, had got the bay at south-east by south, about five leagues distant; himself, the supercargo, Mr. *Barbot*, the captain, and the first mate, with several of their men being sick, and having buried here and at sea, six of their crew and the third mate; the air of *Cabinde* being very unwholesome: which gave an opportunity to the slaves aboard to revolt on the fifth, as follows.

Slaves  
revolt.

About one in the afternoon, after dinner, we according to custom caused them, one by one, to go down between decks, to have each his pint of water; most of them were yet above deck, many of them provided with knives, which we had indiscreetly given them two or three days before, as not suspecting the least attempt of this nature from them; others had pieces of iron they had torn off from our fore-castle door, as having premeditated a revolt, and seeing all the ship's company, at best but weak and many quite sick; they had also broken off the shackles from several of their companions feet, which served them, as well as billets they had provided themselves with, and all other things they could lay hands on, which they imagin'd might be of use for their enterprize. Thus arm'd, they fell in crowds and parcels on our men, upon the deck unawares, and stabb'd one of the stoutest of us all, who receiv'd fourteen or fifteen wounds of their knives, and so expir'd. Next they assaulted our boatswain, and cut one of his legs so round the bone, that he could not move, the nerves being cut through; others cut our cook's throat to the pipe, and others wounded three of the sailors, and threw one of them over-board in that condition, from the fore-castle into the sea; who, however, by good providence, got hold of the bowlin of the fore-sail, and sav'd himself, along the lower wale of the quarter-deck, where, (says *Casseneuve*) we stood in arms, firing on the revolted slaves, of whom we kill'd some, and wounded many: which so terrify'd the rest, that they gave way, dispersing themselves some one way and some another between decks, and under the fore-castle; and many of the most mutinous, leapt over board, and drown'd themselves in the ocean with much resolution, shewing no manner of concern for life. Thus we lost twenty seven or twenty eight slaves, either kill'd by us, or drown'd; and having master'd them, caused all to go betwixt decks, giving them good words. The next day we had them all again upon deck, where they unanimously declar'd, the *Menbombe* slaves had been the contrivers of the mutiny, and for an example we caused about thirty of the ringleaders to be very severely

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whipt by all our men that were capable of doing that office. BARBOT.

I shall conclude the abstract of the journals, of the voyage to *Congo* and *Cabinde*, with some particular observations, on the nature of the merchandize then of most demand at *Cabinde*, at the latter end of the year 1700, and of the custom of measuring and accounting them after the manner of the *Blacks* there; which I found noted in Mr. *Barbot's* pocket-book, sent home to *London*, with his trunks from *Barbadoes*, after his decease there.

Blue-bafts, a piece containing six yards, and of a deep, almost black colour; and is measur'd either with a stick of twenty seven inches, of which eight sticks make a piece; or by a lesser stick, of eighteen inches long, twelve of which are accounted a piece.

*Guinea* stuffs, two pieces make a piece.

*Tapseils*, have the same measure as blue-bafts.

*Nicanees*, the same measure.

Black-bays, two yards and a half for a piece, measured by five sticks of eighteen inches each.

*Annabasses*, ten to the piece.

Painted callicoos, six yards to a piece.

Blue-paper *Slesia*, one piece, for the piece.

Scarlet, one stick of eighteen inches, or half a yard, is accounted a piece.

Muskets, one for a piece.

Powder, the barrel or rundlet of seven pounds goes for a piece.

Brass-basons, ten to the piece: we carry thither the largest.

Pewter-basons, of four, three, two, and one pound, the N<sup>o</sup>. 4. goes four to the piece; and those of one pound, eight to a piece.

Blue-perpetuanas are become but of late in great demand; they are measured as blue bafts, six yards making the piece.

*Dutch* cutlases are the most valued because they have two edges; two such go for a piece.

Coral, the biggest and largest is much more acceptable here, than small coral, which the *Blacks* value so little, that they will hardly look on it; usually one ounce and a half is computed a piece.

Knives, with horn hafts, the blade very broad and long, twenty four to a piece.

*Memorandum*: A whole piece of blue-bafts contains commonly eighteen yards and a half; however some are shorter, others exceed.

*Pintadoes* commonly contain nine or nine yards and a half the piece.

*Tapseils*, the piece usually holds fifteen yards.

*Nicanees*, the piece is nine or nine yards and a half long.

Thus far the journals.

6 P

To

BARBOT. To conclude the description of the kingdom of Congo, I will add something concerning the province of *Pombo*, and the neighbouring nations, because of the trade the *Portuguese* and *Blacks* have in those countries.

THIS country lies above an hundred leagues from the sea-coast. Some divide *Pombo* into several kingdoms; extending as far as a great lake, between both the seas; but the certain situation of this lake is altogether unknown, as having never been seen by any *White*: only the *Portuguese* tell us, that a certain *Kaffe* of *Mofambique*, who travelled a-cross the main land from *Safola* to *Angola*, passed by it.

Both the *Portuguese* and *Blacks* who live in *Loango*, *Congo*, and *Loanda S. Paolo*, drive a great trade here, by their servants and slaves, sent with merchandize; who for slaves, elephant's teeth, and *Panos-Limpos*, give *Canary*, *Malaga*, and *Madera* wines, great *simbos*, boxes, and other commodities, which they carry to inland-markets, by the natives call'd *Quilomba*, and the market-places *Pompo*.

These servants, call'd *Pombeiros*, have other slaves under them, sometimes a hundred, or a hundred and fifty, who carry the commodities on their heads up into the country, as has been before related.

Sometimes those *Pombeiros* stay out a whole year, and then bring back with them four, five, and six hundred new slaves. Some of the faithfullest remain often there, sending what slaves they buy to their masters, who return them other commodities to trade with a-new.

The *Whites* are necessitated to drive their trade after this manner, because it is impossible for them to go, by reason of the badness of the ways; and to undergo so great hunger and trouble as attends that journey, besides the unwholesomeness of the air, which causes extraordinary swellings in the heads of the *Whites*.

Their journey from the sea-coast of *Loango* and *Loanda San Paolo* to *Pombo*, is very toilsome to the *Blacks* themselves, because there are many rivers, which sometimes, after the rain, grow so deep; but they prevent the other hazards often arising from the barbarous *Jagos*.

This province is subject to the great *Makoko*, beyond *Congo*, above two hundred leagues; or, as others say, two hundred and fifty from *Loango* and *Congo*, lying northward of the *Zair*. The inhabitants bear one general name of *Monsoles*, or *Meticas*, being men-eaters, like the *Jagos*, or rather themselves the right *Jagos*.

In *Monsol* is kept a great market of slaves, whither the *Portuguese* of *Loango* send their *Pombeiros* with merchandize, who some-

times tarry out two years; when at last, having bought some slaves, elephant's teeth, and copper, they make the new-bought slaves carry all on their heads to *Loango*: so that they are at no charges to bring their biggest teeth or copper out of the country.

The treasure and riches of the great prince of *Makoko*, consists chiefly in slaves, *Simbos* of *Loanda*, *Boejies*, or *Cauris* of the *East-Indies*, and some cloths; things with the *Whites* of a small value, but by them esteem'd above the best gold or silver.

North-east of *Makoko* lies the principality of *Giribuma*, or *Giringbomba*, the king whereof, who is very powerful, holds as his tributaries fifteen other great lords; but maintains a firm alliance with the great *Makoko*.

The kingdom of *Fungeno* lies on the rivers *Zair* and *Coango*, eastward of *Conde* or *Pombo d'Okango*: there the *Portuguese* trade for stuffs and bark, as I have observ'd heretofore. This country of *Fungeno* has on the south the *Meticas* and *Jagos*, a very brutish savage people; and on the north the kingdom of *Macoco*, or *Anzico*, with the marquisates of *Cama* and *Cuno-pango*.

The *Portuguese* trade here for a few slaves, chiefly with a sort of small cloths, made of the bark of the *Matombe*-tree, drawn out long-ways.

Those cloths the *Portuguese* always use at *Loanda*, instead of money; and every thing may be had in the markets for them; nor do the *Portuguese* make a small gain of them.

They extend their trade yet farther to the kingdom of *Monimugo*, by others call'd *Nimeamaye*, whose jurisdiction extends to the borders of the kingdoms of *Mombasa*, *Quiloa*, *Sofala*, &c. That country of *Nimeamaye* abounds in gold, silver, copper, and elephants. The inhabitants are said to be white-skin'd, and of bigger stature than the *Europeans*; go naked on the upper part of their bodies, but over their nether parts wear silk or cotton. The corrected observations of messieurs of the royal societies of *London* and *Paris*, name this kingdom *Nimeamalle*, or *Mono-emugi*; the inhabitants whereof live in tents by hords, dispers'd and wandering about from place to place, like *Arabs*: and it is probable enough they are for the most part of *Arabick* descent, by their being of a whitish complexion.

The dukedom of *Ambuila* or *Amboille*, north-east by east of *Loanda de S. Paolo* in *Angola*, several days journey, holds in subjection above fifteen dominions, whereof the five chiefest are *Matuy Nungo Pingue*, *Hoiquyanbole*, *Ambuile*, and *Loanda*, the other not named.

This country affords many slaves, and the trade driven there, is in *Pombo*.



It has many pleasant fields, trees, and fruits, and abounds in cattle, as goats, sheep, hogs and cows: it was never subject to Congo, but vies with it for wealth and magnitude.

*The kingdom of ANGOLA or DONGO.*

*Its name.* **T**HIS country, by the Portuguese call'd Angola, lies between the rivers Danda and Coansa; the name of Angola belongs not properly to the land, but is the title of the prince, who assum'd and continues it from the first king thereof, who fell off from Congo, to whom it belong'd by right of inheritance: the right name being Dongo, tho' formerly, and still by some call'd Ambonde, and the inhabitants Ambondes.

*Extent.* It stretches along the sea-coast about fifteen leagues, but runs about an hundred up into the country eastward. Jarik borders it on the north with the kingdom of Congo; in the south with that of Mataman; in the east with Mayemba or Malemba; and in the west with the sea, near Cowes-bay; but makes it extend thirty-five leagues along the sea.

*Rivers.* It is water'd by divers rivers, as the Coansa, the Lukala, and the Kalukala.

The river Coansa is in nine degrees twenty minutes of south latitude; four miles and a half from Sleeper's-haven to the southward; or six miles from cape Palmarinko, and five to the northward of Cabo Ledo; has an uncertain original, for no Whites have ever been so far as its springs.

The most correct geographers of this age extend this river from the sea-side, to twenty-nine degrees of east longitude of London meridian, in the country of the Zimbab, which they say are reported to be the same as those call'd the Gallas, bordering at south on the kingdom of Nimeamalle or Mono-emugi. This kingdom reaches eastward to the country of Melinda; the coast whereof is wash'd by the Indian or eastern ocean, and belongs to the Portuguese.

It hath been liken'd to the river of St. Lucar in Spain, being at the entrance about half a league wide; and at the north side deepest to come in with ships. It has but twelve foot in depth at high water, ebbing and flowing about four foot; but within they find water enough, yet navigable no higher than the village Kamkamba, by reason of the strong water-falls.

It runs from east to west, very full of windings; by reason whereof, from the mouth to Motaboama or Muchima, is thirty leagues sailing, whereas the direct way is but twenty. In sailing by it, the opening can hardly be seen at sea, because of a black and woody island, lying right before it. About a hundred and sixty-five leagues up in this river, are the two islands of Qui-

tonga, where is a garrison of Blacks, in twenty three degrees east longitude of the meridian of London. BARBOT.

There are several other islands within it; *Islands.* for about nine miles up it divides into two branches, which form an island about four miles long, and half a mile broad, call'd *That of Massander or Massandera.*

This island produces many sorts of fruits, especially the Mandioca, which planted there, grows extraordinary thick; great quantities of Indian wheat and millet, three times a year; besides palm-trees, and fruit call'd Guajavas.

Ten or twelve miles above this lies another, call'd Motibiama, three miles long, and half a mile broad, very low ground, excepting two mountains, beset with all sorts of plants and herbs, and feeding many goats, sheep, hogs and hens.

Some years ago five or six families of Portuguese lived there, who had many slaves, and maintain'd themselves chiefly with Mandioca.

Lukala or Luiola river comes from Amboille, having its head near the rise of the river Panda; and running south-westward, till about six and twenty miles from the sea, it joins the Coansa, and so loses its name. Lukala river.

The small river Kalukala runs a-crofs the territory of Illamba, with such extraordinary windings and meanders, that there is scarce one of the two and forty dominions, into which this kingdom is divided, that lie above an hour's walk from it. Kalukala.

Some lakes appear at the points of the Coansa or Bengo, the chiefest whereof are in the lordships of Quibailo, Angolome, and Chame.

Angola contains several inferior territories or lordships, as Loanda, Sinfo, Illamba, Ikollo, Enfaka, Messingan, Embakka, Kalamba, each of which comprehends several little provinces, govern'd by particular Jovassens or rulers, viz. Loanda contains thirty nine; Illambas forty two; Ikollo and Enfaka divers, but uncertain; Messingan twelve, which some bring under Illamba; Kamkamba sixty; and Embakka sixty.

The Portuguese, who have liv'd a long time in Angola, divide it only into six parts, viz. Enbaca, Enfaca, Illamba, Libolo, Lombo, and Quisama.

In Loanda stands the city Loanda de S. Paolo, on the rising of a hill by the sea-coast: on the north side of it appears another mountain, call'd Mora de San Paolo, somewhat higher than that of the city, and so steep that it is difficult to climb; yet on the side thereof the jesuits have built a monastery, about which are three or four houses.

This city was built by the Portuguese in the year 1578, when Paul Dias de Nevaiz was

BARBOT. was sent thither to be their first governor in that country.

The city takes up a great compass of ground, containing many fair houses, churches and monasteries; but neither wall'd nor fortified, only some forts are rais'd near the water-side, for the securing the haven.

*Churches.* Before it was taken by the *Dutch*, in the year 1641, the *Portuguese* had six churches there; two greater, the one call'd *Santa Maria da Conception*, and the other *Corpo Santo*; and four lesser, one for the *Jesuits*, call'd *Santo Antonio*; one for the *Blacks*, stiled *San Gofce*; one for the *Franciscans*; and an alms-house, with a church, entitled *Misericordia*. Over this alms-house, besides the lodgings for the poor, are twenty four chambers, for the governor and other officers, viz. a steward, a doctor, a barber, an apothecary, &c.

This house has some revenue in lands, which being but small, has been augmented by a rate upon ships, payable to the treasurers thereof.

*Sinjo country.* *Sinjo* is the country north of *Loanda*, up the river *Bengo*.

*Illamba.*

*Illamba*, or *Elvama*, is a large tract of land, above an hundred miles in length, beginning south-east, and east south-east, from the territory of *Ikollo*, and stretching from the river *Bengo* to *Coansa*; and from *Kalumba* to *Massinga*, still growing wider the farther up; and every where so well peopled, that at every two or three miles distance there is a village; which proceeds from the natives distinguishing themselves from each other by peculiar marks: so that the whole is divided into forty-two districts or dominions, wherein may be rais'd ten or twelve thousand fighting men, arm'd with bows and arrows; the bows made of the branches of the tree *Embotta*, being very strong and tough.

*Souaffen.*

The *Souaffen Blacks* keep the boundaries of their territories so exactly, that never any complaint is heard of one wronging or incroaching upon another, unless it be in open wars; and then the conqueror becomes wholly master of his enemy's country.

This province has neither artificial forts, or natural fastnesses of woods, for defence against enemies; some little groves there are on hills, but inconsiderable, and scarce worth mentioning: yet they cannot easily be conquer'd, because they are so dexterous at shooting their arrows, either lying on the ground or kneeling.

*Ikollo.*

From *Illamba* north-west, and west north-west, lies *Ikollo*.

*Enfaka.*

*Enfaka* begins six or seven miles east of *Loanda*, and lies between the two rivers, *Coansa* and *Bengo*. It is but a small jurisdiction, and may be travelled through in half a day.

Here in some few places the inhabitants till their ground.

Two or three miles up the country, on the hill stands a wood, enclosed about with bushes and thorns, to the great accommodation and strengthening of the whole: for if the inhabitants should retire thither, it were impossible to force them out, save only for want of water.

Nine miles to the eastward of, and above the island *Motchiama*, in the province of *Massingan* or *Massagan*, stands a small town of the same name, where the *Portuguese* have a fort, between the *Coansa* and the *Sunda*; the last of which shuts it up on the north, as the former does on the south: and about two leagues from thence, intermingle their streams; from which conjunction, the town derives its name of *Massingan*, signifying a mixture of waters. It was at first an open, but pretty large village, and since augmented with many fair stone houses, whereby at length it is become a city. The first *Portuguese* governor of *Angola*, in the year 1578, by command of his master, built this city of *Loanda de San Paolo*, as also the fort there, when by the help of the *Conghese* he warr'd against the king of *Angola* in the country: and it is now inhabited by many families of *Portuguese*, besides *Mulattoes* and *Blacks*.

*Kamkamba* borders upon *Coansa*, where is a village of the same denomination, twelve days journey from the sea-side. This is the *Portuguese* boundary, beyond which they claim no interest.

This country of *Angola* or *Dongo*, is render'd very fertile by the industry of the *Portuguese*, in cultivating it constantly, for the *Blacks* are of a very lazy idle temper, so that the lands of *Loanda*, which were barren, are now very fruitful in most sorts of plants, especially *Mandioca*, of which they make bread; having many large plantations, with mills and work-houses, serv'd by a good number of slaves to work it, which turns to good profit to their masters.

They have also plentifully stored the banks of the river *Calucala*, with delicate orange, lemon and pomgranate trees, and vines; besides *Guajavas*, pears, dates, *Gegos*, *Ananasses*, and sugar-canes, the extract brown, yet better than those of *St. Thomas* to bake sugar-loaves: *Malequette* or *Guinea* pepper; *Benies*, a fruit resembling coriander, and being dry'd turns black, little differing in taste from *India* pepper, but not so hot: *Tamarinds*, potatoes, coco-nuts, some of the lesser size, of the same sort and nature against poison, as those of the *Maldivy* islands between *Madagascar* and cape *Komorri* in *India*; and therefore call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Cocos de Moleva*. They have also small and great

great millet, whereof they make bread: chefnut-colour beans, call'd *Enkoffa*, and bananas. Both garden and field-fruit grow here with little labour, *viz.* turnips, radishes, cabbages, but more open than those with us; colliflowers, carrots, purslain, spinage, sage, hyssop, thyme, sweet-majoram, coriander-seed, and the like. Besides gum-mastich, which distils from a tree, and smells like gum-elemi, being a wholesome medicine for colds and bruises; and from a certain plant they extract aloes, as good as that of *Socotara*, near the *Red-sea*.

The woods breed almost the same beasts as in *Congo*, *viz.* tygers, leopards, lions, red buffalos, bears, wolves, foxes; very great wild cats, and cat-a-mountains; the beast *Makoko*, *Empalanga*, civet-cats, rhinocerotis, wild-bears, *Emgalla* and cameleons: besides cattle for provision, as sheep, goats, hogs, and the like.

The land and houses are much infested with poisonous vermin, scorpions, millepedes, otters, and serpents; among which, one by the *Blacks* call'd *Embamma*, has a mouth wide enough to swallow a whole buck, lying in the ways like a dead trunk of a tree; but falls upon beasts or men, as they pass by. Another sort of poisonous serpent breeds there, whose back-bone they wear about their necks, as an infallible remedy against the king's evil.

*Fish.* The rivers *Coansa*, *Lukala*, and *Bengo*, yield great plenty of excellent fish; among which, great crabs. And the sea affords almost infinite sorts, particularly *Pergomulatos*, which the *Portuguese* call *Pellados*, almost like a roach; *Esquilones*, *Quikouffes*, *Kuffones*, *Syapos*, *Dorados*, *Bonitos*, *Albacores*, *Pergos de Morochermes*, *Roukadores*, *Korvines*; as also mackarel, and sucking-fish, in vast quantity, besides oysters and muscles.

*Mermaid.* The lakes also breed several creatures, especially those of *Angola*, *Quibite*, and *Angolm*, in the province of *Massingan*; where, among others, is taken a fish, by the inhabitants call'd *Ambisangalo*, and *Pesiengoni*; by the *Portuguese*, *Peixe Molher*, or woman-fish; by the *French* *Syrene*, and by the *English* the mermaid; both male and female, some eight foot long, with short arms, and hands, and long fingers, which they cannot close together, because of a skin growing between them, as is in the feet of ducks and geese. They feed upon grass on the sides of lakes and rivers, and only hold their heads out of the water. Their heads and eyes are oval, the forehead high, the nose flat, and the mouth wide, without any chin or ears. The males have genitals like horses, and the females two strutting breasts; but in the water there is no distinguishing the

one from the other, being both of a dark BARBOT. grey. They do no harm, nor go ashore. The flesh of the upper part of their body tastes like pork, the lower part is somewhat leaner, but all reckon'd good food by the natives, especially broil'd. They take them in nets, and then kill them with harping-irons. In their heads are certain little bones, which beaten small and taken in wine, are said to be an excellent remedy against the gravel in the reins or bladder, but those of the males the best. Of the ribs they make bracelets in *Angola*, and reckon them to have a virtue to stop bleeding, especially those of the left rib next the heart.

*Merolla* says, the river *Zair* has plenty of these monstrous fishes or mermaids, resembling a woman upwards, but the lower part like a fish, ending in a forked tail. It is best caught in rainy weather, because the water being then disturb'd, it cannot perceive the fishermen, who commonly go in canoes, paddling very softly towards the place they perceive them to lie in, by the motion of the water, and so strike them with spears; and when hurt, they are said to give a cry like a human voice. If not very well struck, they will often get away, especially if the fisherman be in a very small canoe, when he is obliged to let them go with the javelin sticking in them.

In the history of *Denmark*, we have an account of some such creatures seen in the sea about *Greenland*, both males and females, the male in the *Norwegian* tongue call'd *Hastramb*, a man-fish, appearing such to the waist; being like a man in the eyes, nose, head, broad shoulders and arms, but without hands, and transparent as ice, never rising out of the water above the middle. The female, call'd in the same language *Margugwer*, like a woman, with large breasts, long hair, arms, and fingers join'd with skins, like the feet of a goose; they catch fish with these hands. The *Danes* superstitiously fancy they are the forerunners of storms, and that if they appear with their back to a ship, it will inevitably perish; but if the face be to the vessel, it will escape.

A sea-monster, like a man, was seen at *Martinico*, in the year 1671, as I shall observe hereafter in the description of that island.

*Navarre* speaks of this fish in *India*, and at *Manila*, and takes notice of the strange virtue there is in its bones to stop bleeding, especially the rump-bone, but even the teeth partake of it.

These creatures are also caught about *Sofala* on the east coast of *Africa*, and being salted, prove good food at sea, if quickly spent; but if kept stale, grow rank, and are dangerous meat for those who have foul

BARBOT. diseases, as the pox, or such like in their limbs.

In these lakes also breed great numbers of sea-horses, crocodiles, and many other amphibious animals.

*Natives.* In every dominion of *Angola* there are four sorts of people; the first noble-men or *Mokatas*; the second call'd children of the dominion, being natives; for the most part artificers or husbandmen: the third *Quisikos*, or slaves, and so appropriated to the lord, as his other goods, and inheritable like them: the fourth *Mobikas*, being also slaves of the *Souassen*, gotten by war, or otherwise.

Their clothing comes very near to that of *Congo*, the ornaments of their necks and arms, round glass beads, they call *Anzalos*.

The *Angolish* tongue differs from that of *Congo* only in the pronunciation, yet that makes it found like another language.

A woman, as long as her child has no teeth, keeps from her husband; but as soon as it has any, all the friends and acquaintance, both men and women, carry it in their arms from house to house, playing and singing, to receive a gift for it, and seldom or never are put off with a denial.

*Cloths for coin.*

Instead of money they use, as at *Loanda*, the small cloths, call'd *Libonges*, and *Panosfambos*, above spoken of. Of these some are single mark'd, with the arms of *Portugal*, others double mark'd, and some unmark'd. The single-mark'd cloths, or four unmark'd tied together, go for a *Teston*, or eight pence, and one alone for two-pence; but every double-mark'd cloth is worth ten or eleven.

None of the *Portuguese* may bring these cloths into *Loanda*, but only the factor of the merchant who dwells at *Lisbon*, and is sent thither to buy them up, whereof he makes no small gain.

From *Benin* they bring hither blue cotton cloths, by them call'd *Mouponoqua*, but by the *Portuguese*, *Panos do regatto de Berre*; they are five cloths together, and a yard and a half, or two yards broad. There is another sort in *Portuguese* call'd *Panos de Komma de Figura*, blue and some white, mingled with figures, about six or seven yards long, and above a yard broad. Of these sorts the *Portuguese* vend great quantities, and at high prices in *Congo*, *Amboille*, the kingdom of *Gingo*, and other places.

The like small cloths are brought from the island *St. Tome*, but the dye is not so good, and the stuff coarser. These they exchange for slaves, to send into *Portugal*.

They have two sorts of *Simbos*, which serve in lieu of money, viz. pure *Simbos*, taken under the island of *Loanda*, and used for trade in *Punto*; and impure, or *Braziles*, brought from *Rio de Janeiro*, and used in

*Songo* and *Pinda*, and in the countries of *Anna Xinga*, beyond *Massignan*; and among the *Jagos*.

The *Simbos* of *Loanda* are also of two sorts, a finer and a coarser, separated by sifting; the latter they name *Simbos-Sifados*, the other *Fonda* and *Bomba*: both these they send to *Congo*, and are carried thither on the heads of *Blacks* in sacks made of straw, every sack weighing two *Arrobas*, that is, sixty four pounds.

The *Simbos* of the other coasts of *Congo* are the lesser sorts: all things are bought in *Congo* with these shells, even gold, silver, and provisions; and the use of coin, either of gold or any other metal, is suppressed and forbid in all *Congo*, as it is in some other parts of *Africa*.

They use also in *Loanda* instead of money the red *Takoel* wood of *Mayumba*, and *Pao de Kikongo*, brought from *Benguella*, and cut into pieces about a foot long, of a set value, which every one knows.

It will seem strange to *Europeans* to hear, that the people of *Loanda*, *Congo*, and *Angola* should use shells, pieces of wood, and bits of cloth instead of money; but we read of several other nations, which have not valued gold and silver as we do, or at least made other things to serve instead of coin, to buy and sell.

In *Peru*, where the greatest plenty of gold and silver has been found, those metals were never used as money by the natives.

In several parts of *Africa*, besides those here mention'd, shells of other sorts pass current, as the *Cauris* and *Bouges* do at *Ardra* and *Fida*. In other parts, and particularly in *Massa*, and the adjacent parts, iron is the coin, the smallest pieces weighing about an ounce. At *Melinde* they have little glass balls brought them from *Cambaia*. In *Calbay*, we are told, a sort of stamp'd paper passes for money. In *Ethiopia*, and other parts, cakes of salt. In *Pegu* every man stamps lead and copper, gold and silver being look'd upon as merchandize. In *Bengala* there is no other coin, but a sort of small almonds: as in *New Spain* the coconuts were the current coin; and in several parts of the *East-Indies*, pepper, and coconuts, &c.

The chiefest trade of the *Portuguese* and other *Whites* consists in slaves, carried thence to several ports in the *West-Indies*, to work at the sugar-mills, and in the mines, the *Europeans* not being sufficient for that labour; and no men can do it so well as these *Angolans* for a time: and thus it is at the expence of the lives of these poor wretches, that we draw such vast wealth from *America*. It is affirm'd, that when the *Spaniards* were masters of *Portugal*, they transported every year fifteen thousand slaves out

out of *Angola*, into the new world. And the *Portuguese* still transport a very great number.

All those slaves the *Portuguese* cause to be bought, by their *Pomberrocs*, a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues up the country, whence they bring them down to the sea-coast; have but little food by the way, and lie on the bare ground every night in the open air, without any covering, which makes them grow poor and faint. But the *Portuguese* at *Loanda*, before they are ship'd off, put them into a great house which they have built there for that purpose, and give them their fill of meat and drink, as also palm-oil to refresh and anoint themselves with. But if it happens that there are no ships ready, or that they have not slaves enough to send away, then they use them for tilling the ground, and to plant or cut *Mandioca*; but at last when they put them on board, they take great care to preserve them from sickness, and that they may come safe and sound to their intended ports, they provide medicines, especially lemons and white lead to use against the worms; and if by chance any fall sick, they separate those from the rest, and lay them alone to be cur'd, where they are well provided for, with warm diet. In the ships they have mats to lie on, of which they take great store with them, especially when they go over to the *West-Indies*, to give every ten or twelve days a fresh mat. But the *Hollanders* and other *Europeans* take no such care in transporting their slaves to *America*, but ship them poor and faint, without any mats, or other necessaries, which occasions many of them to die at sea.

The *Portuguese* also cause the slaves they ship off to be baptiz'd, it being forbid under pain of excommunication to carry any to *Brazil*, that are not christened. However, it is pitiful to see how they crowd those poor wretches, six hundred and fifty or seven hundred in a ship, the men standing in the hold ty'd to stakes, the women between decks, and those that are with child in the great cabin, and the children in the steeridge, which in that hot climate occasions an intolerable stench.

The voyage is generally perform'd in thirty or thirty-five days, the trade-wind carrying them, so that they sail over in a line; but some times they are becalm'd, and then the passage is longer.

The *Portuguese* deal for slaves at *Kamkam-ba*, but not so much as in *Massingan* and *Embakko*; for there, when the adjacent *Blacks* want any merchandize, they bring their slaves to the *Portuguese* colonies for exchange.

The commodities which the *Portuguese* and other *Europeans* carry thither, are;

Cloths with red lists; great ticking with long stripes, and fine wrought red kerseys, *Silesia* and other fine linnen, fine velvet, small and great gold and silver laces, broad black bays, *Turkish* tapistry or carpets, white and all sorts of colour'd yarn, blue and black beads, stitching and sowing silk, *Canary* wines, brandy, linseed-oil, seamens knives, all sorts of spices, white sugar, and many other commodities and trifles, as great fish-hooks, pins a finger long, ordinary pins, needles, and great and small hawks-bells.

The *English* compose their cargoes generally, of brass basons, *Annabasses*, blue bafts, paper brawls, *Guinea* stuffs, muskets, powder, *Nicanees*, tapseils, scarlet, paper slesia's, coral, bays, wrought pewter, beads, *Pintadoes*, knives, spirits, &c. With an assortment of these fundry goods, amounting to about fourteen hundred pounds sterling, it may be reasonably expected to get about three hundred slaves or more; which bring them to near the rate of five pounds a head.

All sorts of haberdashery, silks, linnen shirts, hats, shoes, &c. wrought pewter plates, dishes, porringers, spoons, of each a little assortment, are also very profitably vendd among the *Portuguese*.

The government of *Loanda*, and the rest of *Angola*, subject to the king of *Portugal*, is in the governor, two *Veadores* or inspectors, one *Ovidor* or chief justice, for matters criminal, and two other judges call'd *Juizes*, with a secretary.

The king of *Portugal* has great revenues from *Angola*, partly by the yearly tributes of the *Souassen*, and partly by the customs and taxes, set upon exported and imported goods and slaves. This latter revenue is farm'd at *Lisbon* by one or more, who keep their factor at *Loanda*, and he has to attend him, a secretary, two notaries, and two *Porteiros* or door-keepers.

The *Souassen* governors of all the territories which the *Portuguese* hold in *Angola*, by force of arms, are bound to pay a tribute of slaves to them yearly, and to do them other services under the title of vassals. And the *Portuguese* governor of *Loanda* farms the tributes of the *Souassen* to some of their own nation, who are not content with what was the settled revenue of slaves, but often take more; which makes the natives bear them a mortal hatred.

The *Souassen* are also bound to appoint carriers for the *Portuguese*, when they travel through the country, to carry them from one place to another: for if a *Portuguese* has a mind to travel from *Loanda* to *Massingan*, when he comes in the evening to a village, where he intends to lodge, he sends to the *Sova* to let him know, he has occasion for

BARBOT.  
Goods imported.

Portuguese take care of slaves.

Government.

Revenue.

Subjection of the natives.

**BARBOT.** so many of those carriers, who must not fail to provide them: and this they do every evening, to have fresh men for the next day's journey.

**Native governors.** Every district has its respective *Sova*, and he has a certain number of *Makottes* or counsellors, who when they apply to him fall down on their knees, clapping their hands, with whom he consults of all weighty concerns. These *Souassens* live privately in villages, inclos'd with thick hedges, and have only a narrow entrance; and the habitations cannot properly be call'd houses, but slight huts, made of rushes and straw, after the manner of the country of *Dongo*.

Every *Sova* has a chaplain in his *Banza* or village, to christen children, and celebrate mass.

**Church government.** The church-government in *Loanda* is in a bishop, who is suffragan to him of the island of *St. Tome*, because that island pleads antiquity, and claims the preference as the mother-church in those parts.

**King of Angola.** The king of *Angola*, or *Dongo*, resides a little above the city *Massingan*, on a stony mountain, seven leagues in compass, in which are many rich pastures, fields and meadows, yielding a plentiful provision for all his retinue; into which there is but one single passage, and that, according to their method, well fortified; so that he needs fear no enemies, either from the queen of *Sodesia*'s side, of whom more hereafter, nor from the *Jagos*.

This king, like him of *Congo*, keeps a great many peacocks, which is peculiar to the royal family, and of so high esteem, that if any one should presume to take but a feather from one of them, with a design to keep it, he would immediately be put to death, or made a slave, with all his generation.

At present this prince acknowledges no kind of subjection to the king of *Congo*, tho' formerly the country, when divided into divers lordships, under several *Souassens*, belong'd to that king. But about an hundred and fifty years since, one of the *Sovas*, call'd *Angola*, with the assistance of the *Portuguese* trading in his country, made wars with the others, and overcame them one after another, till he made them all tributaries, yet left them still in possession of their lordships or dominions.

This *Angola* afterwards became king, and stiled himself *Incue*, from the great multitude of people under his subjection; and was not inferior in power to the king of *Congo*, to whom, *Lynschoten* says, he sends presents, tho' he be not his vassal.

After his death, in 1560, his son *Dambi Angola*, a great enemy to the *Portuguese*, was chosen king, who reign'd till the year 1578, when he died, and his youngest son,

*Quilonge Angola*, or *Angolaire*, that is, great lord, succeeded him.

He renew'd the ancient league with the *Portuguese*, and *Paul Dias de Nevaiz*, their governor; but afterwards, without cause, cut off thirty or forty of them, on the way, as they were going with merchandize to the royal city: whereupon *Dias* made war upon him, and took many places, subjecting them to the crown of *Portugal*, which ever since, together with others, from time to time subdued, have remain'd under them.

The arms the *Angolans* use, are bows and arrows, and javelins, and have learnt to handle the ax and cutlases, but are not well accustomed to manage muskets. They always fight a-foot; and their country being very populous, by reason of the great fruitfulness of the women, the king can easily raise an army of two hundred thousand men, but they have no more courage than those of *Congo*.

The king of *Angola*, who died in the year 1640, left three daughters and a nephew. The eldest, named *Anna Xinga*, or *Singa*, put in her claim to the succession of the crown, as of right; but the *Portuguese* favouring the nephew's pretensions, she was forc'd, with many of the grandees adhering to her interest, to fly into the inland country, keeping up her claim to the crown, and looking upon the nephew as an usurper.

After many rencounters and battles, in which she was worsted by the *Portuguese*, she turn'd her arms against the *Jagos*, whom she routed in several fights; and afterwards made peace with the *Portuguese*, who used to get a great number of slaves from her dominions. That princess was of so masculine a courage, that she made a diversion of war: she was of a fierce barbarous temper, and liv'd after the manner of the *Jagos*, under tents in the fields, having quitted christianity, in hatred to the *Portuguese*, who had excluded her from succeeding to the crown of *Dongo*; she gave herself wholly up to idolatry, and used to sacrifice human victims to her idol, before she would undertake any war: yet this savage temper did not exempt her from being sensible to love. She kept fifty or sixty young men about her court, whom she would have dressed like women, and assume their names, whilst she her self was apparell'd like a man, and bearing a man's name, in order to command with more authority. She was very fortunate in all her wars, except against the *Portuguese*. In the year 1646, she ransack'd all the dwelling-places in the province of *Ovando*, and carried the inhabitants into slavery. The *Quisames*, a people dwelling about *Coansa* river, paid her an annual tribute.

The

The nephew, whom the *Portuguese* had set upon the throne, being dead; *Angola Sodesia*, who succeeded him, made them presents secretly, to have their protection.

All the *Blacks* of *Angola*, till of late, liv'd in paganism, using a dance, by them call'd *Quimboara*, in which they said the devil certainly enter'd one of them; and thro' him inform'd them of future and past events. Now, by the endeavours of the *Portuguese* jesuits, they are brought to the *Roman Catholick* religion. In the year 1584, many thousands receiv'd baptism; so that in 1590, there were about twenty thousand families in *Angola* christians: the same year fifteen hundred more were converted; and the *Portuguese* to this day labour very much in the same good work.

The island of LOANDA,

LIES before the city *Loanda*, in eight degrees forty-eight minutes south latitude; making a good and convenient haven for shipping: the whole about seven leagues in length, and in the broadest place not above half a league over; so that those who sail by, may easily see the sea run between it and the main land.

*Pigafetta* supposes it to have grown up from the settlings of sand and mud, thrown up there in heaps, by the force of the two great waters of *Bengo* and *Coansa*; framing it a plain island, about a mile from the city, behind which the ships ride: the entrance into it is by two narrow passages, according to *Merolla*, at the extremities of the slip.

The whole spot is one level plain, but very dry and sandy, only in some places may be seen a few bushes and brambles; and on the north side, here and there, some hawthorn shrubs. The land by the sea-side is so steep, that not above a musket-shot from the shore there is twenty seven or twenty eight fathom water; and a mile from thence a line of a hundred fathom can reach no ground.

On this island are seven towns or villages, by the inhabitants call'd *Libar* or *Libata*; the *Portuguese* call the best of them *Santo Espiritu*. There are two churches or chapels, and the *Portuguese* have divers gardens and orchards, wherein grow oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, excellent figs, bananas, coco-nuts, grapes, and other fruit; but corn is so great a stranger to it, that they are oblig'd to fetch supplies from other places.

It produces the great tree, by the natives call'd *Enfada*; by *Clusius* the *Indian* fig-tree, by *Linschoten* in *Portuguese*, *Arbor da Raiz*, that is, the rooting-tree.

It springs up commonly with one thick body to a great height, at the top shooting

forth many branches, from which hang down several small strings of a golden colour, which when they once touch the ground, take fast root, spring up again like new plants, and in a short time, increase to a large bulk; from whence, as from the first, new strings hang down again, and take root, still spreading: so that sometimes one single tree will extend its bounds above a thousand paces, and seems like a little wood or thicket.

The great sprouts, with so many close boughs, entirely shut out the sun-beams; and the cavities within repeat an echo three or four times.

Most of the citizens of *Loanda* have there several little such verdant arbors, where they come over to divert themselves, and which, together with the ever-green trees planted about, afford a very agreeable prospect.

The leaves of the young boughs resemble those of the quince-tree, being of a whitish green and woolly. The fruit within and without red, springs between the leaves of the young branches like an ordinary fig.

Very credible eye-witnesses report, that three thousand men may be shelter'd under one of these trees.

Within its outermost or first bark, they find somewhat like a thread or yarn, which being beaten, cleansed, and drawn out at length, the common people make cloth of.

This tree grows also in *Arabia*, and *India*, where the inhabitants, cutting away the small boughs, make arbors under them for coolness and shade.

*Merolla* says, all the drinking water used in the city is taken up in this island; and the strangest is, that it is sweetest at the flood, and salt or brackish at the ebb.

The islanders use canoes made of the bodies of date-trees join'd together, in which they fight at sea.

Formerly the *Jagos* dwelt here, but the *Portuguese* drove them out in the year 1578. and pursued them to *Massingan*; at the same time raising a fort there for their security.

In this island the grey-colour'd *Simbos* are taken up, which carried to *Congo*, and other places, go for current money; so that this place may justly be term'd the mint of *Congo*. For tho' other parts of the coasts of *Congo* produce *Simbos*, yet those of *Loanda* are the best.

It is commonly the women who gather or fish these *Simbos* out of the sea, in this manner: they walk to about the knees, or their middle in the water, with certain baskets, which they fill with the sand, among which the *Simbos* breed, and returning to the beach, pick them out. These shells are of two sorts, males and females, and very small;

BARBOT. small; the females are of the best colour and handsome.

The two entrances into the port of the city *Loanda*, form'd, as was said before, by this island, are on the north and south. That on the south call'd *Barra de Corimba*, where formerly was about five fathom water, is now almost choak'd with sand. The *Portuguese* had formerly two batteries on this entrance, but the water has almost wash'd them away.

About two miles from *Barra de Corimba*, on the continent, is a little promontory, in *Portuguese* call'd *Ponta do Palmerinbo*.

A mile and a half southward of it is the *Sleepers* haven, and the lime-kilns, where the *Portuguese* burn oyster-shells to make lime.

Four miles and a half from *Sleepers* haven is the river *Coansa*, where formerly the *Dutch* had a fort, call'd *Molle*, before spoken of.

To perfect this description, I have added PLATE 30. a map of the coast of *Angola*, from the river *Bengo* to the *Coansa*, with the island of *Loanda*, taken from that made by the king of *Portugal's* command, often before mention'd.

I have thereon given the figure of the mermaid, in two several postures, mark'd A. B. having before described it from *Merolla*.

The fish with a long sharp horn, represented in the same cut, at the letter C, was given me on the coast of *Guinea*, by one Mr. *Gasbot*, an ingenious man, who had made some voyages to the *East-Indies*, who took it from the life, which was four or five foot long.

Soundings. To return to the charts, they show the depths and soundings along the coast of the *Lower Ethiopia*, from *Rio das Arnasias*, on the south side of cape *Lope Gonzales*, as follows: from that river to cape *St. Catherine* twelve fathom; thence to *Serras do Santo Spirito* twelve; thence to *Cabo Segundo* eight and nine; thence to *Porto de Mayombe* twelve and ten; thence to *Angra do Indio* twelve and fifteen; thence to *Rio das*

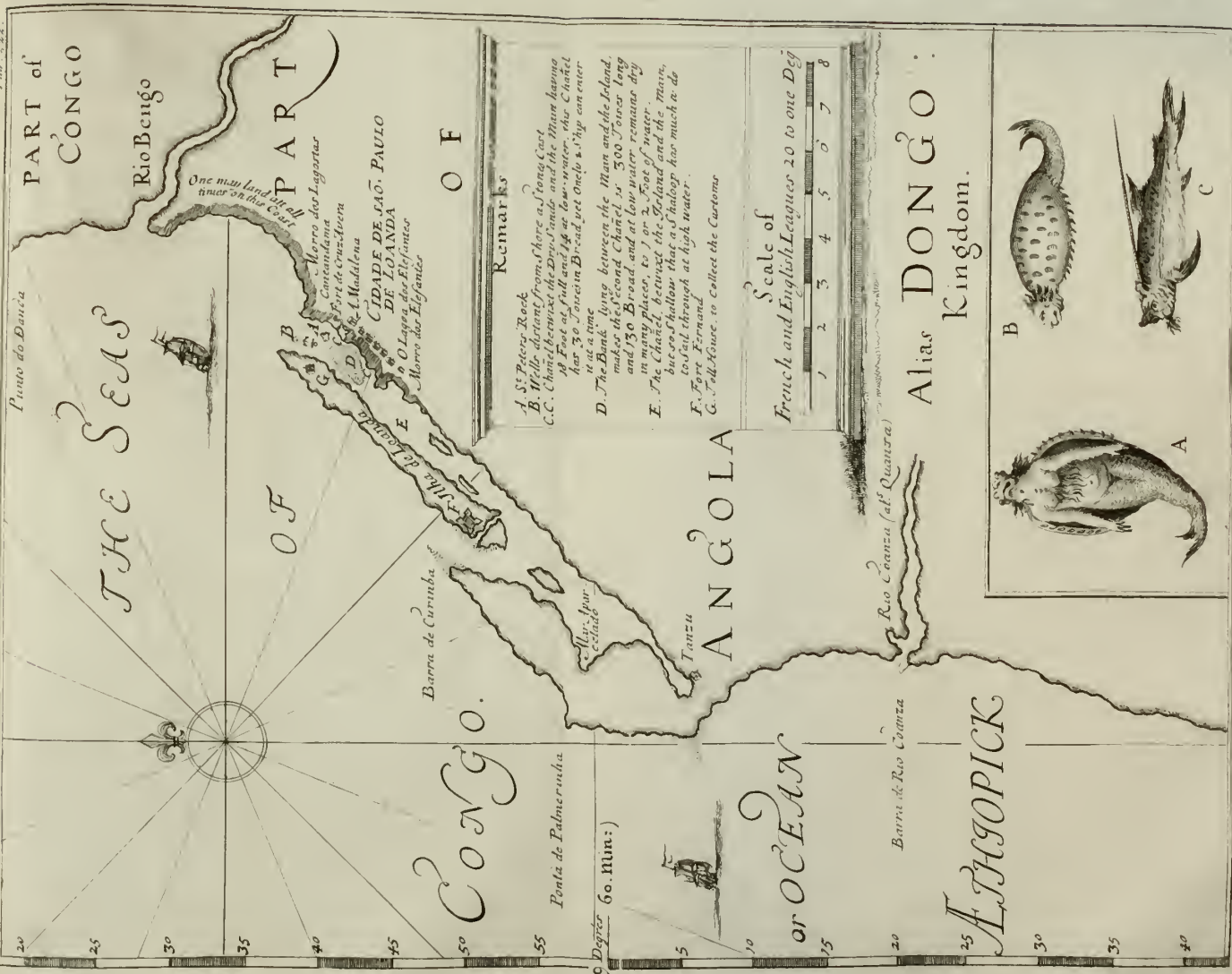
*Moutas* eight; thence to *Rio de Se* fifteen; thence to the bay of *Cabinde* four, five and six; in the mouth of the river *Zair* or *Congo* seven; from *Barreiros Brancas* to *Rio do Andrez* eight to ten; and from thence to *Rio Bengo* eight, six and eight: where end the observations of the depths along the coast southward.

The common trade-winds at the coast of *Angola* blow from south-west to south, till about twelve degrees longitude from the meridian of the isle of *Lundy*, which is the common meridian of the *English*. At some distance from the shore, they are sometimes a point more to the westward, and those who have been there several voyages say, they found them always in the same quarter, and not subject to shift, all the time they staid at that coast. The dry season there has been observ'd to be from the latter end of *April* till *September*, tho' sometimes intermix'd with pleasant showers of rain. I cannot be so precise as to the wet season.

The true sea-breeze has been commonly observ'd there to be from west south-west to west by south, if the weather be fair, and the land-breeze at east by north; but if a tornado happens, it makes the winds shift all round the compass, and at last settle at south-west, which is the true trade-wind, as has been said.

Thus I have run through all the parts of the *Lower Ethiopia*, to the kingdoms of *Benguella* and *Mataman*, both to the southward of *Angola*, being the utmost extent of the trading coast; beyond which, is the coast of the *Cafres*, a most brutal generation, where no sort of commerce has ever been. I have extended so far, that nothing might be wanting to make this the most compleat description of *North* and *South Guinea* of any yet extant; hoping it may not only serve for the entertainment and instruction of those, who desire to be acquainted with foreign countries, without the toils and hazards of long voyages, but prove of use to such as make trade and the sea their profession.









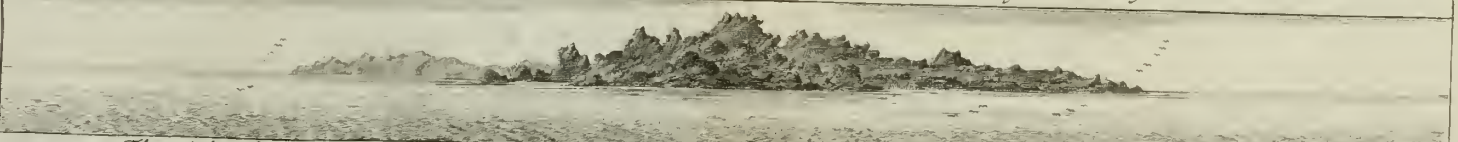
The Prospect of Lobos, Lancerota and Gratiota at about 8 or 9 Leagues distance



The Prospect of Alegranza and Lancerota, from abt 5 Leagues they being at S.E. from you



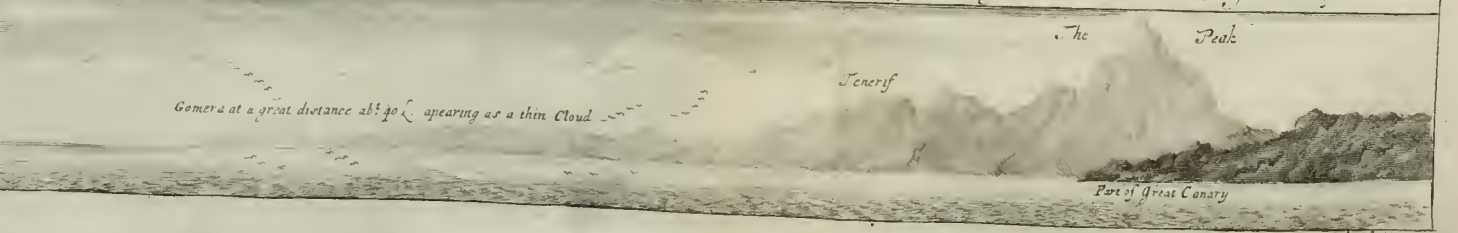
The South Side of Fortaventura abt 8 Leagues distance at N.E. the Point of great Canary at W.S.W.



The Sight of Great Canary being at W & S.W. from A to D abt 5 Leagues distance at Sea



The Sight of Tenerif and Gomera at N.W. about 35 Leagues and you being on the South Side of Canary



T H E  
S U P P L E M E N T.  
B O O K II.

*Season to sail for GUINEA.*

**I** Am of opinion, that the properest season to render the *Guinea* voyages most prosperous and safe, is to depart from *Europe* about the latter end of *September*, to enjoy the longer the good season on that coast; and to have a sufficient time to carry on the trade there, so as to reach the *Leeward* islands of *America* by the latter end of *April* following, which is the time when they make the sugar there; that so ships may have their full lading, and sail thence for *Europe* again before the season of hurricanes there; and arrive here before the boisterous weather, which usually reigns on our coasts about the beginning of *October*, which the *French* stile *Coups de vents de la St. Michel*, or *Michaelmas* storms; the sad effects whereof I sufficiently felt in *October* 1681, aboard the *Jolly* man-of-war. Having sail'd from *Rochel* road on the seventh of *October* for the coast of *Guinea*, and after we had sight of cape *Ortegal*, in *Galicia*, we met with such a violent storm from the south-west, and variable, that we were sixteen days tossed up and down in the bay, the sea running mountain high, and dreadfully breaking into our ship, which spoil'd abundance of our provisions, and much disabled us in our sails and rigging. However, being a strong ship, we kept sea; but our passage to *Senega* river lasted forty eight days: whereas, in a former voyage begun a fortnight later, we made our passage in twenty four days.

In this manner we make our *Guinea* voyages without much hazard or fatigue; being in a manner certain, to have most of the time good fair weather, and no considerable tempests at sea; either at our departing from *Europe*, during our passage, or whilst we carry on the trade on the coasts of *Nigritia*,

that is, at *Senegal*, *Gamboa*, and *Guinea*; nor in the voyage from thence to the main, or to the islands of *America*, neither during our stay there: as likewise, in our return thence to *Europe*, it will probably free us, in some measure, from the tempestuous weather often reigning in *August* about the *Bermudas* islands; and on the coasts of *Britany* and *Poitou* in *October*, if we do not reach land some time before *Michaelmas*.

Our course from *Rochel* to *Guinea*, was <sup>Course.</sup> directed for cape *Finisterre* in *Galicia*, so as to have sight of it, if possible; or twenty to twenty-five leagues west of it, according as the wind serv'd.

From that cape we steer'd south south-west, directly for *Madera*, if we had occasion to call there; or south by east, to *Gran Canaria*. Others pass betwixt this island and *Fuerte Ventura*; others, after having touch'd at *Madera*, or otherwise, coming from the northward, pass by the west of *Palma*, sometimes in sight of it; and others yet more westerly, as is thought most proper, or as the wind serves. At my first voyage I pass'd betwixt *Fuerte Ventura* and *Great Canary*; and at the second, betwixt the former and the main land of *Africa*; and thereby had the opportunity of drawing the prospects of *Lancerota*, *Graciosa*, *Fuerte Ventura*, *Great Canary*, *Teneriff* and *Gomera*, as in the print here annex'd, for PLATE 31. the advantage or satisfaction of travellers.

The other cut represents the two small PLATE 28. islands, *Las Desiertas*, east south-east of *Madera*, the town and road of *Funchal*, in the latter; with the prospects of *Gomera*, the pike of *Teneriff*, and *Palma*, drawn by my nephew *James Barbot*, in his passage to *Congo*, as mention'd in the first book of the Supplement.

BARBOT. Of MADERA and PORTO SANTO.

THE island *Madera*, so call'd by the Spaniards, *Madeira* by the Portuguese, and by the ancients *Cerne Atlantica*, lies in one degree thirty-nine minutes longitude; and thirty-two degrees thirty minutes of north-latitude; being about twenty leagues in length, seven or eight in breadth, and forty-eight in circumference.

Some say it was first discover'd by an Englishman, call'd *Macham*, anno 1344. But the Portuguese seem to claim the discovery thereof more fairly, under *Joan Gonzalez* and *Tristan Vaz*, anno 1429.

The air is far more temperate than in the *Canary* islands, and the soil more fertile in corn, wine, sugar and fruits, being much better water'd by five or six little rivers; but is alike stor'd with the same sorts of cattle, birds; plants and trees, from whence is extracted *Sanguis Draconis*, mastick and other gums.

When first discover'd by the Portuguese in 1420, it was all over cover'd with woods, and thence call'd *Madeira*, and those being set on fire, continu'd burning seven years; after which, they found the soil extraordinary fertile, but at present it is much decay'd.

Funchal town.

The chief town is *Funchal*, an episcopal see, suffragan to the archbishop of *Lisbon*, lying in the bottom of a bay, as the above mention'd cut represents.

Besides which, there are two other towns, *Moncerico* and *Santa Cruce*, with thirty-six parishes, a college and monastery of jesuits, five other monasteries, four hospitals, eighty-two hermitages, and several fine seats and castles about the country. *Funchal* stands at the foot of a high hill, in a narrow long form, defended by three forts or castles.

This island is ten leagues west from that of *Porto Santo*, seven from the two little desert islands, and about one hundred and fifty west from the nearest main land of *Fez* in *Africa*.

The king of *Portugal's* *Adelantado*, or governor, generally resides at *Funchal*. The road is very bad to ride in, tho' ships may do it within pistol-shot of the town, because the boisterous south-west winds often force them from their anchors, and they must then of necessity make out to sea, to avoid the two islands call'd *Desiertas*. All European nations trade thither, and receive in exchange for their commodities wine, much used throughout all the *American* islands, as keeping best in hot countries; sugar, wax, oranges, lemmons, pomegranates and citrons.

*Porto Santo* was discover'd by the same persons as *Madera*, and is about eight leagues in compass, having on it some villages and hamlets; being also subject to the crown of *Portugal*.

The CANARY Islands.

WEST of the coast of *Biledulgerid* in *Africa*, are the islands call'd *Canaries*, after the name of the largest of them, thought to be the fortunate islands of the ancients. They have been subject to the crown of *Spain*, since the year 1417, when first discover'd by *John de Betancourt*, a French man, in the service of the king of *Castile*, who subdu'd *Fuerte Ventura* and *Lanzarote*; as others after him did the rest, from that time to the year 1496.

In the days of *Ferdinand* king of *Castile*, and *Alfonso* the fifth of *Portugal*, each of them claiming a right to the other's dominions, and assuming their titles, there ensued a bloody war betwixt the Spaniards and Portuguese, till both sides being spent, a peace was concluded in 1479 at *Alcobazas*, on the fourth of *September*; by which they reciprocally renounc'd their pretensions, and it was therein stipulated, that the *Canary* islands should entirely belong to the crown of *Castile*, and the commerce and navigation of *Guinea* to that of *Portugal*, exclusive of the *Castilians*.

There are twelve islands in all, but only seven of note. *Lanzarote* and *Fuerte Ven-* Number and position.  
*Canaria*, *Teneriff*, *Gomera*, *Hierro* and *Palma*, these two last the most westerly. They all lie betwixt the first and the sixth or seventh degrees of longitude, and betwixt the twenty-fourth and the twenty-eighth degrees of latitude, or the twenty-ninth, if we include the two call'd *Salvages*.

*Gran Canaria*, which has communicated Gran Canaria. its name to the rest, is in three degrees forty minutes longitude, and twenty-six degrees thirty minutes of latitude, being thirteen or fourteen leagues long, and about forty in compass.

*Teneriff*, by the ancients call'd *Nivaria*, Teneriff. is in two degrees thirty minutes longitude, and twenty-seven degrees of latitude, and about sixty leagues in compass: it is famous for the lofty mountain call'd the *Pike of Teneriff*, rising in the form of a sugar-loaf to such a prodigious height, that I have seen it plain at forty-five leagues distance, showing, as represented in the print here PLATE 31. annexed.

*Fuerte Ventura*, in ancient geography Fuerte Ventura. *Casperia*, lies in five degrees thirty minutes longitude, and twenty-six degrees of latitude; being about twenty-five leagues long from south-west to north-east, the breadth very irregular; but the circumference about seventy-five leagues round the coasts, which form two bays, much like the ends of the *Malta* cross.

*Lanzarote*, formerly *Centuria*, is in five Lanzarote. degrees forty-five minutes longitude, and twenty-seven degrees latitude; about thirteen leagues

leagues long from north to south, nine in breadth, and forty in compass.

Gomera. *Gomera*, the *Theode* of the ancients, is in the first degree of longitude, and twenty-seventh of latitude, about twenty-two leagues in circumference, having a pretty good haven, and a town of the same name, which might probably be derived from the *Gomeres*, a people of *Africa*, living on the mountains of the little *Atlas*, according to *Marmol*.

Hierro. The island *Hierro*, as the *Spaniards* call it, tho' others more frequently *Ferro*, in ancient geography *Pluvialia*, is betwixt the first meridian and thirty minutes of longitude, and in twenty-six degrees forty-five minutes latitude; about ten leagues long, five broad, and twenty-five in compass: the soil dry and barren in some parts, for want of water, which has given many authors occasion to tell a formal story of a tree supplying all the island with water, which is since known to be a fable, and therefore not worth mentioning. This island is become particularly famous, from the *French* navigators placing their first meridian in the center of it.

Graciosa and Alegria. *Graciosa* and *Alegria* have nothing in them worth observing; but the first was by the ancients call'd *Juniona Major*; and the latter *Juniona Minor*.

Palma. *Palma* anciently *Capraria*, lies in thirty minutes longitude, and twenty-seven degrees forty minutes latitude, and is seven leagues long, ten in breadth, and twenty-six in compass: in it is the mountain of goats, whence its former name; and which used to cast out fire and stones.

The air of these islands in general is good, tho' hot; and the soil fertile, producing wheat, barley, millet, and excellent wine, transported thence to most parts of *Europe*; but more particularly to *Great-Britain*. There are abundance of poplar, fig, pomegranate, citron, and orange-trees: they also yield fugar and dragon's blood, besides some other sorts of gum.

Ancient inhabitants. Most of the inhabitants are *Spaniards*; but there are some remains of the ancient natives, call'd *Guanches*, a very active nimble people, living on the mountains, who feed mostly on goats milk, being a hardy bold people, of a tawny complexion, now civiliz'd by the *Spaniards* living among them.

The *Spanish* fleets returning from the *West-Indies* often make these islands their place of rendezvous. To conclude with them, I have observ'd that the high south south-west wind swells the ocean's waves very much between the *Canaries*, but it seldom blows there. From the latitude of the mouth of the streights to these islands, we had always good sport, catching doradoes, sharks, flying fishes, sea-dogs, and tunny-fish.

TO return to our voyage: Whether you sail between *Gran Canaria* and *Fuerte Ventura*, or between this latter and the continent of *Africa*, you are to make cape *Bojador*, on the coast of the *Zenegues*, as the *Portuguese* call them, or *Zuenziga*, according to the *French*; which province is by some reckoned a part of *Libia Interior*, extending it to *Cabo Branco*, or white cape: tho' other authors place its limits on the coast between cape *Nao* and cape *Bojador*, and at this last commence the kingdom of *Gualata*, and thence to *Senegal*-river extend that of *Geneboa*.

The ancient geography lays down a place near cape *Bojador* somewhat south of *Cbifarus Fluvius*, giving the name of *Sirangæ* to the people inhabiting that maritime part of *Africa*, between the said river *Cbifarus* and that call'd *Salatbus*, which falls into the ocean opposite to *Fuerte Ventura*, one of the *Canary* islands above-mention'd, extending them to the mountain *Atlas Major*, which separated the ancient *Getuli* from the *Autolotæ* and the *Tingitana*, now *Morocco*; and to the southward of the *Sirangæ* places the *Mausoli*, extending to the river *Ophidius*, now *Rio do Ouro*, or the golden river.

We usually sail along this coast, at about seven, eight, or nine leagues distance, in thirty, thirty-five, forty, and forty-five fathom water, sandy-ground, mix'd with small foul stones; but within two leagues of the shore the depth is eight and ten fathom. The wind generally varies from north to east, and very rarely comes to south-west.

Cape Bojador. Cape *Bojador* is so called from its running far out into the sea, which the name imports; and has a bending, which makes a hollow or sort of bay. The *Portuguese* formerly durst not sail any thing near it, for fear the tide, which sets strong there, should carry them upon the breakings and shoals that are about the cape. For many years that nation would not venture beyond cape *Nao*, fearing they should not be able to return home; and therefore gave it that name, to denote there was no going beyond it: but having at last surmounted that difficulty, they stuck no less at cape *Bojador*. *Giles Yanez* was the first of that nation, who had the courage to pass beyond that dreadful cape, which is by some supposed to be the mount of the sun, of the ancients; and by others, *Ptolemy's Arfinarium*. Not far from it is the town *Bojador*; and about eighty leagues eastward, up the country, begins the famous ridge of mountains, called by geographers *Atlas Major*, lying between the provinces of *Biledulgerid* and *Zuenziga*, and reaching with its tops above the clouds; whence the heathen poets took the fiction of *Atlas's* bearing the heavens on his shoulders.

BARBOT.

Cape *Bojador* lies in twenty-six degrees of north-latitude, and three hundred fifty-three degrees fifty minutes longitude east; the current about it sets south south-west eight leagues.

The coast all along from this cape to *Angra dos Ruyvos*, a large bay, about thirty-five leagues west of it, is very hilly and mountainous, but lowering as it draws nearer to the bay, and has no place of any note besides *Penba Grande*, ten leagues south of the cape.

*Angra dos Ruyvos* is a bay facing the west, and has but three fathom water between the two points, and two within, and consequently only capable of small ships. *Giles Yanez*, who discovered it in the year 1434, gave it the name; because he found there abundance of the fish the *Portuguese* call *Ruyvos*, and the *English* gurnets. Four or five leagues farther to the southward lies *Porto de Meden*: the shore here is flat and barren, producing nothing but large bulrushes. On the south-side of that bay appears a steep high point, which at a distance shews like a fortress.

Fishes.

The sea along this coast affords an incredible quantity of *Pargues* and *Sardes*, two sorts of pretty large fish, of an excellent taste; of which, in two hours time we lay by in forty-five fathom water, we caught above an hundred with lines and hooks, amongst which were also some sea-dogs, and another sort of fish larger than the former, called by the *French* captains; the figure whereof, and of the *Pargues* and *Sardes*, I drew, as represented in the print.

PLATE 32.

We took notice of two sorts of the *Sardes*; the captain is the best meat of them all, being very white, firm and savoury: the head of it is much like that of the *French Rochet*-fish, but not red, being of a bright brown, and ugly to look at. I have had some account of a sort of fish much like this, in several parts of the *West-Indies*, and in the south-sea, especially about the island *Juan Fernandes*, near the coast of *Cbili*; and is call'd in those parts the *Snapper*, being of the shape of a gurnet, but much bigger, with a great head and mouth, and large gills and fins; the back of a deep bright red, and its belly of a silver colour: the scales as large as a shilling, and the flesh very excellent to eat; all which qualities answer exactly to this captain-fish I have mention'd, and am apt to believe it a snapper.

The inhabitants of the *Canary* islands and of *Madera*, come hither with a number of barks and sloops yearly, to catch these fishes, which they salt like *Newfoundland*-bank cod, and make a great trade thereof in their islands.

We caught at another time abundance of this fish, before a place call'd the *Sette Montes*, in forty fathom water, stony-ground

mix'd with small shells: these sorts of fish, like the cod, keep always near the bottom of the sea in deep water, and require very long lines to reach them. We made at first our baits of pieces of flesh, or of herrings; and when we had got some of them aboard, us'd them, as better baits: the hooks must also be pretty strong. 'Tis a very diverting, but somewhat laborious sport, because of the great depth of the water it must be hall'd out from.

We had also almost every day the diversion of fishing for doradoes, sharks and dog-fish. We commonly caught doradoes with an harping-iron darted at them, as they happened to swim near the ship almost on the surface of the ocean; and for sharks, we us'd a long stout iron-hook, the bait being a large piece of salt pork, of which that rapacious creature seem'd to be very greedy.

I will not here enter upon a particular description of either of these creatures, the dorado and the shark, as being now so well known, by most travellers or people of any trading; I shall only in general take notice, that the dorado is the most beautiful and noblest fish in the universe, when just come out of the sea. The *French* sailors call it improperly the dolphin: the name of dorado was given it by the *Spaniards* or *Dorado* *Portuguese*, from the fine polish'd, enamell'd, fish. transparent gold-colour, of its scales about the back; so wonderfully intermix'd with shining, bright, silver, and emerald green specks, which I have endeavour'd to paint as near nature as I was capable, in miniature; and have those originally by me still. The tail and fins are of a fine gold colour, and the belly like silver, when in its element; it soon changes aboard, as we observe the same sudden alteration in the mackarels in *Europe*. The dorado scales in the night-time look of a fiery colour, the flesh of that beautiful fish is very firm, white, and of an excellent relish, especially broil'd on brisk wood-coals cut in slices, about two inches thick, and salted for an hour or two. There are two sorts of doradoes, and of either male and female, of very different size and colour: that which I drew after the life, was a cock-dorado, near five foot long; which, as I was told by old travellers, is the longest it grows to.

The doradoes of the *American* seas differ from those of the *African*, in that their head is longer pointed, whereas those of *Africa* are generally flat nosed and round; and for that reason, in some respect not so pleasing to the eye. This fish is no thicker than our salmon: the other sort varies from this, in that the two extremities of its jaws stretch a little farther out, and that the specks instead of a fine deep emerald-green, are of a lively azure, on a gold ground. Both sorts are

are



are very delicious, and acceptable to travellers, especially when not well furnish'd with a variety of fresh provisions, as it often happens in a home voyage, or return from remote parts of the universe. Mr. Cherot, a surgeon of *St. Malo*, in an *East-India* voyage saw a dorado which he affirms was full eight foot long, in the latitude of twelve degrees south in the seas of *Madagascar*.

I have given so large an account of the sharks of the *Guinean* seas, in the precedent description, that I refer to it.

We caught a great quantity, on the coast of *Zabara*, of a sort of fish by the *French* called *Chiens de Mer*, or *Rouffette*: they were generally females, each big with two little ones shut up in a bag, fasten'd to the fish, by a pretty long ligament, through which the little twins were nourish'd, by the substance of their dam, as the figure represents it. That bag was full of a gloomy yellow soft matter, which I suppose was to keep and nourish them till the time of being cast out by nature.

PLATE 32.

These being taken out of the bag, and thrown into a large tub of sea-water, did swim as nimbly and swiftly, as if they had been naturally brought forth at the proper time.

This observation may convince some persons, who believe that all sorts of fish whatever are generated out of spawn, and not by actual copulation, as with the quadrupeds: for besides the example of this fish I now instance, the whales, the north-capers or grampusses, and porpoises, certainly procreate by actual copulation, and bear and bring forth their young as the beasts do. The skin of this fish being of the nature of shagreen, is useful to joiners, and other artificers, to polish wood, &c.

We were also entertain'd every day during our voyage along this coast of *Zabara*, with the sight of a multitude of small whales, grampusses, porpoises, and flying-fish; which are common in the seas betwixt the equator and tropicks, but more especially infinite numbers of porpoises.

One day we had, for some minutes, a large *Panapana*, or hammer-fish, swimming so slowly on the surface of the ocean, and so very near the ship, that I had time enough to draw its figure, as in the print. It appear'd to be near eight foot long; and at some part of the coast of *Guinea*, I saw another like it, swimming by our ship's side at a small distance. The figure of the head of the *Panapana* I have drawn after that which is in *Gresham* college in *London*; and have seen another at a house near the lantern tower in *Rochel*.

PLATE 32.

Tho' we sail'd by this coast in *November*, the weather was intolerably hot and heavy; by day we navigated towards land, till in

twenty fathom water, and at night out to sea, <sup>BARBOT</sup> to forty and forty-five fathom, when the wind was at south-west; but when north-east, we kept at night nearer the land.

Twenty four leagues beyond *Angra dos Ruyvos* is the place, where in 1435, *Giles Yanez*, above mention'd, found a multitude of sea-wolves, or seals, many of which his men kill'd, and return'd home with their skins; and that was the greatest profit they made of their voyage, those being then look'd upon as a rarity. In 1440, *Anthony Gonzales* sail'd to that same place, to load his ship with those skins. He landed there, kill'd some of the natives, and took a few. This place is near *Rio do Ouro*, or the golden river.

*Angra dos Cavallos* is a bay seven leagues south of *Sette Montes*; in it is ten fathom water, and without it, four leagues off, fifteen, twenty and twenty five, red sand mix'd with little white transparent stones. The *Portuguese* call'd it by the above name, signifying bay of horses, because when they discover'd, it they found nothing there but horses.

Some leagues to the southward of the bay, the coast is hilly, and call'd *Oragedo*, that is, the rocky place, because all fac'd with rocks and small islands next the shore. We founded in twenty fathom water, and found rough pebbles, and stony ground.

#### R I O D O O U R O .

SIXTEEN leagues to the southward of *Angra dos Cavallos*, the great river call'd *Rio do Ouro*, falls into the sea, a small matter to the northward of the tropick of *Cancer*; the mouth of it lying in such manner, that tho' wide, it is not seen till got to the southward of its western point, call'd cape *Olaredo*, lying in twenty three degrees thirty minutes of north latitude. About four leagues distance from the mouth of this river east and west, we founded in twenty-six fathom, large sand, mix'd with shells.

About this latitude, just in passing the tropick of *Cancer*, is observ'd an ancient custom, common to all *European* sailors; which is, that those who have never been under the tropick, are oblig'd to give the ship's crew a piece of money, or something to drink, from which no man is excused. If any man happens to be so great a miser as to refuse paying of this duty, the sailors, dressed like officers, carry him bound before a tribunal, on which a seaman is seated in a long robe, representing a judge, who examines him, hears what he has to say for himself, and then pronounces sentence; which is, that he be three times duck'd in the sea, after this manner: The person condemned is tied fast with a rope, and the other end of it run through a pully at the yard-arm, by which he is hoisted up, and then

Ducking.

let

**BARBOT.** let run amain three times under water. It is seldom that some one fails to give the company this diversion. The same is practised with the utmost rigor in passing the line.

Mouth of  
Rio do  
Ouro.

The mouth of *Rio do Ouro* is three leagues broad, mostly choak'd up with a bank of sand two leagues broad, and running along from the westerly point to south-east almost three leagues, towards the eastern shore of the river, leaving only a channel about a musket-shot wide, and eighteen fathom deep, between the main land and the point of the sand. This bank at high flood has but two fathom and a half water. Within the river there is twelve fathom, near the south-west point of a long island, lying near the western shore; which is a peninsula, reaching within five or six leagues of *Sette Montes*, the river keeping a broad channel for near thirty leagues up south-west and north-east; and thus with the sea forming the said peninsula of the coast of *Angra dos Cavallos* and *Otagedo*.

The island above mention'd is four leagues long, and one in breadth. Two leagues above the island is the anchoring-place, in twenty fathom water. The channel of the river narrows gradually farther up the country.

Ancient  
name.

This river in ancient geography is call'd *Ophiodus Fluvius*, and the people inhabiting the country on the south side of it *Rhabii*.

*Antony Gonzalez*, above spoke of, returning in 1442, to the place where he had two years before taken away some of the natives, which was near this river *do Ouro*, or of gold, exchange'd these persons for some *Guinea* slaves, and a parcel of gold-dust of *Tibar*, which was the first gold ever carried from that part of *Africa* into *Portugal*. He therefore believing, that either the country, or the river which runs through it, afforded much gold, gave it the name of the gold-river; which encourag'd the *Portuguese* to proceed farther, in search of this metal.

First Afri-  
can gold.

From cape *Bojador* to *Rio do Ouro*, we observ'd the coast in many places to be all high cliffs, some grey, others whitish, and the country, as far as we could discern from our top-mast heads, barren, dry, scorch'd, and red sandy ground, overgrown with shrubs and reeds, but could neither see men, houses, nor beasts, in all that tract of land.

Desart  
country.

Some leagues to the southward of the gold-river, are the ports of *Medaos* and *Praya*, the latter of which is a reasonable large bay, with a bar before it, where the ships, designed for the fishery, generally anchor. Most of our modern geographers make the coast of *Nigritia* to commence at *Rio do Ouro*.

A very modern author names the land from *Rio do Ouro* northward towards cape *Bojador*, the country of *Ludaya* or the *Ludayos*, said to contain fourscore thousand fighting

men, bordering to the southward on the *Dullim* and *Deveches Arabs*, eastward on the *Uled Arramena Arabs*; the *Dervis Arabs* northwards, and the *Barbus Arabs* towards the north-east.

*Angra de Gonzalo de Cintra*, a large bay <sup>Zanhaga</sup> so call'd from its first discoverer, in the <sup>province.</sup> year 1445, lies about fifteen leagues south-west by south from *Rio do Ouro*. In former ages the *French* used to resort thither to buy gold of the native *Arabs*. The anchoring in the midst of the bay is in seven or eight fathom. The coast from *Rio do Ouro* to it is all hills, cover'd with coarse sand; the depth all along, at about a league from the land, is eighteen fathom. This is the province of *Zanhaga*.

We had once good sport at catching of *Pargues* and *Sardes*, sorts of fish before spoken of, without this bay, in thirty fathom water; the bottom a muddy sand, which is the right ground for that sort of fish.

From this bay of *Gonzalo de Cintra*, to *Cabo das Barbas*, in the province of *Gualata*, and in twenty-two degrees twenty minutes of north latitude, the coast is very high, and therefore by the *Portuguese* call'd *Terra alta*, forming at the cape the bay of *St. Cyprian*, by some call'd *Angra do Cavalleiro*, or the knight's bay, being eighteen leagues south-west by south of *Angra de Gonzalo*. In ancient geography it is call'd *Nivius Fluvius*, which supposes a river to fall into the bay; and the people inhabiting the country about the bay, were named *Macoces*, as far as the river of *St. John* to the southward.

Close by the bay of *St. Cyprian* the coast <sup>Cape das</sup> winds about to north-west for near three <sup>Barbas.</sup> leagues, forming the cape *das Barbas* at the extremity of it, being a low table-head, and the land from it to cape *Carvoeiro* much the same. About six leagues from the cape there is forty-five fathom water, grey sand. The coast there turns flat to south south-west for eighteen leagues to cape *Carvoeiro*, fronted all the way by a long bank of sand, commencing at cape *das Barbas*, and growing larger and larger, till it comes to cape *Carvoeiro*, where it extends almost six leagues out to sea in breadth, and so continues along the coast to the west of cape *Branco*, fifteen leagues distant, directly south from the former. The *Portuguese* say this great bank is left dry at low water.

Cape *Carvoeiro* is in twenty-one degrees <sup>Cape Car-</sup> forty two minutes of north latitude. About <sup>voeiro.</sup> fourteen or fifteen leagues to the westward of it, we find forty-five fathom water, unsound ground of pebbles and stones.

I have annex'd an exact draught of the <sup>PLATE 32.</sup> prospect of the coast of *Gualata*, from cape *das Barbas* to cape *Carvoeiro*, that coast stretching from north-east by north, to south-west by south. At about the middle of that distance

lies a long narrow island, call'd *Pedro da Galla*, which looks swarthy at a distance, and cannot well be approach'd nearer than two leagues, because of the great bank above mentioned, which lies out at sea before it.

Two leagues north north-east from cape *Carvoeiro*, is a hill call'd the little mount of *Sanfania*; and to the southward of that cape are several little rocks out at sea, standing in a ring, call'd *Sette Pedras*, or the seven rocks: and as far again to the southward, is the island *Lobos*, or of wolves, as near to cape *Branco*. Some leagues up the inland is the great hill, call'd *Monte de Areia*, or the sand mountain.

#### Cape BRANCO.

**B**etween the road that lies west from cape *Branco*, so named from a white sandy point, shooting out into the sea to the opposite shore, the depth is from twelve to ten, nine and eight fathom, to the point of the said cape. Some leagues to the northward is a rock above water. The cape is in twenty degrees three minutes of north latitude; the current south-west by south four leagues. Ancient geographers call'd it *Solventia extrema*.

#### Digression from the direct course.

**I** Shall here interrupt the course of navigation from cape *Branco* to *Senega*-river, as usually practis'd, steering from this cape west of the great bank *Secca da Gracia*; that I may give some account of the coasts of *Arguim* and *Anterote*, to compleat the description of this country, tho' now very little frequented by *Europeans*, since the demolishing of the castle of *Arguim* in 1678. It is to be observ'd, that the coasting trade to *Arguim* will be more conveniently carried on in small ships than tall ones, because of the shallowness of the water on that coast.

Cape *Branco*, or white cape, was first discover'd by *Nunbo Tristan*, and *Antony Gonfalez*, in the year 1440. From this cape the land turns away short to east, forming a bay close by it, which faces the south, and before it is nine and ten fathom water. From that bay the land bends to the north-east five leagues, and then again on a sudden turns to south south-east four leagues, forming a large bay, call'd *Angra de Santa Anna*, the bottom whereof is call'd *Culata*, where is good anchoring at two places, in four, five and six fathom, as is another near the cape's bay, in three and four fathom; and in the channel to it from cape *Branco* seven, eight and ten fathom; rather keeping along the shore of the cape than the opposite point of the great sand-bank, call'd by the *Portuguese*, as has been said, *Secca da Gracia*, and by the *French* *Banc d'Estein*, which

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runs twenty six leagues from north-west to south-east, being almost oval; and there, as well as at another little round bank a few leagues east south-east of it, over against *St. John's* river, in the kingdom of *Geneboa*, the *Moors* carry on their fishery. The north point of the bank is about a league and a half distant from cape *Branco*, leaving a convenient channel, which leads to the south-east coast of *Arguim*. The variation at cape *Branco* is four degrees east.

At the south-east end of *St. Anne's* bay <sup>Islands.</sup> are two small islands, at a little distance from the coast; the most northerly call'd *Ilba da Pedra*, the other *Ilba Branca*, or white island, from its white sandy beach. East south-east of them is good anchoring in five fathom water, the place therefore call'd *Surgidouro*, that is, the anchoring-place. Beyond this again is another island, call'd *Ilba dos Couros*, or leather-island, somewhat to the westward of *Rio Para Bateis*. When cape *Branco* bears south-east by south, distant eight leagues, there appears at south-east, about five leagues off, a steep white shore, stretching strait along, and before it thirty-five fathom, grey ground.

From the west point of the river *Para Bateis* to *Ponta Bateis*, being the western head of the bay of *Arguim*, the land tends west north-west and east south-east about five leagues.

The tide about cape *Branco* runs along the above-mention'd coasts to the bay of *Arguim*, and the channel betwixt that shore and the opposite southerly banks has nine, ten, seven, five, six, five, seven, six, four, three, and three and a half fathom water; as far as *Ilba Branca*, and thence to *Ponta Bateis*, three and three and a half at most, with good anchorage on the south side of *Ilba das Garzas*, or the island of herons, lying in the midst of the opening of the bay of *Arguim*.

#### ARGUIM bay and islands.

**I**T was discover'd in the year 1440, by the <sup>slaves</sup> above mention'd *Tristan Vaz*, and *Antony Gonfalez*, together with the islands <sup>thence</sup> *des Garzas* and *Adeget*. In 1444, a small company was erected in *Portugal*, paying an acknowledgment to the prince, to trade to those parts newly discover'd; who sent six caravels to the isles of *Arguim*, which took there two hundred slaves, that turn'd to good profit in *Portugal*.

The bay is two leagues wide, and three <sup>Islands.</sup> in depth to the northward, there being three other little islands, north of that *das Garzas*, which all bear the same name of isles of herons, from the great number of those birds breeding there. These and the abovemention'd islands, between the bay of *St. Anne* and that of *Arguim*, being seven in number, two whereof call'd *Nar* and *Fider*, have not

6 T

been

**BARBOT.** been yet spoken of, now commonly go under the general name of isles of *Arguim*. They were formerly long possessed by the *Portuguese*, who to secure their trade, and keep them in subjection, in the year 1441, by order of their king *Alfonso* the fifth, built a stone fort on the chiefest of them, on a commanding point, and about four hundred twenty-five foot in compass, with all necessary accommodation; but the *Dutch* with three ships of war, fitted out by their *West India* company, and the assistance of some of the prime *Moors*, drove them out of it in the year 1633.

*Dutch take the Portuguese fort.*

*The French take it from them.*

The *Dutch* being masters of the fort, added new works to it on the sea-side, and kept it till the year 1678, when the *French Senega* company took it from them, with only one hundred and twenty men, in three ships; and having carry'd off a considerable booty of gum-*Arabick*, slaves and other goods, laid it level with the ground, to oblige the *Moors* of the adjacent parts, to repair with their gum, slaves and ostrich feathers, the principal commodities of that country, to their factory at *Senega*; whereas they used to sell them to the *Dutch* at *Arguim*, which was a prejudice to the *French*. The natives and *Arabs* have so far comply'd in that point, that the factory at *Senega*, ever since gets two hundred tons of gum-*Arabick*, and would have a much greater quantity, were it not that the *Dutch West-India* company sends every year a ship to the coast of *Arguim* and adjacent parts, and particularly to the bay of *Penba*, a port about forty-five leagues to the northward of *Senega*, of which more hereafter, to barter with the *Moors* for gum *Arabick*, and by that means lessens the trade of the *French*.

*Brandenburghers at Arguim.*

In the year 1685, the *Brandenburgh African* company settled a factory at *Arguim*, by consent of the *Caboceiros* or chiefs of the country, seeing the *French* had blown up the fort above mention'd, and carry'd away with them the cannon, ammunition, merchandize, and all other things they found therein; insomuch that they left neither lodge nor house or cabin, nor any body whatever belonging to *France*. The *Brandenburghers* taking it for a total abandoning of the fort, rebuilt it out of its ruins, and garisoned it, to secure their own people and trade. The *French Senega* company, finding their gum-*Arabick* trade lessen'd by this new settlement, pleaded a property thereof at the *French* court, as being their conquest and within the bounds of their concessions; and did so much insist upon their supposed right, that the *French* plenipotentiaries at the conferences for peace, at *Ryswick* in 1697, presented a memorial to the mediators on that head; which was so fully answer'd by another memorial from

Mess. *Schmettau* and *Danckelman*, ambassadors of his late electoral highness of *Brandenburgh* at the *Hague*, that it was found, the *French* had forfeited their right to the country and fort of *Arguim*, by their forsaking it totally and entirely, as is above observ'd; and the property thereof devolv'd to the *Brandenburghers*, by rebuilding it so many years after. Thus they possess it quietly to this present time, according to the law of nations. This account is inserted in the book publish'd of the conferences for peace, held at *Ryswick* anno 1697.

I have not been able to hear, whether the *Hollanders*, since this possession taken at *Arguim*, and the *French*, do still trade there for gums, &c.

It is reported that the *Portuguese* fort at *Arguim* was in former ages possessed by a *Moorish* nation, call'd *Schek Arabs*, who drove a trade there and apply'd themselves to fishing; and that the *French* in those days used to send some ships thither, in *January* and *February*, to catch sharks, on the coast betwixt *Arguim* and *St. John's* river, about twenty leagues to the southward, which they dry'd in the sun ashore, and boiled the livers fresh, to extract lamp-oil, whereof they carry'd home considerable quantities. *Fishery.*

The inhabitants of the *Canary* islands, and the *Portuguese*, still repair thither to fish, as they do along the coasts of *Zenegues*, *Zanbaga*, *Gualata*, and on the bank *Secca da Gracia*, which last is the chief station. They take *Pargues* and *Sardes*, which they cure and use at home instead of other salt-fish.

The *Portuguese* trade consisted in wool-*Portuguese trade.* len and linnen cloth, wrought silver, coarse tapistry, and most of all in corn, which yielded a considerable profit, with the wandering wild *Arabs* and *Moors*; bartering for slaves, gold, ostrich feathers, and *Barbary* horses, for one of which they had twelve or fifteen slaves in *Nigritia*.

On the east point of the bay of *Arguim* is a hill, on the top whereof the *Moors*, when they discover a sail standing in, use to make a fire, as a signal to desire the sailors to stay and trade with them.

At the south part of the great isle of *Arguim*, is a salt pond, which affords a great quantity of salt, but mix'd with much sand. *Salt.*

The country about the islands is low and barren. The natives have so little fuel, that the *Portuguese* garrison formerly was oblig'd to fetch it from six leagues distance up the inland, to the southward.

The slaves the *French* took from the *Dutch*, in the castle of *Arguim*, being there put aboard a small ship, to the number of one hundred and twenty, all lusty people of both sexes, for *Santo Domingo* in *America*, having *Desperate slaves.* privately

privately provided themselves with pieces of iron, and such other weapons as they could, on a sudden assaulted the few *French* there were aboard, whilst some of them were asleep; but not being able to force the captain and some others, who had shut themselves up in the fore-castle and great cabin, whence they made a terrible fire on them with their muskets; and seeing several of their companions kill'd, forty of the most obstinate of them, men and women, leap'd into the sea together, where turning on their backs, they call'd to the *French* to observe them, and holding their mouths quite open, swallow'd down the sea-water, without moving arms or legs, till they were drown'd, to show their intrepidity and little concern for death.

*Arguim, a kingdom.* *Arguim* is a kingdom of it self, in the country of *Gualata*, by many call'd *Anterote*; which name is also sometimes communicated to the seven islands above mention'd.

The river of ST. JOHN.

THE coast from the bay of *Arguim* to *Rio de San Joao*, or *St. John's* river, runs north and south, twenty leagues indifferent high; only five leagues from *Arguim* may be seen at a great distance the high mount *Medaon*, opposite to which westward, about two leagues distant, lies *Ilha de Sarpo*, a small island. The channel along the shore from *Arguim* to it, is three fathom deep near the land; and from the above island, betwixt it and the sand-bank commencing three leagues to the southward, and advancing in a semi-oval figure, above four leagues to the westward, and near to the island *Branquinba*, in nineteen degrees thirty minutes north latitude, the depth is four, six, five, four, three, and two fathom, coasting the bank, which leaves a passage of two and three fathom water between it self and the island *Branquinba*: but the other channel, west of this island, is five, four, and three fathom deep. The bank shows it self at low water, and stretches from the last mention'd island south-east, to a hill call'd *Medaon grande do Tigre*, lying a league or more to the northward of *St. John's* river. The space of ground betwixt the said river and the mount is all salt-pits. The channel from *Branquinba* to the river, coasting the skirts of the bank, has three, and two and a half fathom water.

*St. John's* river, in ancient geography, is call'd *Massa Fluvius*, and the people from it to *Senega*-river, *Mandori Nigrite*. At the mouth of it, which is two leagues wide, is the good harbour *Tofa*, and in the midst of it is an oval island; about which there is two fathom water. On the south point of this river the natives have a large salt-pit, extending eastward to *Porto San Joao*.

The famous town of *Hoden*, of which more hereafter, lies on the north-side of *St. John's* river, five or six days journey to the eastward.

The people of *Senega* say, they pass from their river into that of *St. John*, through the other call'd *dos Maringoins*, being a branch of the *Senega*. As a proof thereof, they alledge, that the waters of the river *dos Maringoins* are somewhat brackish, which they pretend proceeds from their mixing with those of *St. John's* river in the north, tho' seventy leagues from the sea: and the more to enforce it, they affirm there is no other river between the *Senega* and that of *St. John*.

*Rio dos Maringoins* rises not far from it, and runs thence across the country of *Geneboea*, from north to south, with many windings, into *Senega* river. There are abundance of towns and villages on both sides of it, among which the most remarkable are *Samba*, *Lamech*, and *Ringuilion*; near its head and to the southward *Tonde Febe*, *Yebe*, *Goleren*, *Walalde*, *Porrie*, *Patesau*, *Killen*, *Sapaterre*, *Kocko*, and *Geneboea*.

Beyond the salt-pits of *St. John* is a bay, south of which are four small hills on the coast, call'd *Medaos de Santa Anna*, a league or better to the northward of a place, call'd *Porto de Framengo*, or the *Fleming's* port; which is a bay of good anchoring, in four and five fathom water, seven leagues south of *St. John's* river. About two leagues westward, out at sea, lies an oval bank of sand, on which the sea breaks; and without it westward, there is five and six fathom water.

*Cabo Darco* is the north point of the bay; by the *Portuguese* call'd *Porto de Resgate*, where is anchoring on three fathom water: the southerly point of this bay lies two leagues and a half south of cape *Darco*, which I suppose had that name from its exact form of a semi-circle; the bay is the mouth of this port, the depth four and five fathom.

Some leagues south of *Resgate*, appear the hills call'd *Sette Montes*, being pretty high land; and so along the shore the coast is full of hillocks. From the *Sette Montes* to *Armoroto*, is about four leagues south; and from that to *Penba* or *Rosalgate*, three leagues still to southward. The *French* reckon *Penba* to be distant from their factory, (in the island of *St. Lewis* in *Senega*-river) forty-five leagues north.

*Penba* is a sort of bay; the anchorage within a bank that lies before it. Hither the *Dutch* resort every year with a ship; trading at this coast from port to port, to purchase gums, ostrich feathers, &c. in exchange for their goods, with the *Moors* of *Geneboea*; which the *French* can hardly hinder from that distance.

Here I conclude the course of navigation, for the coasting trade from cape *Branco* to this

BARBOT.  
Hoden town.

Marin-  
goins river.

Tofa  
harbour.

**BARBOT.** this place of *Penba*; and will now resume the direct course we used, from cape *Branco* to *Senega*-road.

*Return to the course of the VOYAGE.*

**F**ROM about the latitude of cape *Branco*, being twenty degrees thirty minutes, as has been observ'd, we set our course south and south by west, till in seventeen degrees forty minutes, and then south-east. In this latitude we saw passing by the ship's-side a fish of an odd figure, but prodigious large and black, of the shape and form of a thorn-back, as represented in the print; differing in this, that it has two fleshy horns shooting out at the head, which we judg'd to be above thirty foot in compass. Our sailors give it the name of the sea-devil; it is a gamefome fish, and we observ'd it once took a leap pretty high, and falling down again, tumbled over and over with great force, making a mighty noise; by which motion we observ'd, that it's under-side or belly was as white as the back was deep-black; and that it had as large a mouth, in proportion to it's bulk, as our rays or thorn-backs. This sea-devil, or *Whipray*, is always attended by three little fishes, about nine inches long, of the figure as in the print, striped all round with white and black almost of an equal breadth and largeness, which renders them very beautiful and remarkable; our *French* sailors call them the pilots of the devil of the sea. Those small fishes, as is suppos'd, guide this monstrous animal, and prick him as soon as they spy some fish near; at which this enormous fish launches away very swiftly. Commonly those little pilots keep playing about his head, and chiefly betwixt his horns, and sometimes under his stomach. This *Whipray* had a tail four yards long at least. 'Tis a very strong fish, by what I could observe of its gamefome motions and leapings. Soon after that fish was gone, we were in thirty-six, and at night in thirty-five fathom water, black sand and mud, about four leagues from the land of *Geneboa*; exactly west of *Penba*, or *Rosalgate* before-mentioned.

In the day-time we set the head south from this latitude; and at night south south-west, sounding every two hours. The next day we found our selves on a sudden fallen into seventeen fathom fine sandy ground, which caus'd us to lie by for a while; and found by the sight we had of land immediately, about three leagues at east south-east, that we were got on the bank of sand, which is eighteen leagues to the northward of *Senega*-road; and exactly west of *Ganar*, and of *Petit-Palmit*: the former a village, the latter a remarkable palm-tree appearing on the downy-shore, so named by the *French*; and by the *Dutch Mast-Boom*, which usually serves as a land-mark to steer

into the road aforesaid, at one league and a half distance from land, without crowding much sail, for fear of overshooting the *Senega*-road: the tide from about cape *Branco* to that river, in the summer season, setting very swift to south south-west, and sometimes to south-west, and the wind north north-east and north-east, always a brisk gale.

Other *French* ships bound to *Senega* keep their course from cape *Branco*, on the skirts of the great bank *Secca da Gracia*, as near it as is convenient; and being pass'd the south-end of it, let go freely to south-east, for the bay of *Anterote* or cape *de Terem*, or *de Arenas*, lying north of the said bay, and about nine leagues to the southward of *Penba* before mention'd. In order to observe the other noted land-mark, for knowing of this coast well, which is a great palm-tree appearing to the northward of the little palm-tree about six leagues distance, and for greater surety, they anchor in sight of the coast at night, if they cannot reach the road by day. Betwixt *Ganar* and *Senega*-road, there is no village on the shore.

The coast of *Geneboa* is cover'd all along with sandy-downs, like the *Norb-Holland* <sup>*Genehoa*</sup> point. coast, on which stand many trees straggling from each other; and about six leagues north of the point of *Geneboa*, which the vulgar *French* improperly call *Pointe de Barbarie*, the coast is edg'd all along with a very white sandy beach, on which the sea breaks violently, because of the continual fresh, and frequent hard gales of northerly winds which blow along it, and the rapid tide. Behind the downs that frame the coast, the land shews woody, especially as we approach to the factory.

This point is by the river of *Senega*, and the ocean, reduced into a peninsula; and so narrow for several leagues to northward, that as we sail by, being past a thick tuft of trees standing close together on the downs, five leagues north of the said point, about two *English* miles from the breakings, which are extremely violent all over this coast of *Geneboa*: but more particularly, the nearer we approach to the road, we have presently a sight of the five turrets of the *French* factory on the island of *St. Lewis*, lying within *Senega*-river, four or five leagues; on one of which, the *French* display the white standard, when they have any ships in sight from over the downs.

The coast, notwithstanding the violent breakings on the white sand-beach that borders it, is so safe, that any ships may boldly sail by at half a league distance out at sea; and thus passing by the factory with our <sup>*French*</sup> colours out, firing a gun, and lowering our <sup>*factory.*</sup> topsails for a signal, we anchor'd at night four leagues and a half to the southward, exactly west of the bar of *Senega*-river, in eight

eight fathom water, clay ground, found anchorage, and the most convenient, for sending boats in and out of the said river.

The *French* company's ships bound to *Goeree*, usually keep this same course of navigation, and stop here for orders or instructions. But those whose business is for *Gamboa*, *Sierra Leona*, and the *Gold Coast*, *Fida* or *Calabar*, steer from the latitude of cape *Branco*, to the southward directly, to those respective places, as I shall hereafter observe in particular.

Here follows a short geographical account of the countries lying along the great ocean, from cape *Bojador* to *Senega*-river.

Of *ZAHARA*, or the *Desart*.

THAT spacious tract of land call'd *Zahara*, *Zaabara*, *Zara* or *Sarn*, by the *Arabs*, that is, the *desart*, because it is so thinly peopled; was in former ages comprehended in *Old Lybia*, as part of *Getulia* and the *Garamantes*.

It lies betwixt twelve and twenty-seven degrees thirty minutes latitude; and from the fourth to the fifty-sixth degree of longitude: and consequently nine hundred and fifty leagues in length from east to west; and forty, sixty, a hundred, or two hundred and fifty leagues in breadth, according to several places.

Confines. On the north of it is *Biledulgerid*, or the country of dates; *Nubia* on the east, *Nigritia* on the south, and the *Atlantick* ocean on the west.

Dryness. It is much less cultivated and inhabited than *Biledulgerid*; but the air is reckoned wholesome, notwithstanding the violent heat of the sun. All the wealth of its inhabitants consists in camels and dromedaries. In some places they may travel two hundred leagues without finding any water. The natives have dry large wells on the roads, but at such great distances that people often die with thirst; and sometimes those wells are choak'd or bury'd with the sand, which the stormy winds often blow up so as to bury travellers.

Rivers. There are only three rivers of any note in all this vast country. That of *Nubia*, which having run through the desarts of *Lempta* and *Borno*, sinks under ground; that of *Gbir*, running into the desart of *Zuenziga*; and that of *Cavallos*, or *horfes*, rising in and running through the desart of *Zanbaga*, and falling into the ocean, divided into two branches.

Division. This great tract of land is commonly divided into seven principal parts or provinces, each of them taking its name from the chief town. To the eastward are *Borno*, *Gaoga* and *Berdoa*, all of them formerly kingdoms. From east to west lie *Lempta*, *Targa*, *Zuenziga*, and *Senega* or *Zanbaga*. These are

subdivided into desarts, each of which has BARBOT: its peculiar name.

The ancient *African* inhabitants are a <sup>Inhabitants.</sup> brutish savage people, and great thieves; and the *Arabs* intermix'd among them, not much better. The more civiliz'd sort live in towns, the others wander about with their cattle, subject to no laws or government. The principal habitations are in the western part, near the ocean and the rivers. These western *Arabs* were formerly call'd *Sabatbeans*. In all other parts of *Zabara* the towns are very remote from each other, at such places where there are lakes or morasses, and where the air is most temperate. The wretched natives, knowing no better, remain satisfied with what their country affords.

They are subject to their own kings or lords, call'd *Xeques*, or else live like beasts, in their beloved brutal liberty; especially the *Arabs*.

*Marmol* says, these *Arabs* are descended from *Sabatba*, the son of *Cbus*, whose dwelling was in the desarts, between *Tingitania* and *Numidia*: *Cbus* having peopled *Ethiopia*, and *Futh Lybia*, formerly from him call'd *Futeia*, and now *Nigritia*. *Cbus* and *Futh* were the sons of *Cham*, the son of *Noah*.

Many of them are *Mabometans*, others <sup>Religion.</sup> have neither faith nor religion.

The people living in the desart of *Lybia* towards the west, are the *Berberches*, the *Ludais*, the *Duleyms*, and the *Senegues*, and some *Arabs*; and these possess the first part of the desart.

The second habitation is *Tegasa*, east of <sup>Several habitations.</sup> the former, where they dig salt of several colours, which the merchants of *Yca* and *Tombut* carry away with caravans of camels, traversing the desarts of two hundred leagues, and carrying their provisions with them; which if they happen to fall short, they are starv'd to death. Besides, they are often infested by a south-east wind, which blinds some of them, and others are lamed in their joints; but all these hazards are sweetned by the hopes of gain.

*Zuenziga* is the third habitation, a desart <sup>Zuenziga.</sup> still more dry and barren than the former, inhabited by the *Guanaserces* or *Zuenzigans*; and thro' it pass the merchants of *Tremecen*, bound for *Tombut* and *Yca*, with great hazard of their lives; especially about that part of it call'd *Gogden*, where travellers find no water for nine days, unless in some ponds after rain, but that soon dries up.

The best season to travel thro' these desarts is the winter, when some water may be found in wells. The winter is from <sup>Winter best.</sup> *August* to the end of *November*, and sometimes till the beginning of *February*, when there is grass, water and milk.

BARBOT.

The soil in general is barren, the mountains steep and uncouth, bearing nothing but thorns and briars; the most fertile places produce a little barley, and some dates. The inhabitants have nothing to depend on but their camels, whose flesh and milk maintains them, as also some few sheep and ostriches. To add to their misery, they are much infested with serpents, and swarms of locusts fly across their deserts, consuming what little verdure the earth affords.

Miserable inhabitants.

The inhabitants are lean, tho' the air of *Zabara* is so wholesome, that the people of *Barbary* carry their sick thither to recover their health, and the natives are not subject to diseases. The women are very fresh and lusty, having commonly large breasts. Both sexes are of a tawny complexion.

Arabs.

Among these *Africans* are many *Arabs*, who exact tribute from the *Segulmesses* for the lands they cultivate. These *Arabs* wander about the deserts, as far as *Yguid*, staying where they find pasture for their cattle, of which they have great stocks, and gather abundance of dates on the frontiers of *Biledulgerid*, where they lord it by the number of their cavalry.

Nobles tribe.

Among them there is a nobler tribe or hord, call'd *Garfa* and *Esque*; with whom the kings of *Barbary* make alliances, and marry the daughters of the chiefs of them.

Trade.

Their principal trade is at *Gared*, in the kingdom of *Fez*, whence they make incursions as far as *Figuig*, putting all the people under contribution, and sell them the slaves they get from among the *Blacks*, who dread them, as being inhumanly treated when in their power.

Some of these *Arabs* sell camels to the *Blacks*. They have a good number of horses, and use them in hunting. They are addicted to poetry, and put their history, as well as their amours into verse, which they sing to several musical instruments. They are frank and open-hearted, and do all things for honour. If a stranger happens to come among them, they feast him, according to their ability.

Habit.

The mean wandering *Arabs* go quite naked; others more modest, wrap a piece of coarse cloth about their body; and some wear a sort of turban on their head. Such as are well to pass, have a long blue cotton frock or vest, with wide hanging-sleeves, brought them from the country of the *Blacks*.

Riding on camels.

When travelling, they ride on camels, placing the saddle between the bunch on the back and the neck, and putting a bridle through holes bor'd in the nostrils of the beast, with which they have as much command of them as we have of horses, using a goad instead of spurs. They lie on mats made of rushes, and their tents are cover'd with coarse camel's-hair cloth. Their lan-

guage, which is a-kin to the *African*, is rude and barbarous, and their religion gross *Mahometanism*.

The *Bereberes*, who live among them, are settled in their habitations, being a good-natured people, kind to strangers, and honest in trade; whereas the wandering *Arabs* are continually robbing. They call the stony part of their deserts *Zabara*, the sandy *Cidel*, and the marshy *Azgar*, which is their division of the country.

A very modern author mentions fifteen <sup>Fifteen tribes of</sup> tribes of *Arabs* inhabiting the northern parts of the desert of *Zabara*, from the ocean, near cape *Bojador*, to about the twentieth degree of longitude from the meridian of *London* east, which he reckons as follows; the *Hileles*, *Ludaya* and *Duleym Arabs* from north to south, between cape *Bojador* and the river of gold, under the tropick, the *Duleym* being mix'd with the *Deveches* to the southward; behind them to the eastward, up the inland, he places the *Burbus*, *Uled*, and *Aramena Arabs*; next to them easterly again, the *Cerem*, and *Garfa Arabs*; farther east again the *Zargan* and the *Esque Arabs*; east of them the *Sobair* and *Sabit Arabs*; south of whom are the *Lemptunes Moors*, call'd *Almoravides*; and south of them is the desert of *Lemptunes*, inhabited by a brutish nation, and by the *Yabaya Arabs*, inhabiting the more southern part of this desert. All the abovemention'd tribes or hords of *Arabs* are vagrant shepherds and robbers, living in tents and huts.

When any one of them dies, the wife, or next of kin goes out of the tent, howling after a strange manner, and as loud as the voice can strain, to alarm the neighbours.

These dwellings were in former ages the country of the *Getuli* and *Numidæ*, whom the *Arabs* have drove to the frontiers of the *Blacks*; and possessed themselves of their country. If any *Numidians* remain, they are subject to the *Arabs*.

GUALATA and GENEHOA kingdoms.

THE first of them borders to the northward on *Zanbaga*, and the other southward on *Senega* river. They are two distinct kingdoms, comprehended in *Nigritia*, both extending on the west to the *Atlantic* ocean; and on the east to the desert of *Zabara*: only *Geneboa*, on that side joins partly on the said desert, and partly on the kingdom of *Tombut*.

The air is very wholesome, tho' extremely <sup>Air</sup> hot, and each of them has its metropolis of the same name with the country. However, they are but thinly peopled, as being very scarce of water, and having but few rivers.

The kingdom of *Gualata*, whose inhabitants are call'd *Benays*, and in ancient <sup>Inhabitants</sup> geography



geography *Malcoæ*, has three great and populous towns; the metropolis is adorn'd with delightful gardens and date-fields, lies twenty-five leagues from the sea-shore, about thirty leagues to the northward of *Tombut*. *Sanutus* lays down in this dominion, a place call'd *Hoden*, lying north of *St. John's* river, six days journey inland from cape *Branco*, in nineteen degrees thirty minutes latitude, where the *Arabs* and the caravans that come from *Tombut*, and other places of *Nigritia*, travelling through to *Barbary*, stay and refresh themselves.

Product.

This country about *Hoden* abounds in dates and barley, and has plenty of camels, beeves and goats; but their beeves are a smaller breed than ours of *Europe*. It has many lions and leopards terrible to the inhabitants; as also ostriches, whose eggs they account a dainty.

These regions are in several places much infested with monsters of various species, that meet at the watery places, and are bred of so many different kinds. The lions are reported to be fiercer than elsewhere; and roar most horribly in the night-time. They have also monstrous serpents, and a multitude of very venomous scorpions, for whose sake, in some parts of *Lybia*, men are forc'd to wear a kind of leather boots. They are besides plagued with prodigious swarms of locusts in the dry season; as in *July* especially, which, like thick clouds, traverse the continent of *Africa* from east to west, tho' so very large, and brouze all the plants, and even the bark of trees; and leave behind them their eggs, where they have rested a while, which encreases the calamity of those countries, as breeding the species *ad infinitum*, and causing a continued desolation.

Both sexes are very black, but civil and courteous to strangers. The inhabitants of the city *Gualata* live poorly, but those of *Hoden* plentifully, having barley-bread, dates and flesh; and supply their want of wine, by drinking camel's milk, and that of other beasts.

Both men and women have their faces commonly cover'd with a cloth; and the men of *Hoden* wear short white jackets, but the women think it no shame to go stark naked, covering their heads only with a caul of hair dy'd red. Their language is that of *Zungay*, used among the *Geloffes*.

These *Arabs* of *Hoden*, like the others, never continue long in a place, but rove up and down with their cattle through the adjacent wilds.

The *Senegues*, as long as the country of *Nigritia* was under their jurisdiction, had settled the royal residence of their kings in *Gualata*, which brought a great concourse of *Barbary* merchants thither, to trade at

the mouth of the river of the *Senegues*, <sup>BARBOT.</sup> which runs through that country, and was thought to proceed from the *Niger*; but since that country fell into the hands of a powerful prince, call'd *Soni-Heli*, the merchants forsook this place, and settled their staples at *Tombut* and *Gago*. The people of *Hoden* still drive a trade in *Gualata*, and resort thither in great numbers, with their camels laden with copper, silver, and other commodities from *Barbary*, and other countries, as also to *Tombut*, and many places in *Nigritia*, carrying home no worse return from thence than gold.

The king of *Gualata* being overcome in battle by the king of *Tombut*, in the year 1526, was restor'd to his throne, upon condition he should pay him a yearly tribute.

These people, tho' subject to kings, have no positive laws, or courts of judicature in their chief towns, to punish malefactors; but live after a rambling manner promiscuously, every one endeavouring to be his own judge and arbitrator; the king's will being their law.

They live like their neighbours of the deserts, who want most conveniencies of life, having only great and small millet, little cattle, and some palm-trees, and are a rude people, and those which are most to the southward blackest. The native *Gualatans* worship fire, perhaps because of its usefulness, as the people of *Anian* and *Qui-vira* in *North America* are said to pay religious adoration to water. Those who are of the *Arabian* race are *Mabometans*, and professed enemies to christianity. The language of this country is the *Zungay*, used by the *Geloffes* also.

GENEHOA kingdom,

BY some call'd *Guinea*, by the *African* merchants *Gbeneva*, and by the natives *Geuni* or *Genii*, in the ancient geography was nam'd *Mandori*.

It is bounded on the north by the kingdom of *Gualata*, on the west by the ocean, on the south by the *Senega* river, and on the east by *Tombut*.

This country, tho' of a large extent, has neither cities, towns nor fortresses, but only one, which looks more like a village, where the king resides, and there is a sort of university, for education of their priests and learned men. It is also the staple for all the merchants of the kingdom: yet this place of so great resort has wretched buildings, being only small thatch'd huts and hovels of loam, standing round; the doors so low and narrow, that they are forc'd to creep in and out: which we may suppose are no better built, because they expect every year, <sup>Living in</sup> in *July*, *August* and *September*, to be under <sup>boats.</sup> water, by the overflowing of the *Senega*, when they retire into vessels and boats made for

BARBOT. for that purpose, in which the king first loads his furniture and household-stuff of his low-roof'd palace; then the scholars and priests their university goods; and next the merchants and inhabitants their moveables; and last of all, the water increasing, they go aboard themselves, as if they enter'd the ark; and at the same time the merchants of *Tombut* come thither, and joining fleets, traffick with them on the water.

This kingdom abounds in rice, barley, cotton, cattle and fish; but their scarcity of dates, are supply'd them from *Gualata* and *Numidia*.

The inhabitants according to their manner go handsomely clad, in black and blue cotton; of which they also wear head fashes: but their priests and doctors are habited only in white cotton, common also to the *Alfaquis*, with white bonnets.

These people make great advantage of their cotton cloths, which they barter with the merchants of *Barbary*, for linnen, copper, arms, dates and other commodities.

*Marmol* says, they have money of gold that has never been melted; as also a current coin of iron, some pieces whereof weigh a pound, others four ounces.

The kingdom was formerly subject to the *Luntines* or *Lumptunes*, a people of *Lybia*, who founded the city of *Morocco*, call'd also *Morabitines*, of the race of the *Almoravides*, but was afterwards made tributary to *Soni-Ali* king of *Tombut*. His successor *Ischia* obtaining a signal victory over the king of *Geneboa*, took and sent him prisoner to *Gago*, where he died in captivity.

The king of *Tombut* thus grown master of all *Geneboa*, reduc'd it into a province, placing a governor there, and then caus'd a great market to be proclaim'd in the metropolis of the country.

*Marmol* says, the people of *Geneboa* were call'd in *Africa* *Morabitines*, and the first that embrac'd the *Mabometan* superstition, in the days of *Hechin*, the son of *Abdel Malic*; for before they were christians.

#### The Kingdom of TOMBUT.

IT will not be improper to give some account of this kingdom, as being the most noted among the more northern *Blacks*, both for its riches and trade.

It takes the name from a city founded, as they say, by king *Menssey Suleyman* or *Soliman*, anno 1221. about thirteen miles from an arm of the *Niger*, and one hundred and thirty leagues from the country of *Dara* or *Segelmesse*.

Tombut town.

This city was formerly famous for sumptuous buildings, but is now reduc'd to plain huts and hovels, and has only one stately mosque and a magnificent palace for the king, built by a famous architect of *Granada*, who happen'd to come thither.

Three miles from *Tombut*, on the bank of the *Niger*, stands another great town, call'd *Cabra* or *Cambre*; a convenient place for merchants to set out for the kingdom of *Melli* in *Nigritia*.

The emperor of *Tombut* has vast dominions, which yield him immense treasure, which he piles up in bars of pure gold of *Tybar*, some of them said to be of a prodigious weight. He styles himself emperor of *Melli*. His court is as well regulated as any in *Barbary*, both in religious and temporal affairs.

The cheriff *Mabomet*, in the height of his prosperity, had thoughts of conquering this and other kingdoms of the *Blacks*, at the instigation of the people of *Lybia*, as had been done in former ages by the *Lemptunes*. He set forward by the way of *Acequia el Hamara*, on the borders of *Geneboa*, with one thousand eight hundred horse, and an infinite number of camels loaded with ammunition and provisions; but being inform'd that the king of *Tombut* was marching to meet him, with three hundred thousand men, he made haste back to *Tarudant*. This happened in the year 1540. Some christian captives, that belong'd to the cheriff, attending him in that expedition, the *Blacks* resorted thither to look on them as a wonder, believing those *White* slaves were not like other men, and delighted to discourse with them; the cheriff having industriously given out, that they were monsters, that used to tear other men with their teeth and eat them. *Marmol*, who gives this account, was himself in the expedition.

When the king of *Tombut* takes a progress, he is attended by all his court on camels; but in fight they all ride on horses, are bold soldiers, but observe no order. Their best horses come from *Barbary*, which when arriv'd, the king chuses such as he likes and pays well for them. *Nigritia* has no good breed of horses, but some small ones, which they use at *Tombut* to ride in and about the town.

The people of *Tombut* are good-natur'd, civil and pleasant, and spend much of the night in singing, dancing and revelling about the streets. They keep many slaves of both sexes.

There are great numbers of students, who are in great esteem and maintain'd at the king's charge, having abundance of *Arabick* books brought them from *Barbary*, and purchased at great rates.

There are also many tradesmen and artificers, especially cotton-weavers, shopkeepers and handicrafts.

Their common diet is a dish composed of flesh, fish, butter and milk, stew'd together.

All the women, except slaves, cover their heads and faces.

They

The Prospect of the Coast of Libia at Zara from Cape das Barbos to Cape Corvoeiro, the Cape das Barbos at ENE  $\frac{1}{2}$  or S L

Cape das Barbos

Continued under at A

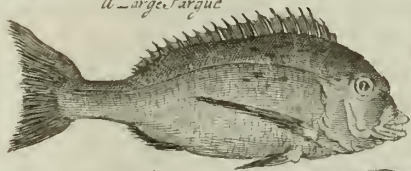


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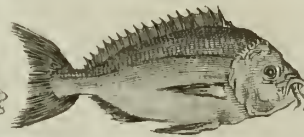
Cape Corvoeiro

The Rok Kbro dagalla

a Large Parque



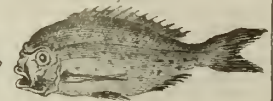
a Sarde



a Captain



a Parque



The Hen Dorade



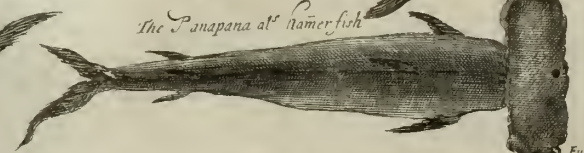
The Regum



the Cock Dorade



The Panapana al' hamer fish



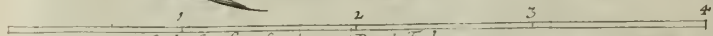
Eye

The Remora fish al' Suset

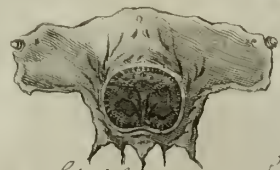


Eye

Scale of 4 foot for the great Dorade Fish



Eye



Eye



The Seal fish al' Roussette

the head of the Panapana or hamer fish

The upper part of the head of the Remora





They have no stamp'd coin, but only bigger or smaller pieces of pure gold of *Tibar*; and fine pieces of metal twisted like a snail said to come from *Persia*, four hundred whereof make a ducat, so that they serve for small change.

*Water.* The city of *Tombut*, consisting of thatch'd cottages, is often subject to be burnt. It is plentifully supply'd with water, not only by channels drawn from the *Niger*, which runs through the streets, but by abundance of wells. There are *Alfaquis* or judges, and other doctors of the law of *Mabomet*, who are maintained by the publick, and much respected.

*Plenty of gold.* The merchants of *Fez*, *Morocco*, and even of *Grand Cairo*, resort to *Tombut* to trade for gold, which is brought thither by the people of *Mandinga*, in such plenty, that sometimes the merchants having disposed of all their commodities, that metal lies there till another return, or is carry'd home again.

*Jews hated.* The princes of this country are such enemies to *Jews*, that they are absolutely forbid the country; and should it be known, that the native merchants had any correspondence with them, their estates would be confiscated.

*Army.* When any person speaks to the king, he must prostrate himself on the ground, and throw dust on his head and shoulders. The king is attended by seven thousand horse and a vast multitude of archers a-foot, having long bows, and poison'd arrows. All prisoners of war are made slaves.

*Product.* The country abounds in corn; and there is such plenty of cattle, that milk and butter are common. Salt is very scarce, what they have being brought them from the country of *Senega*, a hundred and seventy leagues to the northward.

The king has a commissioner in the city *Cabra*, who hears and determines all causes, either relating to the crown, or between private persons.

*The course of navigation for the southern parts of GUINEA.*

*Double tides.* IF coming from *Europe*, we are bound directly for the *Gold Coast*, *Fida*, *New* or *Old Calabar*, being arriv'd in the latitude of cape *Branco*, we steer south; so that we pass twelve or fifteen leagues west of *Cabo Verde*, and being in its latitude at that distance, we carefully avoid making up too near to the land, by reason the tide thereabouts divides as it were in two branches, but more especially about *Rio Grande*; the most considerable running from east to west, along the equinoctial line, towards the continent of *America*: the other, whirling about the coast betwixt cape *Verde* and cape *Monte*, afterwards runs east on the coasts of *Guinea* in such a manner, that in the begin-

ning of the last century, some ships bound *BARBOT.* for the *East-Indies* steering eastward to prevent being driven upon the coast of *Brazil*, about cape *St. Augustine* were insensibly carry'd upon the banks, lying betwixt the aforesaid cape *Verde* and *Cabo Monte*; and others were into the *Bight of Guinea*.

Observing the above-mention'd course, and what I have before taken notice of in the description of *Sierra Leona*, we came to have sight of land at cape *Monte*, and having brought it to bear north, rang'd the shore to *Rio Sestro*; where, if occasion require, we may stop to get in wood, water, and provisions. But having no occasion, we steer'd our course so as to get sight of *Sestro Paris*, to take in some *Guinea* pepper or *Malaguette* for our design'd slaves. Next we endeavour'd to have sight of cape *das Palmas*, from four or five leagues distance at sea, to avoid the shoals that shoot out from it to the southward. Thence, without coming near the *Ivory* coast, as bound directly to the *Gold Coast*, we came to anchor before *Iffeny*, or *Affinee*, being the first port or town of that coast. As for the remaining course along it, every man does as he judges convenient, or as his occasions require, from port to port, to the end of the same.

But when we design directly from cape *das Palmas* to *Lampy*, *Popoo*, *Fida* and *Ardra*, we set our course to the south, till in the latitude of cape *Tres Pontas*, taking care, if possible, to get sight of it; and commonly to call in at *Axim*, if not at *Tacorary*, to provide a bar-canoe of sixteen to twenty rowers or padlers. Thence bearing five or six leagues off the *Gold Coast*, we get in a short time to any of the above mention'd places.

We observ'd, during this navigation, the tide to set often to the eastward, and to north-east, from cape *das Palmas* to *Fida* or *Whidab*; and from *Cabo Verde* to the cape *Palmas*, to the north-west.

From the latitude of cape *Branco* to cape *Palmas*, we had the diversion of catching sharks, doradoes, negroes or king-fishes; bonnitoes, tunny-fish, flying fish, carangues, remoras or sucking fish, machorans, and many other sorts, which are both pleasant and serviceable to travellers.

Twenty or twenty-five leagues west of *Cabo Branco*, we often see the ocean almost *Weeds in the sea.* all over cover'd with a certain weed of a yellow-green colour, call'd *Sargasso*, resembling that which grows in our wells, or samphire, bearing a sort of seed at the extremities, which have neither substance nor favour. No man can tell where these weeds take root, the ocean being there so deep: they are also seen thus floating on its surface sixty leagues to the westward of the coast of *Africa*, for the space of forty or fifty leagues;

**BARBOT** leagues; and so close and thick together in some places, that a ship requires a very fresh gale of wind to make her way through: and therefore we are very cautious to avoid them in our course.

The islands of **CABO VERDE,**

**A**RE the *Gorgades*, or *Hesperides*, or western islands of the ancients. Some authors mention twenty of them, but we commonly reckon but ten of any note, the rest being very small and inconsiderable. They are, beginning to the northward, *St. Antony*, *St. Vincent*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Nicholas*, *Sal*, or the *Salt* island, *Boavista*, *Mayo*, *Santiago*, *Brava*, and *Fuego*; this last so call'd from a burning mountain in it, which sometimes casts out fire.

Their names.

Position.

Their situation is west of *Nigritia*, betwixt three hundred fifty-four and three hundred fifty-eight degrees of longitude; and from fourteen to eighteen degrees thirty minutes of north latitude.

Santiago.

The island *Santiago*, or *St. James*, is the largest of them, about forty-five leagues in length, ten in the greatest breadth, and ninety-five in compass.

*St. Nicholas* and *St. Lucia*, are twenty-five or twenty-six leagues long, seven or eight broad, and sixty about. The former lies from north-west to south-east, and the latter from north-east to south-west.

*St. Vincent* and *St. Antony* are not above half as big as those above, and the five others still smaller; the biggest of them not ten leagues in length, and near twenty about.

The air of these islands is generally hot and unwholesome; the soil in some of them rocky, as the *Salt* island, *Boavista* and *Mayo*; the first having nothing in it of value, but some wild horses and mules, and very tall large red asses, which the *Dutch* and

Large asses.

*French* often transport to their plantations, at *Surinam* and *Cayenne* in *America*; and when I was at *Cayenne*, a *Dutch* ship carry'd over thither sixteen of those asses for sale. The latter has also a great number of those beasts, and more goats; the skins whereof and the salt it affords make it resorted to. The other islands are much more fertile, producing rice, *Indian* wheat, ignames, bananas, lemons, citrons, oranges, pomegranates, cocoa-nuts, figs, melons, sugar-canes, cotton, and wine; of several of which sorts of fruit, they have two crops a year. *Brava* and *Fuego* afford the best wine. The island *Mayo* has salt enough to load a thousand ships every year. It is made in *January*, *February* and *March*, of the sea-water let into trenches or ponds, made for that purpose. It kerns only in the dry season, and they who go thither for it, take it up as it kerns, and lay it in heaps on the dry land before the water breaks in again.

Product.

It costs nothing but the mens labour to take *Salt*. It out of the pits, besides the carriage, which is very cheap, the inhabitants having asses for that purpose, and being glad to get a small matter by it. The pits are not above half a mile from the landing-place. The *English* drive a great trade of salt there, and have sometimes a man of war for a guard-ship, most of it being for *Newfoundland*.

There is great plenty of fish in the bay of *Good Mayo*, which is a great help to sailors, who sometimes have taken six dozen of large fishes, most of them mullets, from eighteen to twenty-four inches long, at one draught.

There is also good store of cattle, poultry, and all sorts of wild fowl: but above all, a vast number of goats, which they salt, and export in casks to the neighbouring ports, or sell to ships that touch there; and they dress the goats skins very finely, in the nature of *Turky* leather.

Provisions.

About these islands, the sea in some places is subject to be cover'd with weeds like the *Sargasso* above spoken of, which sailors carefully avoid.

The islands were all desert, when first discover'd by a *Genoese*, and not inhabited in thirty years after; when in 1440, the *Portuguese* began to settle on them, and keep the dominion thereof to this day, under the direction of a governour-general of their nation, residing in the town of *St. Fago*, in the island of that name, that place being the capital not only of these islands, but also of all the places the crown of *Portugal* possesses on the coasts of *North* or *High Guinea*, whose governors depend on this jurisdiction: it is also an episcopal see, suffragan to *Lisbon*. The *French* took and plunder'd it in the year 1712.

The bay call'd *Praya*, lies east of *St. Fago*, large enough to contain an hundred ships safe at anchor, on fourteen fathom water, behind a small island.

The isle *St. Mary* has a good haven on the north-side; but that of *St. Thomas* is very dangerous.

*Ribera Grande* has five hundred houses, and the best of horses, but the air is unwholesome, and the soil very barren. *St. Lucia* has the most people next to *St. Fago*.

There is such plenty of tortoises in these islands, that at a certain time of the year several foreign ships resort to it, to catch and salt them by whole cargoes, for the *European* colonies in *America*. In the wet season, an infinite number of these creatures make for land, to lay their eggs in the sand, and bury them, and then return to their element again, letting the eggs be hatch'd by the violent heat of the sun.

Tortoises.

The inhabitants go out in the night, and turn the tortoises on their backs with poles; for they are so large, that there is no doing of

of it with their hands. The flesh of them well cured is as great a supply to the *American* plantations, as cod-fish is to *Europe*.

Flamingos  
birds.

They have a sort of fine tall birds in these islands, which they call *Flamingos*, or *Flemmings*, not unlike geese; the feathers on their bodies white, and those of their wings red, much admir'd in *France*, whether some of them are now and then sent from *Cayenne*, a colony of theirs in *America*. There are also *Guinea* hens, and very large curleus.

To these islands the *French* agents at *Senega* and *Goeree* send for provisions, when there is any scarcity in those parts of *Nigritia*, and have them in exchange for some few slaves, and all sorts of linnen and wearing apparel for men and women. In the year 1681, when I arriv'd at *Goeree*, there being a great dearth in that country, one of the company's ships was gone to the islands for provisions.

Red fog.

I have observ'd, that in our course, betwixt the continent of *Africa* and these islands of *Cabo Verde*, we had sometimes a thick fog of a reddish colour, which look'd to us like a red sand, and gave our men violent head-aches, fevers, and the bloody flux.

Locusts.

Another time, passing by the coast of *Zanbaga*, we saw the ocean overspread in several places, with an infinite multitude of very ugly red and wing'd grasshoppers, or locusts, as big as a man's little finger, and a long body, lying on the surface of the sea, abundance of them yet alive; which it is likely were driven out to sea from that part of the continent of *Africa*, by the strong north-east gales: that country, as has been said before, being often infested with whole clouds of those mischievous insects, flying across the desarts of *Africa*, from *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Numidia*, &c. and covering the land for several leagues, according as the winds set to drive them.

In the year 1672, a plague of these locusts came into the province of *Aulnix*, in *France*, where they devour'd all that was green to the very root; and being carry'd by the wind to sea from *Rochel* towards the isle of *Rhee*, I saw a ridge of them dead, above a foot deep, on the beach, for several leagues in length, as they had been thrown up by the waves, and left there at low water; which, with the heat of the sun, it being then summer, caus'd a very offensive stench. And I remember, that before they were thus drown'd, there was not a house in the province, but what was pester'd with them; and I heard abundance of the people say, that for some days they could scarce dress any meat, those insects falling so thick down the chimneys into the fire. It was a dismal sight to behold the country, without any the least green left in it, as if all had been burnt up; whence

we may easily judge how much *Africa* suffers, which is so frequently infested with them.

BARBOT.  
Grasshoppers  
and-flies.

There is another sort of grasshoppers, which are not wing'd, and consequently remain longer in a place, and destroy all the plants. Besides which, they are often plagu'd with flies, no less hurtful than the others.

Monsieur *Beauplan*, in his description of the *Ukrain*, gives a very notable account of the flies, the gnats, and especially the locusts, and the infinite damage they do in that country; he says, they are commonly brought out of *Tartary* by the easterly winds into the country about *Novogrod*, being as thick as a man's finger, and three or four inches long. In *October*, they make a hole with their tails in the earth, in which every one lays three hundred eggs, which they cover with their feet, and then die; none of them living above six months, or little more. The rain, snow, and frost, do not hurt the eggs, which lie there till *April*, when the warm weather hatches them, and the insects coming out, are six weeks before they can fly. If the rains fall when they begin to hatch, and continue eight or ten days, they are all destroy'd; and the like rain in summer kills the locusts upon the ground, because they cannot fly away: but if the summer proves dry, as is most usual, the country is infested with them till *October*. The said Monsieur *Beauplan*, who liv'd in the *Ukrain* seventeen years, adds, that the air is so full of locusts there in the summer, that the houses swarm with them; and to avoid them, he was forc'd to eat in a dark room by candle-light, and yet many times did cut the locusts with his meat; and a man could scarce open his mouth, but some of them would get in: besides that, there were clouds of them to be seen flying abroad five or six leagues in length, and two or three in breadth; insomuch, that the wisest men were confounded at the sight of such innumerable multitudes as could not be express'd or even conceived, but by such as had seen them. He concludes, saying, he was told there by persons knowing in languages, that on their wings were to be seen in *Chaldaick* letters, these words, *Boze Inion*, signifying in *English*, *scourge of God*; for the truth whereof, he rely'd on those who told it him, and understood the language.

Whilst I was writing this, I receiv'd a letter from *Lisbon*, dated *July* twenty-fourth N. S. 1710. giving an account, that the crop in *Portugal* would have been generally good; but that in the province of *Alentejo*, the best of that kingdom, the locusts had destroy'd most of the wheat, which had rais'd the price of foreign corn.

To return to the grasshoppers or locusts, with which we found the ocean cover'd on the

**BARBOT.** the coast of *Zabara*: I caused some of them to be taken up out of the sea in a bucket, and kept one alive above three months, in a cornet of paper, close in a trunk, so that it never breathed the least air all that while, and fed on the very paper it was confined in. When dead, I observ'd the bottom of the paper full of the ordure of the insect.

I shall subjoin to the course to steer for the *Gold-Coast* of *Guinea*, the following observations, as deliver'd by the late Mr. *Henry Greenbill*, whom I have mention'd heretofore as my particular acquaintance, when he was agent at cape *Corso* castle, and ever since in *England*; being a very intelligent and experienc'd gentleman, commissioner of the navy at *Plymouth* and *Portsmouth*, and projector and builder of the royal dock at *Hammoes*.

*Winds on the coast.*

**T**HE coast of *Africa* from cape *Palmas* to cape *Fermoso*, lies east and east by north; and near those points the land-breezes blow on that coast, which commonly begin about seven in the evening, and continue all night, till near the same time the next morning: during which interval, we are troubled with stinking fogs and mists from shore, which by return of the sea-breezes upon the opposite points, are all driven away; and we have the benefit of them in a curious fresh gale, till about five in the afternoon.

And here let me note it for a general observation, that in these, and all other places within the tropicks, as far as ever I took notice, the wind is drawn by the land. For if an island or head-land were inclining to a circular form, the sea and land-breezes fall in diametrically opposite to that part where you are; so that if you are on the southside, the sea-breeze shall be at south, and the land-breeze, when it comes in its season, at north.

In getting on the coast, we endeavour to fall in with cape *Monte* or cape *Mesurado*, which is about eighteen leagues to the east south-east thereof; and after that, we double cape *Palmas*, whence, as afore said, the land tends away east by north, the current near the shore sets upon that point down into the *Bight*. The land-breezes between cape *St. Anne* and cape *Palmas* are at east, blowing brisk four leagues off the shore. The sea-winds there, are at south-west.

The *Tornados*, says he, usually come in the beginning of *April*, and seldom leave the *Gold Coast* till *June* commences, and with frequent visits make us sensible of their qualities. We have sometimes three or four in a day, but then their continuance is but short, perhaps not above two hours, and

the strength or fury not above a quarter of an hour; but accompanied with prodigious thunder, lightning and rain, and the violence of the wind so extraordinary, that it has sometimes rolled up the lead the houses are cover'd with, as close and compactly as possible it could be done by the art of man. The name implies a variety of winds, but the strength of them is generally at south-east; and by ships that are bound for the coast, they are made use of to get to windward.

*Of the passage from the GOLD COAST to EUROPE, or to AMERICA.*

**S**UPposing we part from *Cormentyn*, or from *Akra*, for *Europe*, if we have all necessary provisions for such a voyage, and have no occasion to call at any places or islands of the *Bight* of *Guinea*, or at cape *Lope*, we keep as close as possible to the wind, to pass at windward of *St. Tome*; which, however, is seldom feasible, but in the season of *Tornados* coming from the north-east: for without such powerful assistance, it is very rare we can well weather that island, the current almost continually setting east by north.

Thence we run to the southward of the line three and a half or four degrees, keeping still the luff; and the farther southward we go, the stronger we find the gales, and more beneficial for getting off the *African* coast. In that elevation of three and a half or four degrees south, we commonly meet with the east south-east, or trade-wind, which carries us to the northward of the equator pretty fast.

If we get so far to southward, we have commonly sight of *Annabom* island. However, it must be observ'd, not to keep to the northward of it, till we come between twenty five to thirty degrees to the westward of cape *Lope Gonzalez*, or at the longitude of *Cabo Verde*; and thence advancing gradually northward, we come insensibly to get the north-east winds, which carry us to the latitude of the *Flemish* or *Azores* islands, if designing for the bay of *Biscay*, or the *British* channel.

It must be observ'd in this passage, that when once we are to the westward of the said cape *Lope*, and in south latitude, the current sets northerly, and the wind, to twenty degrees of latitude, is generally at east south-east; as to the like number of degrees, on the opposite side of the line, it blows at east north-east. Nor is there any change of the current observ'd, unless in the *Tornado* season, when, during their blowing, they set to windward; tho' perhaps the moon, upon full and change, may have the like influence there, as in other places.

Another



Another observation in this passage is, that in the months of *May*, *June*, *July* and *August*, we carefully keep to the south of the line some degrees, till we cross it, in the abovesaid longitude of cape *Verde*; to avoid the calms, very frequent at that season on the north of the line, which keeps us much longer in our passage. But in the month of *September* we may sail continually along the line, without inclining one degree either to north or south. At that time it proves so cold there, at so small a distance from the line, that the sailors, who are commonly more hardy than other people, clothe themselves warm; the thick weather and fresh gales, wholly obstructing the heat of the sun, tho' it be then passing the line, and directly over our heads.

The interlopers, and other *Europeans*, who use a coasting trade in *Guinea*, when they have run along it from one end to the other, return to it again, some of the ways that have been above mention'd, according to the season of the year; till they cross the line again to the northward, about the longitude of cape *Palmas*, and thence order their course back to the *Quaqua* coast, to begin to trade along it, and the *Gold Coast*.

The history of navigation informs us, that in the year 1500, *Vincent Yanez Pinzon* was the first *Spaniard* that cut the line, and discover'd cape *St. Augustin* in *Brazil*. The custom of ducking, before mention'd in speaking of the tropicks, is observed by all nations in passing the line: the *French* use much pumping of them in a tub with salt-water instead of ducking. There are many other sports used by sailors, which afford passengers good diversion. The ducking is by the *French* call'd the sea-baptism.

Experience has made it appear, that keeping too near the equinoctial, and often crossing it between the south-east and the north-west, has occasion'd a passage to last five months; when others, who have kept more to the southward, made their passage in less than ten weeks. It is true, there are some instances of ships that have run it in seventy days to the *British* channel, often traversing the line; but it is so rare, that it must certainly be allow'd much better to follow the most general practice of all *European* nations, which is to keep to the southward to the longitude of *Cabo Verde*, as has been said before; for a good sailer will, after that manner, run sixty or seventy leagues in twenty four hours, the sea being commonly smooth and the wind fresh.

If it be design'd, at parting from *Fida*, or *Wbidab*, or from *Offra* for *Cayenne*, or the *Leeward* islands, to put in at *Prince's* island in the *Bight*, that will prove a very difficult matter from the windward, unless a ship will lie very close upon a wind, which

constantly blows very fresh from the south BARBOT. and south south-west, and the current setting very swiftly east north-east and north-east by east, according to the season of the year and stations, which carry ships violently on that point: we are therefore oblig'd to work it along the coast of *Biafara*, which is the bottom of the *Bight*, to make this *Prince's*-island, which sometimes proves a work of twenty, and even of thirty days; being forc'd to anchor most part of the day, and to sail in the night, by the favour of the land-wind. It is true, I was once fifty leagues west of *Prince's*-island, in the same latitude, coming from the road of *Fida* in a sloop, in the month of *April*; but the vessel was an excellent sailer upon a wind, and I had every day the assistance of tornados from the north-east. Nevertheless, tho' I got so far west of that island, it was with no small trouble I reached the port of *St. Antony*; for when I came in sight of the island, tho' its southerly point bore east south-east, and it was then very calm, the current drove us under the north point of it, and we had certainly missed it, and fallen into the *Bight*, had we not seasonably made use of six long oars we had aboard, and hands enough to hold it out rowing from morning till sun-set, notwithstanding the scorching vehement heat of the sun, and no air at all; and by that means coasting the west side of the island, gain'd the division of the current, one branch of it setting north-east as customary, and the other south south-east round the land: so I made this passage in ten days from *Wbidab* road hither, which is extraordinary.

This *Bight* or gulf of *Guinea* so often mention'd, is a bending of the land, a little to the north of the line, and from thence, the land stretches west, parallel with the line.

It is much more difficult to get to *St. Tome* upon a tack, at parting from *Wbidab*, if not altogether impossible, without falling into the *Bight*; which however, as unavoidable as it is, proves of dangerous consequence to such ships as have their compliment of slaves aboard. And therefore I advise those, to use all possible means to get their necessary store of provisions at *Fida*, where they are so plenty, in order to sail along the *Biafara* coast in the *Bight*, to cape *Lope* directly, without being necessitated to call at *St. Tome* for provisions; and only take their store of water and wood at the said cape; and if provisions grow scanty, then to make for *Annobon* island, to get that there.

At parting from *New Calabar* river, if the wind be west south-west, we lay the head south by east, and with the south-west wind, to south south-east; keeping as near the wind as is reasonable to weather the

BARBOT. island of *Ferdinand Po*, distant thirty six leagues from *Bandy* point north-east by east; and having pass'd to the windward of it, set the course for cape *St. John*; and thence ordering the navigation, according to occurrences, as above related, if we design for *St. Tome*, to wood and water, and for provisions, we may very well, in the month of *September*, get our passage from *Bandy* point to *St. Tome's* road in fifteen or sixteen days. At that time of the year we find the weather commonly so cold, as we approach this island, tho' so near the line, and at the time of the equinox, that it may well be said to be as raw and pinching, as on the coast of *Britany*; especially in the night, every man aboard, tho' never so hardy, is glad to put on more clothes.

It will not be amiss, before we leave the equinoctial line, to give warning, that in this run it is requisite often to correct the course of ships sailing in longitude from east to west, which those acquainted with the azimuth-compass will easily do; for if the variation of the compass be not allow'd, all reckonings must prove erroneous: and in continued cloudy weather, or where the mariner is not provided to observe the variation duly, Mr. *Edmund Halley's* chart will readily show him what allowance he must make for this default of his compass, and thereby rectify his journal.

This correction of the course, says Mr. *Halley*, is in no case so necessary, as in running down a parallel east or west to hit a port; for if being in your latitude at the distance of seventy or eighty leagues, you allow not the variation, but steer east or west by compass, you shall fall to the northwards or southwards of your port, on each nineteen leagues of distance, one mile for each degree of variation, which may produce very dangerous errors, where the variation is considerable. For instance, says he, having a good observation in latitude forty-nine degrees forty minutes, about eighty leagues without *Scilly*, and not considering that there is eight degrees west variation, I steer away east by compass for the channel; but by making my way truly east eight degrees north, when I come up with *Scilly*, instead of being three leagues to the south thereof, I shall find myself as much to the northward: and this evil will be more or less according to the distance you shall sail in the parallel. The rule to apply it is, that to keep your parallel truly, you go so many degrees to the southward of the east, and northward of the west, as in the west variation: but contrary-wise, so many degrees to the northwards of the east, and southwards of the west, as there is east variation. To proceed on our present subject.

As to the rest of the passage, when bound to the island *Cayenne*, a *French* colony on the main land of *America*, in the province of *Guiana*, being got three degrees and a half or four degrees south of the line, to meet the east-south-east and south-east winds, as has been observ'd; we set thence the course west, till we reach so far that way as one hundred leagues from the little islands *Ponendo de San Paolo*, which lie at one degree forty minutes north, and three hundred fifty two degrees of longitude, according to the *French* and *Dutch* maps.

Thence we make to north-west, afterwards north-north-west, till we come into four degrees north latitude, being that of cape *Cassipourri*, on the continent of *America*, and thus lay the course directly west upon it, and not on the north cape, which is but two degrees more northerly, as some have done to their disadvantage; having thereby considerably retarded their passage, it being a coast where they were forc'd to anchor every night.

We commonly make a swift run along that coast of *America*, by reason of the swift current, and the gushing out of the *Marabon* and *Amazons* rivers; which set so far out, that at a great distance from the land, fresh water is taken up in the ocean.

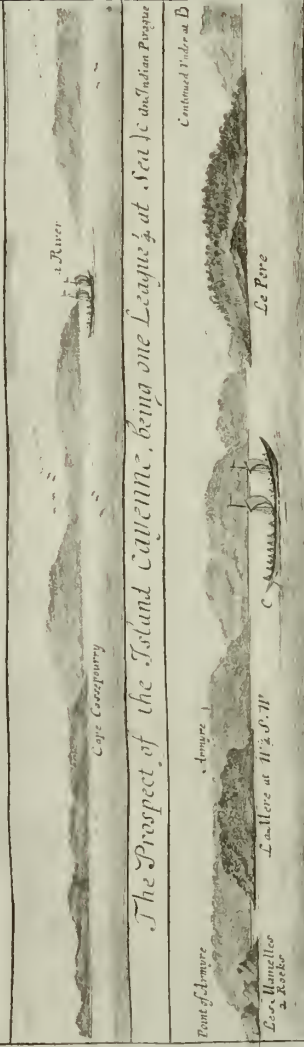
We reckon our selves just north-north-east of that famous river of the *Amazons*, when we have forty-eight fathom water, and yellow sandy ground, mixt with very small shells.

*Christopher d'Acugna* a Jesuit, who failed down that river from its source near *Quito* in *Peru*, in 1639, with *Pedro Texeira* a *Portuguese* general at *Para* in *Brazil*, who had first sail'd up it from *Para* to near *Quito*, tells us that,

Twenty-six leagues below the island of the *Sun*, directly under the line, this great river of the *Amazons* is eighty-four leagues wide, others say sixty, and others but fifty, bounded on the south side by cape *Zapara-ra*, and on the other side by the north cape, and here at last discharges it self in the ocean. It may be call'd a sea of fresh water, mixing it self with the salt water-sea. 'Tis the noblest and largest river in the known world, by the *Spaniards* call'd *Orellana*, from its first discoverer, as also *Maragnon*, and *San Juan de las Amazonas*; it falls here into the sea, after it has water'd a country of one thousand two hundred seventy six leagues in length, and furnish'd a multitude of nations with its fruitfulness and plenty; and in a word, after it has cut *America* into two parts, almost in the widest of it, and afforded a great channel, into which the best, the richest, and most pleasant rivers, that come down from all the mountains



The Prospect of Cape Cassenpouy in America N. at 4 Leagues N.



B Continuation.



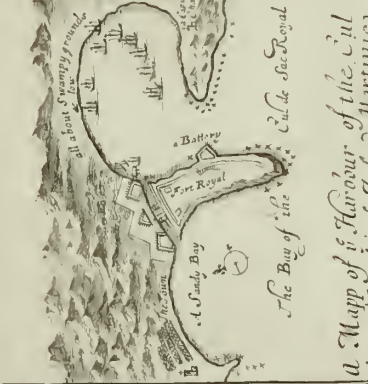
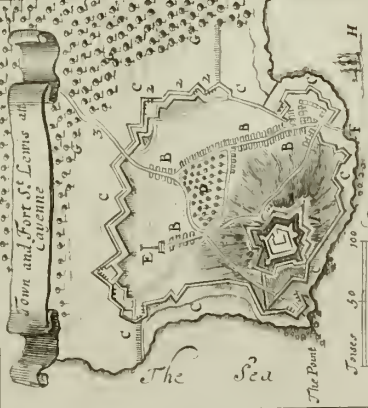
A Map of the Island Caysenne



**Explanation of the Figures in y Map**

- Sugar Works
- Plantations
- ⊙ Indian Carbet or Village
- ⌘ Woody Country
- ⌘ Palmetto Trees

**Explanation of the Figures**  
 A The Fort on a pretty high hill  
 B The Town under the hill  
 C The Works about y Town made of Earth  
 D The Town  
 E The 5 wings Chappel  
 F The newly building place about the Works  
 G Woody Country about y Town  
 H The Road before y Town  
 I Battery of Guns  
 K The Road y Amoye



A Map of y Harbour of the Royal de St. Louis in y Island, Martinique.

tains and coasts of that new world, discharge their waters.

To resume our discourse of navigation; we are very careful when we make the land, at this coast of the *Amazons*, to cast the lead very often: for as the land is low, so is the sea shallow. We can scarce have sight of cape *Cassipourri*, at seven or eight leagues distance, and there is not above eight or nine fathom water at that distance.

It is of absolute necessity we get sight of this cape, to order our course accordingly.

*Cassipourri* has no other observable marks but only two low round hills, appearing on its point when it bears south-west, as the figure represents.

PLATE 33.

The water of the ocean, for three leagues from *Cassipourri*, looks white, because of its shallowness; but the coast is very safe, as is that of cape *Orange*, call'd also *de Conde* and *Cecil*; the first being the *Dutch*, the second the *French*, and the last the *English* name, lying three leagues lower. The current sets with great rapidity along this shore, two leagues an hour west, without the help of sails, by which means we soon reach the little islands, or rocks lying before the island of *Cayenne*, tho' almost twenty-five leagues distant from the aforesaid cape.

Rocks before the island of Cayenne.

These islands, or rather rocks, lie in a line before the coast of *Cayenne*. The first of them is some leagues east of the point of *Armire* in *Cayenne*, by the *Indians* call'd *Hocaiary*, and by the *Dutch* *de Constapel*; which must not be come nearer to than half a league, because of some shoals running out to sea from it, which are dry at low water. West of it are two very small round rocks, standing close together, by the *Indians* call'd *Eponeregemere*, and by the *French* *les Mamelles*, that is, the breasts. The next rock close by is call'd the mother, both by the *French* and *Dutch*, and by the *Indians* *Sanawony*. The next to that again is named *Epanasari* or the father, and then the son; beyond which some leagues more to the westward, is *l'overloren Kindt* in *Dutch*, *l'Enfant perdu* in *French*, both signifying the lost child. The *French* give sometimes another name to the two rocks I said they call'd *les Mamelles* or the breasts, which is *les Filles* the daughters; and the other call'd the son, some of them name *l'Enfant Malingre*, the scabby son. The *Jesuits* have a large stock of wild hogs on the small island *Epinasari* or the father, which turn to a good account.

We pass by these islands at half a league distance, to proceed to the road of *Cayenne*, under fort *St. Lewis*, where the river *Cayenne* falls into the ocean, and there come to an anchor in four or five fathom water, sandy ouffy ground. I here give the pro-

PLATE 33.

spect of the island, as I drew it at my BARBOT. voyage thither from *Guinea*.

We are commonly forty or forty-five days in our passage, from the sight of cape *Lope Gonzalez* in *Guinea*, to *Cayenne* in *Guiana* in *America*; having most of the time a favourable pleasant gale, smooth sea, and very seldom or never any tempestuous weather, setting aside some *Tornados*, near cape *Lope* and *Annobon*, and some heavy showers of rain, attended with high wind, near the coast of *Guiana*, by the *French* call'd *Grains*; and very rarely one or two water-spouts at Spouts.

a great distance, by the *French* mariners named *Puyzeaux Trombes* and *Queues de Dragon*; against which we secure our selves, by lowering and furling our sails betimes: for we generally know their approach, by a little black cloud, rising gradually from the horizon, which in a few minutes, with great rapidity, overspreads the best part of the hemisphere, and immediately bursts out, forming a visible spout, reaching down from the lowest clouds, to the surface of the ocean, as the figure represents very naturally. PLATE 7.

And extracting the water through it to the clouds, afterwards breaks into a heavy shower, attended with a vast spout and a most furious gust of wind; which if it falls upon any ship with all its sails abroad, as we often use to be in this passage, will certainly overset it, or at least bring the masts by the board. Generally when the signs of the coming of such water-spout appear, we lower our top-masts to the top, and our main and mizen yards to the deck, with all possible speed.

As to the passage from *Loango* and *Congo* river, in the lower *Ethiopia*; the former having its capital city in four degrees thirty minutes south-latitude, and eighteen degrees eight minutes eastward from the meridian of *Lundy*; if we are bound to *Jamaica*, and in the month of *October*, when we find the winds south by west, and south-south-west, fresh gales, veerable to south-west and back to south; we stand off to the westward with larboard tacks on board, till in fourteen degrees longitude, to the westward of *Loango*, and there we find the winds veering from south-south-east to south-east, fresh gales. When we are thirty-four degrees to the westward of *Loango*, we are then sixteen westward from the meridian of *Lundy*, the peculiar meridian of the *English*, and there we find the winds veering from south-east by east to east by south and east; and so they continue blowing fresh, as we still run to the westward, between the latitude of three and four degrees south, till we make the island *Fernando de Noronha*, which lies in three degrees fifty-four minutes of south latitude, and forty degrees fifty minutes longitude westward from *Loango*, and

BARBOT. and twenty-two degrees fifty-one minutes from the meridian of *Lundy*.

*Ferdinand de Noronha's island.* In this island appears a very high pyramidal or piked mountain; and coming close to it, the said pyramid looks like a large cathedral. On the north-west side is a small bay to anchor in, but ships must come pretty near the shore, because it is deep water. There is plenty of fish; and on the island is some fresh water, and low shrubs of trees. There are no other inhabitants but dogs: in former times, it was inhabited by the *Portuguese*; but the *Dutch*, then in war with them, ranfack'd the island, and carried the *Portuguese* all away.

The island may be about four miles long, from north-east to south-west. On the north side are some rocks pretty high above water; and many birds, as sea-gulls and man-of-war birds, which are something like our kites in *Great-Britain*. The current sets strong to the north-west; the variation very little.

From this island we steer north-west, with fresh gales at south-east and east south-east, in order to cross the equator, and designing to make the island *Tobago* westward, lying in eleven degrees thirty-three minutes north longitude, westward of *Fernando* twenty-eight degrees nineteen minutes.

In this passage between the said islands, we find strange rippling and cockling seas, ready to leap in upon the ship's deck, which induces me to think the current is strong. *Tobago* is a high island with a good sandy bay on the south-west side, where the *Dutch* had formerly a great fort, till molested by the *English* and *French* by turns, and now deserted.

From this island it's well known how to set the course to that of *Jamaica*, the meridian distance from *Tobago*, being seven hundred and fifty miles west; and in that passage no land is seen, till we make the north-east of *Jamaica*, lying in eighty-two degrees sixteen minutes longitude, west from the city of *Loango* before mention'd.

We have commonly in the passage from *Guinea* to *America*, the diversion of catching bonitoes, albacores, doradoes, porpoises, sharks, flying fish, and remoras; of which sorts, sometimes great shoals keep us company, and we take them fresh and fresh every day, especially the bonitoes and albacores, of which latter sort some weigh sixty pounds or more, being not only pleasant, but very useful and refreshing for travellers.

We are also often diverted with the sight of a multitude of small whales or grampusses, lying still as if they were dead with their snouts above water, and sometimes playing about the ship, with a heavy slow motion and a great noise; and when in company of other ships, we visit one another by turns in our pinnaces or yauls, having commonly

good weather and a smooth sea in this passage. These grampusses are shaped almost like a whale, but much less in bulk, and cast or blow up water like it, but only through one passage or orifice, which is above its snout, whereas the whale has two there.

In the longitude of the isles of *St. Matthew* *Fools birds:* and the *Ascension*, we are often visited by a multitude of large birds of a dark brown feather, which in the night-time more especially perch on our shrouds and yards, and even on the gunnills, and suffer themselves to be taken up by hand; for which reason the *French* sailors call them *Fous*, that is fools; being of three sorts: some as big as a young goose, with large, thick, and long bills, short legs, and feet like a duck; their cry very piercing. They are a sort of sea-gulls; the *Portuguese* call them *Alcatrazes*, and give this farther account of them. At night, when dispos'd to sleep, they soar up as high as possible, and putting their head under one wing, support themselves for some time with the other; but because the weight of their bodies must needs force them down again at last, as soon as they come to the water, they take their flight again, and often repeating it, may in a manner be said to sleep waking: it often happens that they fall into the ships as they sail. Those who know the nature of them add, that at a certain time of the year, they always go ashore to build their nests, and that in the highest places, whereby they facilitate their flight. It has been observ'd, that being set at liberty upon the plain deck, they cannot raise themselves. Some *English* sailors call this bird a booby, and others a noddy. As they feed mostly upon flying fish, they taste very fishy; and if you do not salt them very well before you eat them, will make you sick. They are so silly, that when they are weary of flying, they will, if you hold out your hand, come and sit upon it.

The second sort are white, not near so large, and their feet red. The third species are less than these.

There are great multitudes of them in these seas, preying on shoals of flying fish, hunted by bonitoes and albacores; who, to avoid being devoured by these greedy fishes, their implacable enemies, betake themselves to fly out of their element into that of the air, a little above the surface of the ocean, where they meet these other winged foes falling thick upon them, as hawks do on birds, and never fail to snap many, and to force the rest to plunge again into the sea, and into the same dangers they had endeavour'd to avoid. The sight of this sort of conflict is so pleasant, that I could not forbear drawing a sketch of it, which I hope PLATE 7. will be acceptable.

The island of *St. Matthew* before mention'd, lies in one degree fifty minutes south latitude, formerly inhabited by the *Portuguese*, who discover'd it on *St. Matthew's* day, and gave it that name; but they deserted it long ago. This is what is said of it, how true I know not; for at present that island is not to be found, tho' laid down in most *European* maps.

Ascension  
island.

The island *Ascension* lies in eight degrees thirty minutes of south latitude, discover'd by the *Portuguese* on *Ascension-day*, whence it derives the name. The land is very high and steep towards the shore; the soil barren without any green, appearing full of mountains and craggy rocks cover'd with birds dung, who make their nests on the top of them. The whole island may be about five leagues in compass, and is famous for the tortoises taken on it at a certain time of the year, and carry'd salted to the *American* colonies, by way of trade. This island is uninhabited, but its shore is plentifully stored with mews, and many other sea-birds, and an incredible quantity of flying fish.

Captain *Dampier* reports, in his voyage to *New Holland*, printed *Anno* 1703, that himself and his crew, after his shipwreck thereabouts, with much difficulty got ashore on the *Ascension*, where they liv'd on goats and tortoises; and found, to their great comfort, on the south-east side of a high mountain, about half a mile from its top, a spring of fresh water: contrary to the general account given hitherto, that this island was quite destitute of fresh water. Which information may serve such persons in future times, as through necessity may chance to be forc'd thither.

On the west side of the island are two high mountains, which have a little green, being better moistened by the frequent dews, which causes the ground all about to abound with the largest and best-tasted purslain in the world.

I am told, many persons have cross'd the line, between the little islands *Ponendo de San Paulo*, and that of *Ferdinand de Noronha*. Others pretend it is not safe to cross it there, alledging there are shoals of rocks betwixt those islands, which in some maps are call'd *Abrolhos* or *Vigia*, that is, see, or open the eyes. In such uncertainty, I think it much more prudent to follow the most general practice, as before observ'd.

Ferdi-  
nand  
de No-  
ronha  
island.

As to the island *Ferdinand Noronha*, of which I have already given a short account; I shall now add, we know our selves to be about it, when we see a multitude of birds playing over the ocean, even at thirty leagues distance. It is easily perceiv'd fifteen leagues off in fair weather, and must be approached when just in its latitude; steering west to it, to prevent overshooting it, as some have done in sailing towards it obliquely,

not being able to find ground to anchor. BARBOT.  
The road is when the peak, or pyramid, already mention'd, bears south south-east; it is good sandy-ground very near the shore. The island seems to make a kind of separation on the east-side.

In the beginning of the last century, a few *Portuguese* were left there to cultivate the grounds for cotton and *Indian* wheat, which throve well. It has some cattle and goats, and some *Mandioca*; but little fresh water in the summer season. As for wood, there is plenty of it; so that in case of necessity, ships repair to it, for a supply of those necessaries.

Thus far concerning our passage from *Guinea* to *America*; which, if observ'd, will not fail of making it easy and expeditious, and may reasonably be perform'd in fifty days to any of the *Caribbee* islands, or two months at most, to *Jamaica*: whereas, if we keep our course near to the equator, it may be much longer, because of the great calms we usually meet thereabouts, which is a great disadvantage to our slave-ships; the tediousness of the passage causing a great mortality among them, especially when they are too much crowd'd, and come from any of the ports of the *Bight* of *Guinea*, which often spend a whole month or more in getting to *St. Tome*, or to cape *Lope*, and too often the ships are over-loaded with slaves.

I have observ'd, that the great mortality, which so often happens in slave-ships, proceeds as well from taking in too many, as from want of knowing how to manage them aboard, and how to order the course at sea so nicely, as not to overshoot their ports in *America*, as some bound to *Cayenne* with slaves, have done; attributing the tediousness of their passage, and their other mistakes, to wrong causes, as being becalm'd about the line, &c. which only proceeded from their not observing the regular course, or not making due observations of land when they approach'd the *American* continent; or of the force and strength of the current of the *Amazons*.

Methods to  
be observ'd  
in ships.

Others have been faulty in not putting their ships into due order before they left the *Guinea* coast, a thing very much to be minded; and have not taken care before they sail'd from *Whidab*, or cape *Lope*, to set well their shrouds and stays, tarr them well, with all the running ropes and blocks. If the port or road will allow it, we clean our ships as low as is possible, and tallow them well, to give them the better way: besides all this, during the passage, we take care, in good weather, to have the ships well caulk'd without and within, as well as the decks. The work of the outside we do in fair weather; and if bad, the carpenters work within, and tarr all over, that every thing within may be kept dry, as well for its preservation as decency.

BARBOT.



Damage-  
ment of  
slaves.

As to the management of our slaves aboard, we lodge the two sexes apart, by means of a strong partition at the main mast; the forepart is for men, the other behind the mast for the women. If it be in large ships carrying five or six hundred slaves, the deck in such ships ought to be at least five and a half or six foot high, which is very requisite for driving a continual trade of slaves: for the greater height it has, the more airy and convenient it is for such a considerable number of human creatures; and consequently far the more healthy for them, and fitter to look after them. We build a sort of half-decks along the sides with deals and spars provided for that purpose in *Europe*, that half-deck extending no farther than the sides of our scuttles, and so the slaves lie in two rows, one above the other, and as close together as they can be crowded.

The *Dutch* company's ships exceed all other *Europeans* in such accommodations, being commonly built designedly for those voyages, and consequently contrived very wide, lofty, and airy, betwixt decks, with gratings and scuttles, which can be cover'd with tarpawlines in wet weather; and in fair uncover'd, to let in the more air. Some also have made small ports, or lights along the sides at proper distances, well secured with thick iron bars, which they open from time to time for the air; and that very much contributes to the preservation of those poor wretches, who are so thick crowded together.

The *Portuguese* of *Angola*, a people in many respects not to be compar'd to the *English*, *Dutch* or *French*, in point of neatness aboard their ships, tho' indeed some *French* and *English* ships in those voyages for slaves are stovingly, foul, and stinking, according to the temper and the want of skill of the commanders; the *Portuguese*, I say, are commendable in that they bring along with them to the coast, a sufficient quantity of coarse thick mats, to serve as bedding under the slaves aboard, and shift them every fortnight or three weeks with such fresh mats: which, besides that it is softer for the poor wretches to lie upon than the bare deals or decks, must also be much healthier for them, because the planks, or deals, contract some dampness more or less, either from the deck being so often wash'd to keep it clean and sweet, or from the rain that gets in now and then through the scuttles or other openings, and even from the very sweat of the slaves; which being so crowded in a low place, is perpetual, and occasions many distempers, or at best great inconveniencies dangerous to their health: whereas, lying on mats, and shifting them from time to time, must be much more convenient; and it would be prudent to imitate the *Portuguese* in this

point, the charge of such mats being inconsiderable.

We are very nice in keeping the places where the slaves lie clean and neat, appointing some of the ship's crew to do that office constantly, and several of the slaves themselves to be assistant to them in that employment; and thrice a week we perfume betwixt decks with a quantity of good vinegar in pails, and red-hot iron bullets in them, to expel the bad air, after the place has been well wash'd and scrubb'd with brooms: after which, the deck is clean'd with cold vinegar, and in the day-time, in good weather, we leave all the scuttles open, and shut them again at night.

It has been observ'd before, that some slaves fancy they are carry'd to be eaten, which makes them desperate; and others are so on account of their captivity: so that if care be not taken, they will mutiny and destroy the ship's crew in hopes to get away.

To prevent such misfortunes, we use to visit them daily, narrowly searching every corner between decks, to see whether they have not found means, to gather any pieces of iron, or wood, or knives, about the ship, notwithstanding the great care we take not to leave any tools or nails, or other things in the way: which, however, cannot be always so exactly observ'd, where so many people are in the narrow compass of a ship.

We cause as many of our men as is convenient to lie in the quarter-deck and gun-room, and our principal officers in the great cabin, where we keep all our small arms in a readiness, with sentinels constantly at the door and avenues to it; being thus ready to disappoint any attempts our slaves might make on a sudden.

These precautions contribute very much to keep them in awe; and if all those who carry slaves duly observ'd them, we should not hear of so many revolts as have happen'd. Where I was concern'd, we always kept our slaves in such order, that we did not perceive the least inclination in any of them to revolt, or mutiny, and lost very few of our number in the voyage.

It is true, we allow'd them much more liberty, and us'd them with more tenderness than most other *Europeans* would think prudent to do; as, to have them all upon deck every day in good weather; to take their meals twice a-day, at fix'd hours, that is, at ten in the morning, and at five at night; which being ended, we made the men go down again between decks: for the women were almost entirely at their own discretion, to be upon deck as long as they pleas'd, nay even many of the males had the same liberty by turns, successively; few or none being fetter'd or kept in shackles, and that only on account of some disturbances, or injuries, offer'd to their fellow-captives, as will unavoidably



voidably happen among a numerous croud of such savage people. Besides, we allow'd each of them betwixt their meals a handful of *Indian* wheat and *Mandioca*, and now and then short pipes and tobacco to smooke upon deck by turns, and some cocoa-nuts; and to the women a piece of coarse cloth to cover them, and the same to many of the men, which we took care they did wash from time to time, to prevent vermin, which they are very subject to; and because it look'd sweeter and more agreeable. Towards the evening they diverted themselves on the deck, as they thought fit, some conversing together, others dancing, singing, and sporting after their manner, which pleased them highly, and often made us passime; especially the female sex, who being a-part from the males, on the quarter-deck, and many of them young sprightly maidens, full of jollity and good-humour, afforded us abundance of recreation; as did several little fine boys, which we mostly kept to attend on us about the ship.

victuals, and much better than they eat in BARBOT. their own country. The *Portuguese* feed them most with *Mandioca*.

As for the sick and wounded, or those out of order, our surgeons, in their daily visits Care of sick slaves: betwixt decks, finding any indisposed, caus'd them to be carried to the *Lazaretto*, under the fore-castle, a room reserv'd for a sort of hospital, where they were carefully look'd after. Being out of the croud, the surgeons had more conveniency and time to administer proper remedies; which they cannot do leisurely between decks, because of the great heat that is there continually, which is sometimes so excessive, that the surgeons would faint away, and the candles would not burn; besides, that in such a croud of brutish people, there are always some very apt to annoy and hurt others, and all in general so greedy, that they will snatch from the sick slaves the fresh meat or liquor that is given them. It is no way advisable to put the sick slaves into the long-boat upon deck, as was very imprudently done in the *Albion* frigate, spoken of in the description of *New Calabar*; for they being thus exposed in the open air, and coming out of the excessive hot hold, and lying there in the cool of the nights, for some time just under the fall of the wind from the sails, were soon taken so ill of violent cholicks and bloody fluxes, that in a few days they died, and the owners lost above three hundred slaves in the passage from *St. Tome* to *Barbadoes*; and the two hundred and fifty that survived, were like skeletons, one half of them not yielding above four pounds a head there: an oversight, by which fifty *per Cent.* of the stock or outfit was lost.

Much more might be said relating to the preservation and maintenance of slaves in such voyages, which I leave to the prudence of the officers that govern aboard, if they value their own reputation and their owners advantage; and shall only add these few particulars, that tho' we ought to be circumspect in watching the slaves narrowly, to prevent or disappoint their ill designs for our own conservation, yet must we not be too severe and haughty with them, but on the contrary, care and humour them in every reasonable thing. Some commanders, of a morose peevish temper are perpetually beating and curbing them, even without the least offence, and will not suffer any upon deck but when unavoidable necessity to ease themselves does require; under pretence it hinders the work of the ship and sailors, and that they are troublesome by their nasty nauseous stench, or their noise; which makes those poor wretches desperate, and besides their falling into distempers thro' melancholy, often is the occasion of their destroying themselves.

Diet of slaves.

We mess'd the slaves twice a day, as I have observed; the first meal was of our large beans boil'd, with a certain quantity of *Muscovy* lard, which we have from *Holland*, well pack'd up in casks. The beans we have in great plenty at *Rockel*. The other meal was of pease, or of *Indian* wheat, and sometimes meal of *Mandioca*; this provided in *Prince's* island, the *Indian* wheat at the *Gold Coast*; boil'd with either lard, or suet, or grease, by turns: and sometimes with palm-oil and malaguette or *Guinea* pepper. I found they had much better stomachs for beans, and it is a proper fattening food for captives; in my opinion far better to maintain them well, than *Indian* wheat, *Mandioca* or yams; tho' the *Calabar* slaves value this root above any other food, as being used to it in their own country: but it is not at certain times of the year to be had in so great a quantity as is requisite to subsist such a number of people for several months; besides that they are apt to decay, and even to putrify as they grow old. Horse-beans are also very proper for slaves in lieu of large beans: there is good plenty of them in *Great Britain*, which, as well as the other beans, will keep, if well put up in dry fats or casks.

We distributed them by ten in a mess, about a small flat tub, made for that use by our coopers, in which their victuals were served; each slave having a little wooden spoon to feed himself handsomely, and more cleanly than with their fingers, and they were well pleased with it.

At each meal we allow'd every slave a full coco-nut shell of water, and from time to time a dram of brandy, to strengthen their stomachs.

The *Dutch* commonly feed their slaves three times a day, with indifferent good

Such

BARBOT.

Such officers should consider, those unfortunate creatures are men as well as themselves, tho' of a different colour, and pagans; and that they ought to do to others as they would be done by in like circumstances; as it may be their turn, if they should have the misfortune to fall into the hands of *Algerines* or *Sallee* men, as it has happen'd to many after such voyages perform'd. They ought also to consider the interest of their owners, who put them into that employment; and, unless they have laid aside the sense of gratitude and credit, it may be an inducement to curb their brutish temper, and move them to a gentle humane carriage towards the poor slaves, and to contribute as far as in them lies, to keep them clean, healthy and easy; to lessen the deep sense of their lamentable condition, which many are sensible enough of, whatever we may think of their stupidity. These methods will undoubtedly turn to the advantage of the adventurers, their masters, and is the least return they can reasonably expect from them.

It also concerns the adventurers in *Guinea* voyages for slaves, not to allow the commanders, supercargo or officers, the liberty of taking aboard any slaves for their own particular account, as is too often practis'd among *European* traders, thinking to save something in their salaries by the month: for experience has shown, that the captain's slaves never die, since there are not ten masters in fifty who scruple to make good their own out of the cargo; or at least such licence-slaves are sure to have the best accommodations aboard, and the greatest plenty of subsistence out of the ship's stock: and very often those who were allow'd to carry but two slaves, have had ten or twelve, and those the best of the cargo, subsisted out of the general provisions of the ship, and train'd up aboard, to be carpenters, coopers, and cooks, so as to sell for double the price of other slaves in *America*, because of their skill, &c. And such commanders, when return'd home, and requir'd to account for such licentious practices, and to restore the product of such slaves so dispos'd of, allowing them their first cost, not only refuse to comply with so reasonable a demand, but knowing how many formalities the law in *England* requires, to compel them to it, which reduces it almost to an impossibility, they fall out with, and ungratefully abuse their benefactors and patrons. So that it were infinitely better, in lieu of such grants, to augment the salaries, proportionably to the great fatigues and imminent hazards of life in such voyages, with this condition, that any persons whatsoever transgressing in this point, shall forfeit not only such slaves as he shall presume to carry over without permission, but also all his wages, and pay a reasonable fine besides. All this rigorously executed,

would have a great influence, and deter many from their ill practices for the future. And thus I conclude the description of the coasts of *North* and *South Guinea*, and of *Angola*, in the *Lower Ethiopia*, and the particular observations for the course of navigation to and from it, to the island *Cayenne*, in the province of *Guiana* in *North America*.

I have thought fit to subjoin a short new description of that province of *Guiana* in general, and of the island of *Cayenne* in particular; as far as I could gather from some of the principal inhabitants, and the governor, as well as from my own observations, during the short stay I made in that island, in the year 1679; to which I will add a succinct account of the *French* *Caribbee* islands, *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*, and others adjacent, inhabited only by *Indians*, together with the draughts of those two last named.

Of the province of *GUIANA*.

THIS province may be call'd a large island, the rivers *Oronoque* or *Paria*, and that of the *Amazons*, which join, cutting it off from the body of the continent; the distance between the mouths of the said rivers being above three hundred leagues; and all that tract of land by geographers is call'd *Guiana* and *Caribana*, on which coast lies the island of *Cayenne*. The rivers *Oronoque* and that of the *Amazons* part, according to *Acuinna*, who made this observation on the spot, in the longitude of three hundred and sixteen degrees. The native *Indians* of that place call the *Oronoque*, *Curi-guarura*; but the *Toupinambous* give it the name of *Urama* and *Acuinna*, that of *Rio Negro* or the black-river, because its waters are so clear that they look black; and *Urama*, in the language of the *Toupinambous* signifies the same. Those *Indians* call the river of the *Amazons*, *Paianacuris*, that is, the great river.

*Caribana* is the name of the maritime part of *Guiana*; others call it the country of the *Amazons*, and others *El Dorado*: but the *Indian* name of *Guiana* has prevail'd since the *French* have settled there, and some of their authors have from them entitled it *Equinoctial France*, as being near the equator.

This part of the continent of *America* is water'd by abundance of rivers, some of which will carry ships up a considerable way, and on the banks of them an infinite number of plantations might be made, which would turn to a very good account, as well in respect of the trade with the natives, and the fishing in the rivers and along the sea-coasts, as of the product of the land, if it were industriously cultivated, and the natives well used; for otherwise they are very revengeful. The land of *Guiana* all along the sea-coast, and the banks of the river, is commonly low.

The

Rivers.

The rivers of this country, to begin on the west of north cape, are *Toponowyny, Arowary, Arikary, Corrosuine, Quanaoueny, Casipoure* or *Casepouri*, whence the cape takes name; *Arocawo*, west of cape *Orange*; and near it *Wiapoca* or *Yapoco, Wanary, Aporwaque* or *Aproaque*, in which there are great dangerous water-falls; after which is *Cawwo*, and then *Wia* or *Ouia, Cayanni* or *Cayenne*, these two last forming the island *Cayenne*; *Macouriaque, Courora, Manamanary, Sinamory*; and many more too tedious to mention in particular, being in all forty-one, which all fall into the north-sea. The famous *Oronoque* is the last of them all to the westward, and has several *Indian* names, as *Worinoque, Huria Paria, and Iviapari*.

Parima lake.

Besides this great number of rivers, the imaginary lake of *Parima* has always been plac'd in the south part of this country, as may be seen in all our maps. I call it imaginary, because it could never be heard of by the *French*, who were several years enquiring after it; I shall have occasion to speak of it again in the description of *Cayenne*.

Fertility.

This country has all diversity of lands, as hills, plains and meadows; the very mountains being capable of tilling, and the soil so fruitful, that one man may with ease get enough to maintain twenty.

According to some, this province is in many parts very wild and thinly peopled, especially the lowest lands, which are often overflow'd by the rivers; but the upper hilly countries are very populous, the soil being water'd by so many rivers, very commodious for travellers. The air in that upland country is much colder than towards the coast, and the hills are very rich in mines of several sorts.

Product.

Fruit is very plentiful and good, and all sorts of grain grow there all the year about, except wheat; coming up in a short time, and with little or no distinction of seasons: for there being no winter, the trees are always green and full of leaves, blossoms and fruit.

Temperature.

Tho' this country is between the line and the tropick of *Cancer*, that is, within the torrid zone, the climate is pretty temperate, and the air wholesome; the heats being generally allay'd by a fresh easterly wind, which reigns the greatest part of the year, during the day, and at night the land-breezes prevail, but do not reach to two or three leagues out at sea.

Water.

The waters are likewise excellent, and of such a particular nature, that they will keep sweet and fresh during the longest voyages, as has been often found by experience.

Islands.

On the sea-coasts, which, as has been said, are generally low, there are many large islands, fit, if improv'd, to feed cattle.

The sea about the coasts abounds in fish; *BARBOT*, the most common, is that which the *French* call *Macboran*, and the *English* cat-fish, <sup>Fish and fowl.</sup> being of a yellow colour, and very large; sweet mullets and thornbacks, lamentyns and sea-tortoises. Fowl is also very plentiful, either tame or wild, and other game; with all which they supply the *European* settlements at the sea-coast, exchanging for toys and wrought iron.

This country produces divers sorts of physical gums, woods and roots, very valuable in *France*; as well as several sorts of <sup>Trees.</sup> wood for dying, and for making of cabinets and inlaid works: among which is the letter-wood, by the *French* call'd *Bois de la Chine*, and which grows no where in the world but here; yet the natives cut and carry it quite to the water-side so cheap, that a tun weight of it does not cost above ten shillings; and in *France* a tun of that wood has formerly yielded fifty pounds sterling or more; and never was yet under twenty-five or thirty pounds to this day. There is ebony of a different sort from the letter-wood, and one sort call'd *Bois de Violet*, with several others very common; there are also prodigious large trees, whereof the *Indians* make canoes, which carry twelve or thirteen tuns in casks; besides a prodigious store of very lofty large trees, the wood of them very hard, and even too ponderous, but has the advantage of resisting worms in salt water.

*Guiana* has vast numbers of monkeys, <sup>Monkeys.</sup> of divers sorts, among which is that sort call'd by the *Indians* and after them the *French, Sapajous*; a kind of little yellowish ape, with large eyes, a white face and black chin: it is of a low stature, and of a lively and carefessing nature, but so tender in cold weather, that it is with great difficulty we can carry some over to *France* alive, and they are there much esteemed, and yield a considerable price among persons of quality. I had much ado to preserve one, whose head was no bigger than an ordinary goose-egg. The baboons are large, but very ugly.

There are tamarinds, *Sagovius*, parrots, <sup>Birds and beasts.</sup> cameleons, *Agontils, Arras, Ocos, Tocus* or *Toucans, Flamans*, wild large ducks, with red feathers at their head, but not in great plenty, which eat very well, being stew'd; and several other birds, who have nothing remarkable in them besides their feathers. It likewise abounds in small tygers, deer, pigs, little porcupines, large monstrous serpents, and divers other sorts of animals.

The *Agontil* is a creature of the same bigness as a hare, of a reddish colour, sharp muzzle, small ears, short and very small legs. The cameleon is like those of *Guinea*. The serpents, tho' so large, are not very venomous; some of them have swallow'd a <sup>Serpents.</sup> whole

BARBOT. whole deer at a time, being twenty-four foot long; the skin of one was shew'd me at *Cayenne*, fourteen foot long, of the figure as in the print.

Their parrots are very fine, and soon learn to speak; the *Indians* pluck their feathers to adorn themselves, rubbing them with the blood of certain creeping animals.

The *Flamans* are sea-birds, about the size of a hen, and fly in bands like ducks or cranes; their feathers scarlet, and serve the *Indians* to make crowns, or garlands, for their heads.

The *Ocos* are as big as turkeys, black on the back, white on the breast, a short yellow bill, a fierce gait, small frizzled feathers standing up like a tuft on their heads.

The *Tocau*, or *Toucans*, is a bird with black, red, and yellow feathers, about as big as a pidgeon, his bill almost as thick as his body, and of a very singular make, being all over black and white welts, or streaks, like ebony and ivory interlaid: his tongue is also very remarkable, being a kind of plain feather, very straight.

Fruits and plants.

As to fruits, besides sugar-canes, (which grow very well in *Guiana*;) the *Cassia*, *Papaye*, *Accajou*-apples, *Banillas*, *Tobacco*, *Peet*, and *Rocou*; it produces also *Indian* wheat, mandioca, cotton, indigo, and the other fruits common in *Brazil*, and several others. Among the plants which the *Indians* cultivate in their plantations, cotton is one of those that abounds most; and is used by the women who adorn themselves with it, and can spin it as fine as they please. There is such plenty of it every where, that if it were possible to have women enough there to spin it, to save the great charges and expence of transporting it in the wooll to *Europe*, which renders the profit very inconsiderable to the planters; it might furnish all *Europe*, without costing the *French* at *Cayenne*, any other trouble than purchasing it of the *Indians*, for very inconsiderable toys and haberdashery ware of little value: the *Indians* esteeming a grain of crystal, to adorn their necks or ears, as much as a diamond of the same bigness is valued among the *Europeans*. And if the disorders which have happened in the *European* settlements in *Guiana*, at several times, had not hinder'd the establishing a regular commerce, this advantageous trade would have already been settled, and a vast number of people enrich'd themselves by it: but in a more peculiar manner the inhabitants of *Cayenne*, because of the situation of their island, their sea-port town, and great interest with the *Indians*.

The *Peet* is an herb, that can be peel'd as hemp and nettles with us; but the threads are finer than silk, and would have long since supplanted it, if it had been allowed to be transported into *France*.

The *Banilla* is a weed that creeps up trees, as ivy does; the leaves are of a bright green, long, strait, thick, and pointed at the ends. When it has been seven years set in the ground, it begins to bear a kind of husks, full of an oily matter and seed, much smaller than that of poppy, which they use there to perfume liquors and tobacco; and in *France* and other parts of *Europe* in chocolate.

The *Papaye* is a thick fruit, tasting somewhat like a cucumber; of a round shape, the stem tall, but slender, with large leaves cleft like vine-leaves; the tree is hollow, and grows in a year fifteen foot high.

The *Accajou*-apple is long, thick, and of an orange red; it has a sharp taste, and is commonly eaten bak'd. At the end of this fruit, is a green nut, which tastes like *Spanish* nuts or our filberts, much in the shape of a little sheep's kidney; the shell whereof is oily, the oil staining the skin black, so as it does not rub away in a long time; and is medicinal, and very laxative. The plant is a round sort of tree like the chestnut-tree, and the leaves in form and colour resembling those of the bay-laurel. The wood is very fine, proper to make household goods; the *Indians* make their long canoes, which they call *Piraguas*, of it, tho' these are commonly forty or fifty foot long: it has been observ'd, that wheresoever the juice of this apple falls, the stain cannot be taken away, till the season of the apple is quite over.

This province of *Guiana* is inhabited by Indian nations, or tribes of *Indians*, who pretend to be descended from the race of the ancient *Indian Yaos*, and from the *Arowaccas*, dwelling far up the inland beyond the equator; of whom much cannot be said, as to their situations or divisions in the country. I shall only take some notice of those that dwell to the south south-east, and east of *Cayenne*, according to the discoveries of some *French* jesuit missionaries in their travels, in the year 1674.

The nation of the *Galibis* dwells along the sea-coast about *Cayenne*, and in some parts of that island; amongst whom, some few *Maprovanes* are retir'd from their country, near the river of the *Amazons*, to avoid the persecution of the *Portuguese*, and of those *Indians* call'd the *Arianes*, dwelling near the mouth of the *Amazons*.

South of the *Galibis* are the *Nouragues*, being about six or seven hundred persons. The *Mercious* are on the west-side of them, equal to them in number. The *Acougas* are south of them, at two degrees twenty-five minutes north latitude, and are a people honest, affable, and pleasant, very ready and attentive to receive what is said to them. They are very studious to conceal their number from the *Europeans*; however, it is guess'd they may be about three thousand;

a very warlike people, and used to eat men. A *Nourague Indian* that had been amongst them, has reported to the jesuits of *Cayenne*, that some months ago he came from them, and that then they had just made an end of boiling in their pots and eating a nation they had destroy'd.

The *Pirios* are a nation of equal force with the *Acoquas*, lying betwixt them and the *Mercious*. The *Pirionaus* join on the east to the *Pirios* and *Magapas*; and in the middle of all these nations are the *Morous*, a very barbarous people; the *Aracaréts*, the *Palicours*, the *Mayes*, and the *Couffades*, whose habitations stand more thick and close together than those before mention'd.

These nations speak all one and the same language, and are understood by the *Caranes*, who are enemies to the *Nouragues*. The *Indians* say the *Maranes*, who are a very great people, understand the same tongue. The language of the *Galibis* has a great number of words that must be pronounc'd with very rough aspirations, others cannot be pronounc'd without shutting the teeth; at another time one must speak through the nose; and sometimes these three difficulties all occur in the same word. The *Galibis* idiom is not only understood by all the nations, which the *Spaniards* on one side, and the *Portuguese* on the other, have oblig'd to retire into *Guiana*, but also by the *Caraibes*, who are the natives of the *Antilles*, and use this language; as also the *Indians* of *St. Vincent*, and *St. Domingo*, and others: so that it may be said to be spoken, for the space of above four hundred leagues on the sea-coasts, and in many places far above a hundred and twenty leagues up the country. On the south south-west of the *Acoquas* are the *Aramisas*, whose idiom borders much on that of the *Galibis*, having a great many of the same words in it, tho' they are unacquainted with that nation. By the report of the *Nouragues*, the *Aramisas* are a very good sort of people. If there be a lake of *Parima*, this nation cannot be forty leagues from it on the north side; but none of these nations can give the least intelligence of it, not even the *Aramisas*, who are situated towards the source of the river *Maroni*, the mouth of which is about fifty leagues from *Cayenne* westward, and thirty from the river of *Surinam*, where the *Dutch* have a fort and a colony; and are in the same longitude wherein the maps place the eastern parts of the lake of *Parima*.

The nation of the *Sapayes* dwells next to the *Galibis*, at the mouth of the river *Aproaque*, which is fourteen or fifteen leagues east of *Cayenne*. The *Arovagues*, the *Aroates*, the *Yaos*, *Arvaques*, *Caraibes*, and other *Indian* nations lie towards the river *Oronoque*, westward of *Cayenne*; having a

great lake in their country, into which the *BARROT*. *Oronoque* flows through four separate and parallel branches. The *Caraibes* call themselves *Callinago*; they lived in *Guiana* with the *Galibis*, of whom they made a part; but since threw themselves into the *Caribbee* islands, the farthest east in the north-sea: and those islands, having been possess'd in the beginning of the last century by the *Europeans*, it has oblig'd them for the most part, to return to the great continent of *America*, and into *Guiana*, from whence they came originally; others remain in the *Antilles* to this time.

The other *Indian* nations before mention'd, it is believ'd, retir'd from the island *de la Trinidad*, or from the provinces of the *Oronoque*, from the *Spaniards*; who are at continual war with the *Caraibes* living in the inland, and at the sea-coast. They all live under the jurisdiction of their *Caciques*; they have very little of religion, especially the *Caraibes*, who are without laws, and scarce believe a deity: however, some have their *Pecajos*, or priests, and believe the immortality of the soul. And when any *Cacique* or commander dies, they kill his slaves, to wait on and serve their master in the other world.

These nations love war, for want of other exercise. The *Caraibes*, when in the field, to make some incursions on their neighbours, are so very much afraid that any of their army should be taken by surprize, that they send out detachments every hour, and place guards in places of difficult access, as ingeniously as regular forces in *Europe* can do. Those that live on the sea-coast, have learnt of the *Spaniards* to use fire-arms.

Most of these *Caraibes* feed upon human flesh broil'd. The *Galibis* are pretty laborious, and cultivate their lands proportionable to the wants of their families. Those people do not put any great value upon gold or silver: they truck hammocks, aloes-wood, monkeys, and parrots, for some hatchets, bills, knives, looking-glasses, and other small wares; but particularly for *Yades*, that is a green stone, which they value very much, believing it has a sovereign virtue against the falling sickness, to which they are very subject. They have a temperate air, and great abundance of maiz, ananas, plantains as large as an egg, and a finger's length, of an excellent taste; a great deal of aloes-wood, brazil, balsam, cotton, silk, and spices; abundance of apes, and baboons with long tails, very large and flattened. The turkeys have black feathers on the head, as herons.

The *Guiana Indians* are generally red, of a middling, or rather low stature, of a robust strong constitution, having black, long, and lank hair; going all naked, their privy parts cover'd only with a little cotton-welt, hanging

**BARBOT.** hanging down to the legs. The women are shorter generally than the men, and of a red colour, but tolerably handsome; their eyes for the most part blue, and very regular features in their faces, and well framed. They use a piece of cloth about six inches square, which they call *Camisa*, usually wove in stripes of divers colours, and especially white, which is the most valuable among them.

The men cut off their beards, dye their faces with *Rocou*, and cover their arms and faces with several folds of the fore-mention'd sort of cloth; they wear by way of ornament, a sort of crown, or garland, of feathers of sundry colours, and bore a hole between their nostrils, where they hang a little piece of money, or a large knob of green stone, or rather crystal, brought from the river of the *Amazons*, which they put a great value on: particularly one whole nation of them make a large hole in their lower lip, through which they put a piece of wood, and to it they fasten this crystal. All the other neighbouring *Indian* nations have their particular marks of distinction after this manner, differing somewhat from one another.

These *Indians* are generally of such robust constitutions, and live so long, that they reckon a man dies young at a hundred years of age.

They are endued with indifferent good sense, their long lives serving them to gain experience, and improve their judgment in such things as are within the reach of the light of nature.

They are industrious, ingenious, patient, and skilful in fishing and hunting; spend the greatest part of their time in those exercises, and spare no pains to get their living, being more inclin'd to peace than war; which yet they engage, in either upon a just quarrel, revenge, or point of honour: they observe their promises to each other exactly; and will not do to others, what they would not have others do to them.

It once happened that several of these nations near the *Amazons*, entred into a league against another, and were about a year making great preparations for war; which at last ended in one night's expedition, surprizing two or three *Carbets*, so they call their hamlets, or villages, where they burnt about an hundred persons of all sexes and ages, and return'd home as proud and fierce, as if they had conquer'd the whole country. Other wars are seldom concluded till they make forty or fifty of their enemies prisoners, whom afterwards they either kill, boil in their pots, and eat as the *Noragues* do; or sell them to the *Europeans* at the coast for slaves.

This barbarity seems in them to be rather the effect of an ancient ill custom, to eat the flesh of their enemies, than a natural disposition; for they seem to be ashamed

of it, when an *European* represents to them, in their language, that by the laws of God we are forbid to kill an enemy when he is taken prisoner, and much more to eat him; and they do not offer to reply to it: and some of the principal *Acoquas* have appear'd full of indignation, when they heard that some *Galibis* insinuated we should be roasted by them, if we, I mean the *Europeans*, should venture to travel through their country. Whence it may be infer'd, that tho' this barbarous inhuman practice is so much establish'd and received among these *Acoquas*, and the *Noragues*, yet it seems to be no difficult matter to restrain them from it.

The way of living among the *Acoquas* and *Noragues* is very agreeable, and has something more courteous in it, than that of the *Galibis*: for instance, among the latter married men dine every one apart, and the unmarried eat all together; and all the women, maids, and little children go to another side of the hut to eat: in this particular like the *Blacks* of *Congo*, and other parts of *Africa*. But the *Noragues* do otherwise, for the husband eats with his wife or wives and children, with great union and agreement.

They are generally great eaters, and drink little or nothing at their ordinary meals, till they have done, and then commonly drink one draught; but when they assemble together for warlike enterprizes, or to begin a canoe, or to launch it, or to admit one into their council, after they have expos'd him to several hard trials; they make extraordinary rejoicings, which frequently hold three or four days, continuing till they have drank up all their liquors, which is what the *French* call, *Faire un vin*. For these occasions they make three or four different sorts of drink, some of which become very strong by fermentation; as that which they call *Palinot*, which they make with *Cassabi*, that is baked more than ordinary.

Their common diet is that they call *Cassabi*, being cakes made of the *Mandioca* root, baked on the embers; as also *Indian* wheat, fish and fruit.

There is a root call'd *Cassabi* in several parts of *America*, not much unlike a parsnip, whereof there are two sorts, the one sweet, the other poisonous. The sweet sort the natives eat roasted, as they do yams and potatoes. Of the poisonous they make bread, first pressing out the juice, which is the noxious part; the rest they grate into powder, and strew it on a stone by degrees over the fire, where it bakes into a cake, the bottom of which is hard and brown, the rest rough and white, like our frying oat-cakes. These they lay on the tops of their houses or hedges, where they dry and grow crisp.

crisp. In *Jamaica* they are frequently used instead of bread, and so in other *American* islands.

Palinot liquor.

Their liquor, call'd *Palinot*, is made of *Cassabi*, baked more than ordinary; then they pile up pieces of it, one upon another, whilst hot, and keep them so till they begin to grow mouldy: after which, they mix them with potatoes, cut in small pieces, as is the mouldy *Cassabi*, and put them together into great earthen vessels or jars, pouring a proportionable quantity of water upon them, and so leave all to ferment and work, till the liquor is as strong as they desire, which is commonly after six days fermentation. Before using, they commonly strain it, and it is of the colour and consistence of beer; but much better tasted, and more intoxicating and heady.

Ouicou liquor.

The *Indians* make many other sorts of liquors. The commonest, call'd *Ouicou* or *Ouacou*, is as white as milk, and much of the same consistence, made of *Cassabi*, baked after the ordinary manner, and potatoes boil'd with it, till all becomes as thick as paste. This they put into baskets lined with banana leaves, and it will so keep good a month; but after that grows sour, unless kept in a cool place. When they use this paste, they steep as much of it as they have occasion for at a time, in a suitable quantity of water, and when dissolv'd strain it, if they have time and convenience; but when they carry this paste abroad with them in baskets, they only steep and drink it, without straining. Some add sugar to it, or sugar-canes bruised, which makes it taste like sweet barley-water, being of that colour and consistence. This *Ouacou*, made by the *Indians*, is much better than what the *French* make, because the former chew the *Cassabi* and potatoes before they boil them together, which is commonly the business of old women, as I observ'd at *Cayenne*; besides that they understand better what boiling it requires, to be in perfection: whereas the *French* cannot prevail with themselves to chew the *Cassabi* and potatoes, that sort of preparation being disagreeable to the stomach; and I must own, it turn'd mine, to see old decrepit women chewing the *Cassabi* and potatoes to make this liquor, and spitting what they had so mumbled into jars: but this is not nauseous to the *Indians*, because the fermentation afterwards carries off all the filth, as it does of wine or beer in *Europe*. The *Brazilians* make this liquor exactly after the same manner; and the women of the island *Formosa*, about *China*, are said to chew their rice-bread or paste, to make the common drink of that country, which is as pleasant and strong as the liquor they draw from

the palm-trees in other parts of *Asia* and *BARBOT.*  
*Africa*.

They very much use fish and flesh *buccaneer*, that is, dried without salting, upon a sort of grate made of sticks laid a-crofs, about three foot above a fire. The word *buccaneer* is well known at *Santo Domingo*, and the pirates of those parts are call'd *buccaneers*, because they often live upon *Buccaneers why so called.* flesh and fish dry'd after that manner.

*Polygamy.* Polygamy is generally in use among them, and there is no persuading those who have several wives to part with them. Could they be broke of this custom, and of the other of killing their enemies in cold blood, to eat them, there would be no other difficulty to hinder their conversion; for it has been observ'd, that those few who have but one wife, will never forsake her, not tho' she should happen to prove unchaste.

It is reported of these *Indians*, that when *Men lying in.* they are abroad in the country, about any business, or at the wars, if they happen to hear that the wife lies in, the husband makes haste home, binds up his head, and lays himself in the hammock or bed, where the neighbours come to visit him upon his imaginary illness. Others are complimented upon their happy delivery, and answer the visitants accordingly.

There is a strange custom among them, which is to lay the infants in the mud or dirt as soon as they are born, and leave them there for a considerable time.

They live several of them in one or more cottages, which they call *carbets*, over each of which is a captain chosen among themselves.

They pay great respect to aged men, and *Chiefs.* the chiefs or captains of tribes among the *Nouragues* are commonly physicians, to cure the rest upon occasion; and, according to their custom, morning and night salute all the people, from the oldest down to those of fifteen years of age. The chief of that tribe in my time, was one *Camiat*, father to one *Inamon*, a *Piaye*, or doctor among them.

Arithmetick being unknown in these *Numbering.* nations, when they would express a number beyond their tale, they take hold of a handful of their hair, saying *Enoura*, which signifies, thus much.

They compute the year by moons, from one to ten, and then begin again. To express twenty, they put their fingers to their toes.

The women till the ground, sow, plant, *Women till, &c.* and reap at the proper seasons, and make their several sorts of drink, as those above mention'd, and others; of which more hereafter. They also dress the meat for the family.

The *Carbets* or villages consist of several *villages and huts.* houses or huts in a ring. The *Galibis* in and

**BARBOT.** and about *Cayenne*, build houses of planks, three small stories high. The ground-room is for a kitchen, the first story for a parlour to receive visits, and the next story to sleep in; where they hang up hammocks, which are their beds, about sun-setting, and lie in them all night till sun-rising, when the wives take down the hammocks again, and hang them on the props of the house, forming a sort of out-hall or room, extending ten or twelve paces without the house. This out-hall they call *Carbet*, and from it the *Europeans* have improperly given the name of *Carbets* to the cottages. The true *Carbets* or out-houses are cover'd with palm-tree leaves, and in them they meet and sit to consult about their most weighty affairs, which is generally done with great solemnity; those who are concerned and invited, coming from all parts, and strangers are commonly lodg'd there all night, with the men and boys of the family.

**Archers.** These *Indians* are very expert at their bows and arrows, which they use in fishing and fowling with such dexterity, that they seldom miss their aim.

**Hammocks.** Their hammocks are very curiously made of cotton thread, thick and strong, very full, and many of them dy'd red with *Rocou*; some of them with fine flourishes or figures, very exact and proportionable, and are most valued, especially in the *French* islands; being much stronger and lasting than those of *Brazil*, which are so thin, that a man may see thro' them, and have great fringes on the sides, and much work about them, so ingeniously made by the *Brazilian* women, that scarce two in an hundred brought from thence are alike. In *Guiana* the men are to paint them after the women have finish'd the web. The looms they have in both countries, are two round sticks about nine foot long, and three or four inches diameter, the two ends whereof lie a-cross, on two pieces of wood, lying eight or nine foot from the ground, more or less, according to the length they design to make the bed. The other round stick hangs directly under this, to which they make fast the warp of the bed. They use a kind of shuttle thrust thro' the thread, after the manner of our cloth-weavers; but with this difference, that they put the shuttle thro' thread by thread, one above, and the other below, which renders the work very tedious, and requires the stock of patience they generally have. The largest bed is carried about with little trouble, as not weighing above six pounds, and the *Brazil* hammocks not above three, because thinner and finer. They have convenient strong cotton lines at each end to hang them up any where, with two pegs or great nails. The *Indians* place the props of their houses at a convenient distance one from

another, for this purpose; and seldom go out upon a journey into the country without these hammocks; and when they will go to sleep, hang them up by the two ends, sometimes upon two trees at ten or twelve foot distance, and sometimes at two of the posts that support their houses or *Carbets*.

This sort of beds is also used throughout *South-America*, to carry wounded or sick people in; those that are appropriated to this use, have at each end a great ring, through which they put a pole of a sufficient length, and strength to bear a man's weight. And thus two *Indians*, one before and the other behind, carry the sick man, supported in his hammock, by the pole, which the porters bear upon their shoulders.

They commonly sell these hammocks to *Europeans* for two hatchets or bills a-piece, or three at most, and they afterwards sell in the islands for considerable advantage; because every person there must have one of them, and none are brought from any other parts but *Guiana* and *Brazil*, and the last rarely.

The western *Indians* of *Guiana*, i. e. the *Product and manufactures.* *Arovaques*, the *Aroates*, and most other nations about the *Oronoque*, make their hammocks of the thread of *Pite*, in net-work. This *Pite* is a sort of flax or hemp, but much whiter, longer, lighter and stronger than ours. Of this kind of hemp the *Indians* there make cordage, tackling and sails for their *Piraguas* or great canoes, as also fine thread to mend their arrows, and for other like uses. This *Pite* is not so apt to rot in the water as hemp.

They have prodigious plenty of wild-honey in this province, which is very sweet and good, and consequently a great quantity of bees-wax may be gather'd, if well look'd to. Among the several sorts of gums found in this country, is the yellow-amber, the gums *Lemium*, *Colliman*, and *Baratta*; this last is black, and in the fire fills the house with an exquisite perfume: is also a proper balsam for wounds. They have likewise jasper and porphyry stones.

The *Galibis* and other *Indians* make very pretty pots; as also baskets, which they call *Pagara*, wrought in such manner, that water cannot penetrate them. They are of various sizes, according to the uses, to carry provisions and other things when they travel either by land or water.

They also make use of their *Covis*, being calabashes, about which they turn certain ornamental figures after their way, and varnish them with several colours, to render them water-proof.

They make their long *Piraguas*, and their *Piraguas.* canoes all of one tree, but are a prodigious long time in doing of it. After they have fell'd a tree, proper for the design, they hollow it





The Prospect of the Fort and Town St. Lewis At Cayanne. as it sheweth from y<sup>e</sup> Road

- A The Governours House
- B The Main guard
- C The Kings Ware house
- D The only landing place
- E The Commanders house
- F Large Barks going to Rio Amazonas
- G Indian Piraguas of War 50 men in each



Rio Cayanne's Entry

the Road Small Ships

C. G. fecit

it with a hatchet or adz, to the breadth of half a foot, and about the same depth, thro' the whole length of it. This done, they hollow the rest of it with a gentle fire; and this work, which goes on very slowly, continues in proportion to the bulk of the piece of timber, and to the length they have projected the canoe shall be. Then they plain or smooth the outsides of the canoe, with another tool fit for that particular work; all which tools, they get from the *French*, and other *Europeans*, as shall be hereafter mention'd. By this method they are a very considerable time making it; but on the other hand, it tends much to the duration of the vessel, because the worms can never pierce it: which advantage is partly owing to the hardness of the timber, for there is scarce any betwixt the tropicks but has this quality, as has been observed before.

The *Piraguas* of war of the *Galibis* about *Cayenne* are so large, that they carry fifty or sixty men, with sufficient provisions for a coasting voyage of several days, and even to the southern *Caribbee* islands; sailing thus on the northern ocean, a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues; and in calm weather sixteen or twenty men row or paddle with their *Pagayes* or paddles. The poop is commonly join'd to the rest; they mend the leaks thereof, caulking it with a sort of fat earth: but the water in a short time washing it away, they are at the trouble of putting in fresh from time to time; and this they call refitting or mending.

I have taken care in the prospect of the town and fort of *Cayenne*, to draw the exact form and figure of the *Indian Piraguas*, some with one, others with two short and small masts, and square sails and yards; to which I refer.

The chevalier *de Lezy*, the *French* governor of *Cayenne*, about the year 1676, made a very successful attempt by sea on the *Dutch* colony at *Wiapoco*, with the *Piraguas* of his auxiliary *Galibis* and *Indians*, driving six hundred *Hollanders* out of their small fort, mounted with some pieces of cannon, and at the same time likewise beat them twice from the river *Aproague*, where they had also a fort defended with cannon; and return'd to *Cayenne*, with a considerable booty, of which almost every *French* inhabitant had some share, especially abundance of linnen of all sorts. I keep to this day some miniatures in water-colours, taken from the *Dutch* commander's house, and given me by major *de Ferolles*, then lieutenant-governor of that island and country.

The *Indians* are very expert at their bows and arrows, which they make use of as well in fishing and fowling, as in war. They have also two other sorts of weapons, the one call'd a *Bouttou*, being a kind of club,

of a very ponderous hard wood, having a BARBOT. long round knob at one end, and the other flat, but about an inch thick; both which will knock the stoutest man down dead at one blow, if they hit the head.

They carry but little provision along with them, in their warlike expeditions, as concluding they shall subsist on the flesh of their prisoners, and feast upon the fattest part. They also sell them for slaves to the *French*. They give a signal with a sort of pipe, that may be heard at a great distance.

The commodities that have vent among these nations are hatchets, bills, knives, looking-glasses, beads, hooks, coats, linnen and haberdashery wares. They very much value our hats, coats, shoes and guns in the inland country, especially in that of the *Acoquas*. With these goods the *French* drive a considerable trade with those nations, and receive in exchange, slaves, dry'd fish, hammocks, tortoise-shells, poultry, ebony, and all other sorts of fine wood, timber, *Rocou*, tobacco, fruits, fine birds, *Sapajous*, and several other things of the product of their countries; and employ many of them in their service, at very cheap rates, provided they are kindly used. In my time a hen was to be had of them for a two-penny or three-penny knife, when it yielded a crown in the colony of *Cayenne*, and a dozen of eggs forty *sous*, which those *Indians* sold but for a two-penny knife.

The iron tools proper for the *Indians* are of various sizes, and of different value in *France*, some of about half-a-crown, two shillings, twenty pence, fifteen pence; being, as I have said, hatchets or axes; bills, some with wooden, others with iron handles, in the socket of which they may be fix'd or taken off at pleasure; and such little plain axes are used for hollowing the inside, and others for smoothing the outside of their canoes and *Piraguas*, as has been already observed.

For a very inconsiderable value of these iron tools, if they have occasion for them, they undertake to load a small ship entirely with a sort of fish they catch in the rivers with harping-irons; and this they perform so justly, that the *French*, who follow the fish trade by their means, find a very great advantage; because the vent of the fish is always speedy and certain in the islands, where there is a great consumption of it: so that this sort of fish, and the sea-tortoise, are answerable to cod-fish in the continent, and the *Caribbee* islands.

The fishing trade is practis'd all the year in most of the rivers on this coast; but that of tortoises holds only three or four months, when the females come to lay their eggs in the sand, above the high-water marks, and that in so great abundance, in places or shores

PLATE 23.

French  
beat the  
Dutch.

Weapons.

**BARBOT** shores least frequented, as can hardly be believ'd: five men can turn as many in a night as fifty can dress in a week; for it is only in the night-time the tortoises lay their eggs, when they turn them on their backs, and they can never recover their feet, and consequently not go back to sea again. All persons there allow the tortoise to be good meat, and indeed the stomach of it well season'd with pepper, salt, &c. and bak'd in an oven, is an excellent dish, as I found it at the governor's tables at *Cayenne*, and *Guadaloupe*; only the fat of the fish being as green as grass, looks a little disagreeable before one is us'd to it.

*Religion.* In matters of religion, the *Galibis*, *Nouragues*, and the *Acoquas*, are all alike.

*Notion of God.* They all own a God, who they say resides in heaven, but do not determine whether he is a spirit or no; and seem rather to believe he has a body, and pay him no peculiar adoration. The *Galibis* call the deity *Tamoucicabo*; *Tamouci* or *Tamechi* in their language signifying old, and *Cabo* heaven; that is, the ancient of or in heaven. The *Nouragues* and *Acoquas* call him *Maire*, and never talk of him but after a fabulous manner. They have many childish superstitions, but no idols, and worship the sun and moon; some say the stars also, and are very much afraid of the devil, whom they call *Wattipa*: for in the night, if they happen to hear the cry of a bird, they say to one another, *Hark how the devil cries*. They pretend the devils have bodies, and that their *Piacos* or priests kill them with great clubs. Others fancy the *Pedaios*, so some also call those priests, do converse with *Wattipa* or the devil, at certain times; and many affirm, they are often most cruelly beaten by him, which occasions a mighty dread of him. The *Nouragues* of one village place the figure of a man on the way they fancy the devil will take, to come to their dwellings in the night to do them harm; to the end, that he taking that figure for a man, and stopping about it, the *Piacos* who watch for him, may take that opportunity to knock him on the head.

*Of the devil.*

*Dreams observed.*

Their dreams are to these people instead of prophecies, revelation, and rules in all their undertakings; whether in war, peace, commerce, or hunting. They look upon them as oracles; and this opinion puts them under a necessity of being entirely directed by them. In *North America*, they believe it is an universal spirit that inspires their dreams, and so advises what they are to do; which they carry so far, that if their dream directs them to kill a man, or commit any other villainy, they always put it in execution. Parents dream for their children, and the captains for their village. There are some among them who pretend

to interpret dreams; and tho' the interpretation prove false, they are never the worse look'd upon.

These people of *Guiana*, as well as those *Priests or jugglers* of other parts of *America*, have their jugglers, whom some look upon as forcerers; and indeed they do such things, as would incline a man to believe the evil spirit did assist them to deceive those poor creatures, to divert them from the knowledge of the true God. They are wonderful fond of those priests, tho' they perpetually impose on them. They pretend to the spirit of prophecy, and to a supernatural power, in procuring rain or fair weather, calms or storms, fruitfulness or barrenness, and making hunting lucky or unlucky: they are also physicians, but do nothing without a fee or reward. Thus they gain the reputation of men of great sanctity, and extraordinary qualifications, tho' generally of a leud conversation. They use strange contorsions, and make horrid cries when they practise their juggling arts, and are very clever at flight of hand. All their cures and predictions are merely accidental; and they have a thousand fetches to delude the ignorant people when they miscarry.

The *French* missionaries report, that in their missions through these nations, in quest of the lake of *Parima*, they found the *Nouragues*, as well as *Imanon* their chief, to take delight in hearing their discourse of the creation of the universe, in their language; and were very ready to repeat after them these words; *God made the heavens, God made the earth, &c.* And that tho' they heard they condemn'd their custom of taking two or three wives at a time, yet they said not a word against the christian law, for allowing only one woman to a man. They say, these people are docile and pliable; and were so well pleas'd to hear the hymns of the church, that they commonly sang three times a-day to their great satisfaction; and that even some of them learnt to answer to the litanies, which they sang every evening during their stay in *Imanon's* carbet; and made all the children say their prayers morning and evening, baptizing some of them, and some women, and *Imanon's* child that was very sick; but could never persuade him to forsake his juggling tricks and divinations, much less the plurality of wives. They also persuaded some young men already marry'd never to take a second wife whilst the first liv'd; and add, that of twenty-four persons, there was not above three, but took very great delight in their instructions in the christian faith.

During their abode with this people, a serpent came in the night into the hut, where the missionaries lay, and bit a hound; so that he died in thirty hours after. The chief of the

the cottage, and the owner of the dog, attributed this accident to the prayers which they sang; so that they durst not sing any more, but contented themselves to make every body say their prayers, except the three before mention'd incredulous persons, namely the chief *Camiali*, and two other old men.

*Account of* In the country of the *Acoquas*, some of their guides of their own accord, after supper, sang in the tune of the church, *Santa Maria, ora pro nobis*; having been yet taught no more, and as they continu'd the litanies, they answer'd.

The *Acoquas* were mightily pleas'd to see the *Europeans*, and in three days became so familiarly acquainted with the missionaries, that not one of them refus'd to pray, but did it every day, morning and evening. As they advanced farther into that country, those that lived a day's journey more remote, hearing the news of their arrival, came to see them, and admir'd their garments, their guns, the pictures in their breviaries, their writing, and the songs of the church, which they desired to hear several times in a day: they also heard their instructions with attention, and seem'd to have very good sentiments, and to be much affected, when they told them, that formerly the people of *France* were ignorant of God; and that some good people came thither who taught them, that there was a God, who would make them happy for ever in heaven, if they serv'd him dutifully. That they were come into that country to do them the same good office, that they might go to heaven as well as they, if they perform'd the same duties. Some of those nations believe, that good men after this life are carried to heaven, which they call *Causo*; and that the wicked go down into the earth, which by them is call'd *Soy*.

The natural disposition of the *Nouragues* and *Acoquas* is mild; but the more remote the *Nouragues* live from the sea, the more tractable they are: for the frequent intercourse they have with the *Indians* on the sea-coasts, renders them more difficult to be treated with. The *Acoquas* are quite another sort of people, than the inhabitants of *Cayenne* imagine them to be; for they look upon them as fierce, cruel, and perfidious to their guests; and it is true, they have not long since extirpated a small nation of *Indians*, and eaten some of them: but this inhumanity is rather the effect of a barbarous custom, than the natural disposition of the people, as has been before observ'd; and tho' the same is practis'd by the *Nouragues*, it seems to be no difficult task to break them of that savage practice.

These *Indians* are of a much gentler nature than the *Chiriguanas*, of the country of

the *Antis*, east of the province of *las Chanas* BARBOT. in *Peru*, of whom we have an account, that they made excursions upon their neighbours, only to feed on them, devouring all the prisoners they took, without sparing age or sex; and drank their blood, as soon as they had cut their throats, that no part might be lost. That not satisfied with eating their neighbours, their barbarity extended to their nearest relations, on whom they also fed when dying naturally, or by any accident; after which, they join'd all their bones, with much lamentation, and bury'd them in hollow trees, or clefts of rocks, as may be seen in *Garcilasso de la Vega's* history of *Peru*, lib. 1. cap. 12. who adds, that not only these *Chiriguanas*, but also the people about cape *Passao*, on the *South-Sea*, and several others in those parts, were so addicted to this inhumanity, that they had publick shambles of human flesh, part whereof they minced and stuffed the guts with it, like our sausages. *Pedro de Creza* mentions the same thing in the twenty-sixth chapter of his history, and speaking as an eye-witness, says, this went so far, that they did not spare the very children they had begot themselves on foreign women, taken prisoners in their wars, with whom they had to do; keeping those children very daintily till thirteen years of age, when they kill'd and eat them; and the same they did by the mother, when she could bear no more children.

After the *French* missionaries had been twelve or thirteen days among the *Acoquas*, and receiv'd due information from those people, concerning the lake of *Parima*, No lake of Parima. asking several of them, whether they did not know of a vast place of water like the sea, the sand of which is *Caracoli*, so they call gold, silver and copper, none of them was able to give them the least intelligence of it; but said, that to the south-west of their country, was the nation of the *Aramisas*, situate towards the source of the river *Maroni*, the mouth of which is about fifty leagues from *Cayenne* westward, as has been observ'd; and by the missionaries computation the *Aramisas*, a very great nation, are in the same longitude in which the maps place the lake of *Parima*.

Thus seeing they could get no manner of intelligence of the lake before mention'd, the air growing unwholesome by reason of the excessive heat, at the latter end of *May*, when there was very little wind; which seldom fails to blow in those countries, and which renders them habitable: and one of the said missionaries being taken ill with a tertian ague, and the strongest of their servants also very sick; they consented with their guides to return, since they were not willing to conduct them any farther, or to suffer

BARBOT. suffer the *Acoquas* to go fetch their chief, dwelling three days journey from the place where they were, with whom they would have made an alliance. Their three guides grew insolent, supposing it was to honour them that the *Acoquas* came in such great numbers; when in all likelihood it was the curiosity of seeing *Europeans*, that brought them together. One of these guides, a *Morrou*, did all he could to persuade those people, that the missionaries ought to leave them all their goods; and they, to put them in hopes of their return, left an iron tool with an *Acoqua*, who had but one wife, upon condition he should give them a great hammock when they came again, and they would give him a bill and a knife more, to make up the value of it. That *Indian* very well knew the regard the missionaries had for lawful marriages, and promised he would not take a second wife, during the life of that he had already liv'd with eight or nine years, and had by her a daughter about seven years old.

*Journey of missionaries.* Thus agreed, they embark'd on the river *Camopi* in two canoes, and after having pass'd dangerous falls, with so much hazard of their lives, that a young *Nourague*, who had never run the like risque before, said, *God is good, and is not angry with us*; they came to the place where they were to go by land, betwixt the river *Inipi* and *Tenaporibo*. Their guides being loaded with hammocks and other things, which they had bought of the *Acoquas*, walk'd so fast, as the *Indians* are wont to do when well loaded, that they left them five leagues from *Tenaporibo*; however, they got through without losing their way, by following a path in which their guides had thrown little boughs in many places, where it was not easy to discern the track, to signify which way they went. Being by this time very ill of their distempers, they made an agreement with the first *Nourague*, who had done them some service at *Caraotibo*, three leagues from *Aproague*, he being of a very good temper, and come thither with two other *Nouragues* of the same place, who were willing to return home as soon as they could. Thus they went, some in a canoe, some by land, to *Camiaty's* cottage, and thence taking in his absence a small chest they had left before with him, went to lie at a cottage a little way farther; where *Camiaty* at his return from hunting with his hound, waited on, and offer'd to accompany them to the mouth of the *Aproague*, to the cottage of the chief of the *Sapayes*, whom he had a mind to visit, being his very good friend.

Being come to the cottage of this chief of the *Sapayes*, they were kindly entertain'd, and a chief of the *Galibis* arriving there the

next day, took them in his canoe, being himself bound for *Cayenne* and *Surinam*, and lodged them in a small island in the river *Aproague*, at a pretty distance from the sea; where they staid two days, and observ'd that the tide rose there eight foot; and concluded thence, because it covers the last fall of the river, that it declines but eight foot in the space of twenty-five leagues from the sea.

Departing from this island, they went to *Co*; the next day they saw the sea, and many *Piraguas* of the *Galibis* on it, making towards the river of the *Amazons*, and some *Indians* of their company went aboard to visit them. Then they proceeded coasting along to *Maburi*, the first place to land at in the isle of *Cayenne*, on the east of it, which they got about with much labour, the sea being so rough, that they could not well bear up against it, to proceed beyond *Maburi*. Thus they perform'd a voyage of a hundred and seventy leagues from the country of the *Acoquas* to *Cayenne*; and the whole, out and home, was two hundred and forty leagues in the space of about five months, suffering many hardships and fatigues, because in those parts there is little or no accommodation to relieve them in their sickness; and the less one carries thither, the better: besides that the ignorance and barbarity of those *Indian* nations always give a missionary just cause to fear any mischief upon the least disgust. They are always forc'd to carry with them some *Cassabi* and paste of *Ouicou*, in hopes to find either fish or venison, with the assistance of their *Indian* guides, and here and there, *buccaneer* flesh and fish. However, if missionaries of a vigorous constitution, of great virtue, and of a disposition ready to suffer those hardships, were sent over from *Europe* in a sufficient number, to settle for a considerable time, in each country or nation; it seems, there would be a great prospect of converting a vast multitude of those people to the christian faith, and a great field open'd to the gospel-labourers, that are willing to employ themselves in it; as well as to discover many other *Indian* nations, which probably might also be converted.

#### Of the island of CAYENNE.

I Promis'd in my short description of the large province of *Guiana*, whereof this island is a part, to give a particular account of it, as being a place famous, both for the various adventures of the *French* at several times, in settling themselves there, and for the many battles they have fought, as well with the native *Indians* as with *Europeans*, to maintain their ground: wherein they have been so successful, that it is now one of the most considerable and advantageous colonies they have in *America*. It

It will be needless to say much of the climate, the soil and product of the country, which are the same as in the rest of *Guiana*; I shall confine my self to what is more peculiar to the island, gather'd by my own observation, and the information of those employ'd in the government, and of the principal and most ancient planters. To this I have added a most exact map of the island, which was presented me by Monsieur *de Ferolles* major of the place, and a relation to the late duke *de Noailles*, and to the count *de Blenac*, as he caus'd it to be taken, when he came into that post, after the death of the chevalier *de Lezy*; which, according to his direction, I caus'd to be engrav'd at *Rocbel* in a large sheet, for the use of the court.

The map,  
PLATE 33.

Position.

This island of *Cayenne* has been a *French* colony ever since the year 1625. It lies close by the continent of *Guiana*, and only cut off and made an island by the rivers *Ovia* on the east, and *Cayana* on the west; from which last it takes its name, as may be seen in the map. The town and fort, where the great road is at the mouth of the river *Guiana*, are exactly in four degrees fifty minutes of north latitude, and three hundred thirty-two degrees of east longitude from *Ferro*. It is reckoned about eighteen or twenty leagues in compass, standing high on the coast, and looks at a distance like part of the continent, as appears by the prospect in the print here inserted, which I took as we sail'd along the coast.

Length and  
breadth.

The length of the island, from the river *Ovia* to the river *Cayana*, is about seven leagues, and the breadth about three.

Cayana  
river.

The river *Cayana* falls into the north-sea on the west side of it, dividing the country of the *Caraiques* from that of the *Galibis*.

The island forms three principal capes or promontories, being those of *Fort-Louis*, *Seperou*, and *Maburi*. It has much meadow and pasture ground in several parts; the rest is low and marshy, especially in the middle, so as to be almost impassable. The edges of it are mostly cover'd with large trees, which we call mangroves, having that peculiar quality of growing in salt water, so thick, deep, and wide rooted, that from those very roots other trees rise up without end, so wonderful close interwoven within one another, that in some parts of the island, a man may walk leagues on them without touching the ground.

About forty years ago the island was extraordinary unhealthy, because of the long rains, which lasted above nine months in twelve, but especially from *December* till *June*; as also because the ground was close wooded, and so marshy, that it occasion'd several sorts of diseases among the inhabitants, which in a more particular manner affected young infants, insomuch, that ma-

ny died almost as soon as born, and others BARBOT. at a very tender age: for which reason the most substantial planters used to send them over to *France* very young, to preserve them from the malignity of that bad air; which is now nothing near so pernicious to those young babes, since the land has been grubb'd up: so that they grow up healthy and strong. Besides, the women are safer in child-bed, and the generality of the inhabitants less subject to distempers than they were before the island was clear'd of most of the wood. However, it is still, and will always be an uncomfortable place to live in, because of the long rainy season every year, the scorching close air night and day, which dispirits a man; and the heavy showers and vapours, exhal'd from the swampy grounds, which still occasion diseases in men and beasts, tho' not so much as formerly. Large cattle particularly, can scarce live there. They are also continually tormented with gnats, flies, hand-worms, ants, bugs, and other sorts of vermin; all which together renders the place very disagreeable and uneasy: for which reason, several planters, when grown rich, retire into *France*, and let their plantations.

Unhealthy  
climate.

The soil of *Cayenne*, by reason of the continual rains, produces plenty of sugar-canes; which, tho' small and short-jointed, yield very plentifully: also of *Mandioca* or *Cassabi*, *Indian* wheat, *Rocou*, cotton, *Accajou*-apples, *Banillas*, *Pete*, *Ebony*, *Letter* and *Violet-wood*; *Ananas*, *Tuberoses*, very fine and large; *Papayas*, and several sorts of *American* and *European* grain and seeds, besides lemons, oranges, indigo, and figs, &c.

Soil and  
product.

The country abounds in wild-boars, call'd there *Packs*, deer, agontils, wood-cocks, ortolans, nightingals, arras, occos, toucans, parrots, parroquets, and other birds only remarkable for their feathers; also *Flamingos*, birds about as big as a hen, flying in swarms like ducks or cranes; large wild-ducks with red tufts on their heads; lizards, cameleons, and very large serpents, some of them above twenty-five foot long, besides many smaller. I was shew'd the skin of one in the town twenty-four foot long, kill'd in the island, in whose belly was found a whole fawn. Another skin was presented me fourteen foot long, the figure whereof is in the cut.

Birds and  
beasts.

Serpents.

PLATE 16.

In relation to monstrous serpents found in *South America*, I will here give the account I had from one monsieur *Cherot*, a surgeon of *St. Malo*, who in his return from the *East-Indies*, in the year 1704, having put into *Bahia de Todos los Santos*, in *Brazil*, affirms, that in the monastery of the jesuits, at the city of *St. Salvador*, one of those fathers show'd him the skin of a monstrous serpent kill'd in the country six months before which he measur'd himself, and found to be forty-

Monstrous  
serpents.

**BARBOT.** two foot in length, and above four in circumference; and adds, the jesuit assur'd him, as a known truth, that a young bullock had been found in the belly of it almost whole. The same monsieur *Cberot* assur'd me, that in the same city of *St. Salvador*, he administer'd to a *Black*, whose stomach and belly were monstrously swollen, as if he had been in a dropsy, a dose of a dram and a half of mercury or quicksilver, which brought away from him by stool a prodigious dead, flat worm, cover'd all over with thin small scales like a snake, full sixty-six foot long, and but a quarter of an inch broad; but wanting the head, which had been dissolv'd in the patient's body. This worm he protested he had kept a long time in a bottle that held five pints of liquor, and yet the worm with only one pint of spirits to preserve it, almost fill'd the bottle. After which evacuation, the patient recover'd by degrees.

Prodigious  
worm in a  
man.

*Leguat* in his travels, if they deserve any credit, says, there are serpents fifty foot long in the island of *Java*. At *Batavia* they still keep the skin of one, which tho' but twenty foot in length, is said to have swallow'd a young maid whole. I return to *Cayenne*, where

They have fine tygers skins from the *Indians*, some of which I caus'd to be made into muffs at my return to *Paris*, and they were there valu'd at ten *Louis-d'or* each. There are also several sorts of monkeys, sapajous, and fine *Amazon* parrots brought from the countries about that river, easy to be taught to speak distinctly, but very dear, for I gave ten crowns for one of them myself. The parroquets are commonly about the bigness of an ordinary thrush, all the body of a lovely shining green, a painted head, and very long narrow tail of various colours; the feet and bill white, and some of them will talk a little. I have inserted in the print the exact figure of the sapajous and parroquets of *Cayenne*, drawn from the life, and that of the female lamentins; as also of a rare creature about as big as a little monkey, which I often saw in the possession of Mr. *Geo. d' Otin*, drugster in *Newgate-Street*, *London*, about the year 1703, who kept it in his shop, and was presented with it by a traveller coming from the *Red-Sea*; who brought it from the island of *Angouan*, one of the *Comeras*, lying in thirteen degrees of south latitude, between the coast of *Zanguebar* and the island of *Madagascar*, on the east side of *Africa*. This little animal's head was like that of a very young lamb, only the muzzle somewhat sharper-pointed; the ears flat and open, the head and neck all cover'd with a short curl'd wool as fine as silk; the body, legs, and tail exactly like a monkey, only that the tail was more hairy. The noise it made

PLATE 7.

was like a swine, and play'd all the tricks of a monkey. The wool on its head, neck and body, was grey and brown striped. It fed very greedily on walnuts, and was very full of sport, but died in 1704. The same sort of animal is also found in the island of *Madagascar*, and call'd *Cbitote* by the people about the bay of *Maffaly*, facing the channel of *Mozambique*; where it breeds in the woods, skipping from one branch to another on the high trees, as the monkeys do, and hanging in the same manner at the boughs by their long tails.

*Cbitote*,  
a strange  
creature.

The sea about *Cayenne* affords large tortoises, mullets of twenty pounds weight, yellowish large *Machorans* or cat-fishes, thornbacks, and other sorts of fish; and the rivers are well stor'd with such as belong to the fresh water.

In my time there were not above fifteen sugar plantations, and four or five of *Rocou* or *Anotto* in this island; but there are at present many more of the former, and few or none of the latter, for reasons I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

Money was also very scarce then, but the free-booters who return'd from the *South-Sea*, the meanest of whom had at least two thousand crowns for his share, bought them habitations there, increased the colony, and render'd money current among the inhabitants; and the soil of the island being soon worn out by planting of sugar-canes, some have made plantations on the adjoining continent, to the west and south-west of *Cayenne*, and thrive extremely well.

It is reported in *Spanish* histories of the discovery of *America*, that the art of drawing and refining of sugar, was perfected by *Lewis de Figueroa* and *Alonso de St. John*, priors of the order of *St. Jerome*, in the island *Hispaniola*, anno 1516.

The sugar made here is very good, both white and *Muscovado* of three sorts, and reckon'd at *Lyons* and *Tours* in *France*, much more proper and saving for confectioners, than any other whatsoever; being both very sweet and moist. The best white sugars and *Muscovados*, are commonly put up in large and long chests, made of *Acajou* planks, after the manner of the *Brazil* chests, and the coarsest in casks, for the greater conveniency of stowidge aboard ships. The sugar is the chief product of this island, and has enrich'd several planters in a short time, when they were well supply'd with lusty *Black* slaves from *Guinea*; for then a male slave did not yield above one hundred crowns, or two hundred and fifty *French* livres: about which last price, I sold a hundred and thirty slaves at my passage thither. But the colony having been lately neglected, some of the rich planters being dead, and others gone away into



into France, which caused them to make but little sugar; and *Rocou* becoming a perfect drug, so that ships of but an indifferent burden, waited sometimes near a year for their lading: they had so few slaves carry'd thither, that in the year 1697, a man-slave yielded five hundred livres; the *Indians* not being able to furnish the colony with a sufficient number of *American* slaves, who besides are not altogether so proper as the *Blacks*, to cultivate the ground.

Few at present are ignorant of the manner how sugar is made, but perhaps as few know the manner of making *Rocou*, and therefore I shall here give an account of it.

Rocou or Anotto dye.

*Rocou* is a red dye, or deep orange-colour, and commonly used as a ground for other colours, in linnen cloth or silks. The name is *Indian*, and it is call'd *Anotto* in the *Spanish American* countries, which perhaps may also be deriv'd from the *Indians* of those parts. At the first planting of it in *Cayenne*, the natural *Rocou* got from the *Indians* sold in *France* from twenty to fifteen livres a pound. This great price set many people upon cultivating the plants there, and in a few years so great a quantity was made, that it became a drug; insomuch that about the year 1686, it would not fetch nine sols a pound at *Rochel*, one of the sea-port towns of *France*, which had for many years the most settled trade with *Cayenne*, and from whence more especially the garrison of that island receiv'd its provisions and clothing; having my self been commission'd into that service.

PLATE 16.

This dye is produc'd from certain very small red berries, growing a great number together in a small cluster, the form of which is represented in the print. This cluster, when the berries are almost ripe, is pluck'd from the trees, and as it dries, opens so as to drop the berries; which are gather'd and put into proper vessels or troughs, to a certain quantity, and steep'd in clean water, which in a very short time washes off the red colour from them, and swims on the surface, and the seed by its ponderousness falls to the bottom of the troughs, and is good for nothing. This dye they take up gently, and put it into other vessels, where it coagulates in the sun, and grows thicker and thicker, by lying; and when it is come to a true consistency, like new cheese, they mould it into small masses, some square, others in long rolls, each weighing about four pounds, and cover them with dry'd palm-tree leaves, which help to preserve it, and prevent its sticking together when pack'd up in barrels, casks or chests: and thus by degrees it grows harder and harder as cheese does. But the smell of it is more and more disagreeable to many people, be-

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ing very strong. The dye stains every thing it touches, but the *Spanish Anotto* is far better and finer than that of *Cayenne*. This sort of dye will keep many years, if well preserv'd in proper moist and cool places; but in length of time it dries up almost to dust, and loses its virtue. It is also adulterated and mix'd with some other ingredients, either in the country or in *Europe*, and moulded a-new into loaves; but such dye is nothing near so good as the natural.

BARBOT.

The trees commonly at full age do not exceed fifteen or sixteen foot in height, very shady and ever green; bearing a great quantity of the blossom or flower of *Anotto* or *Rocou*, which when yet young, are of a fine pleasant red, and at some distance resembles the pomgranate-tree when blown.

The *Rocou* planters formerly cultivated large orchards of these trees, as we do of apples or cherries.

The chief town of *Cayenne* stands on the west part of the island, in an advantageous situation; nature and art having equally contributed to the fortifying of it. It is of an irregular hexagon figure. The fortifications of the town, as the plan represents, were mostly cast up with earth by the *Hollanders*, after they had driven the *French* from the island; and have several batteries mounted with cannon, and a dry ditch quite round, besides rows of trees that surround it in a triangle, which makes a handsome prospect at a distance. Within this slight fortification, stand above two hundred houses, disposed in such manner, as to form two indifferent streets or lanes, all built with planks of a certain tree by the *French* call'd *Poirier*, and of other sort of timber, and thatch'd; which is the reason they are now and then burnt down so fast, that nothing can be sav'd, to the great loss and damage not only to the owners, but of several inhabitants round the town. On the north-east part of it, towards the gate of *Armire*, the jesuits have a little chappel, standing in an open place by itself, and before it a grove of lemon-trees, which afford a pleasant shade to walk under; the chappel is adorn'd with a small spire of planks, with good bells.

On a pretty steep hill or eminence stands the fort of *St. Lewis de Ceperoux*, built by order of *Lewis XIII.* king of *France*, on the sea-side, commanding every way, mounted with forty-two iron guns; the garrison whereof commonly consists of four companies of regular forces, besides near five hundred inhabitants mostly *French*, and divers *Indians*, who retire into the island with their canoes, and there make their cottages and carbets; living either in the town, or on the island round about as far

**BARBOT** as mount *Sinery*, because of the goodness of the soil, and the wholesomeness of the air, as it lies much higher than the island. These, upon the least alarm, are obliged to stand to their arms; the signal to give notice to them to come together, being to fire off some cannons, especially in the night-time. The weakest places of this island are also defended by some batteries and guns.

The next town in the island to this, is *Armire*, distant about three leagues eastward, but small and thinly peopled; where the jesuits have a chappel also, for the conveniency of the inhabitants of that part of the island: and about a league farther east is the point *Maburi*, and near it a very fine plantation for sugar, belonging to a particular acquaintance of mine, Mr. *Fontaine* of *Rouen*, since deceased; and is a fit place to land at. West of this plantation stands an *Indian* carbet. These are all the remarkable towns of *Cayenne*, except here and there some cottages, and plantations about the island; the south part of which is stor'd with fine large meadows or pasture-grounds, call'd after the *Indians Savanas*, and three rivulets. They have usually a watch-house and a battery of some iron guns at *Armire*, to give signals, when they discover ships coming from the eastward.

Fort *Louis* commands both the town and the sea; the anchoring-place for ships is under the cannon of the fort, within musket-shot from land, in three fathom and a half muddy ground, south-west of the water-gate, which has four good guns to defend the road.

The colony is partly subsisted by provisions brought over from *France*, in merchants ships by way of trade; which commonly are wine, brandy, meal and powder'd or salt meats: for beef is very scarce there, besides that they are not allow'd to kill any, nor calves neither, without leave of the governour or his substitutes, that cattle may multiply in the island. All sorts of linnen, cloathing, stuffs, silks, shoes, and other wearing apparel are also carry'd thither from *France*, for the use of men, women and children; and all sorts of iron-tools and small wares, either for the service of the colony, or for the *Amazons* and *Indian* trade, are barter'd for sugar, *Rocou*, *Indigo*, tortoise shells, tygers skins, and other inconsiderable curiosities of the country, which did once turn to great profit to the traders there.

The other necessary provisions of the product of the island, are *Mandioca* or *Cassabi*, and *Indian* wheat; of which each planter sows large quantities, both for the subsistence of their own families and slaves, and to sell to the other inferior inhabitants.

The sea and river-fish, poultry, pigeons, queests or ring-doves, whereof there is great plenty, and delicate turkeyes, venison, hares, agontils, hogs, and *Packs*, that is wild-boars, are also a part of their subsistence: but *Lamentyns* and sea-tortoises are their chief provision, and may well be called the manna to the poorer sort.

The *Lamentyn* is by some call'd the sea-<sup>Manati or</sup> cow, and by others *Manati*, the head where-<sup>sea-cow.</sup> of is much like a pig's, except that its snout is not altogether so long. The largest of them are about twenty foot long, having no fins, but the tail, and two paws: the body is pretty thick or round, till towards the navel; the tail like that of a whale and porpoise, has an horizontal breadth when the animal lies flat on his stomach or belly. Its skin is blackish, with some thin hairs, rough and hard, and so very thick, that the *Indians* cut it into narrow long slips, which they dry, and become as stiff as a cane; wherewith the *Europeans* chastise their slaves. Others make of the skin a sort of bucklers, musket-proof. The eyes are very small, no bigger than a common hog's: the optick nerves are also small, and have no iris, and very little humour. At a distance from which is a round hole, on each side of the head, with all the usual and necessary organs for hearing; and it hears the best of all water animals. The tongue is extremely small, in proportion to the bulk of the creature; and besides, it commonly draws it in, whence several have said it has none. It has thirty-two cheek-teeth or grinders, and tusks like wild boars, but no fore teeth: the gums are pretty hard, with which it brouzes and pulls the grass it feeds on.

This animal from the neck to the tail, has a long back-bone, composed of fifty-two vertebræ, resembling those of a horse; lessening proportionably at the ends.

The females have two breasts, much resembling those of *Black* women, and some believe they bring forth two young ones at a time, and suckle them at those paps: others say, they never observ'd that creature to suckle and embrace any more than one little one at a time, and are confident it brings forth but one. The genitals, as well internal as external, are more like those of human creatures, than any other species of animals. Their blood is warm, and never congeals. It has not a very free respiration in the water, for which reason it often holds the muzzle out of it for air; at which time they are easily struck with harping-irons.

This sort of fish is very easily caught, as generally feeding in large herds, in three or four foot water, and so tame in many parts of the *East-Indies*, as to suffer men to get in among them as they are feeding; so that they may feel them with their hands  
and

and chuse which they please; or to shoot them with the muzzle of the piece almost at their head: and will let two or three men, without any arms or tools, take hold of them with their hands, or tie a rope about their tails, and so drag them ashore.

The flesh of this creature is excellent, very wholesome, and tastes much like veal of *Europe*, when young; for the biggest are not so delicate and agreeable to the palate. Their fat is hard, and very sweet, as that of our hogs; the flesh resembles veal. It dies with very little loss of blood, and is not observ'd to come upon dry land; nor is there any likelihood it should, considering its shape, as in the cut, whence it is concluded not to be amphibious.

PLATE 7.

Dressing of Manati.

The *Spaniards* about the island of *St. Margaret*, or *Margarita*, call the *Manati Pece-Buey*, that is, ox-fish; and particularly value the stomach and belly part of it, roasted on spits. Others cut long slices of the flesh of its back, which they salt a little, only for two days, and then dry it in the air; after which, it will keep three or four months. This they roast and baste with butter, and reckon delicious meat. A gentleman has assur'd me, that at *Jamaica* they give eighteen pence a pound for young *Manati*. At *Cayenne* it yields but three pence a pound salted.

*F. Christopher de Acunna*, in the relation of his voyage on the river of the *Amazons*, chap. 25. describes this fish as follows.

The *Pece-Buey*, says he, is of a delicious taste; any one that eats it, would think it to be most excellent flesh well season'd. This fish is as big as a heifer of a year and a half old; it has a head and ears just like those of a heifer, and the body of it is all cover'd with hair, like the bristles of a white hog; it swims with two little arms, and under its belly has teats, with which it suckles its young ones. The skin of it is very thick, and when dress'd into leather, serves to make targets, which are proof against a musket-bullet. It feeds upon grass, on the bank of the river, like an ox; from which it receives so good nourishment, and is of so pleasant taste, that a man is more strengthen'd and better satisfy'd with eating a small quantity of it, than with twice as much mutton. It has not a free respiration in the water, and therefore often thrusts out its snout to take breath, and so is discover'd by them that seek after it. When the *Indians* get sight of it, they follow it with their oars in little canoes; and when it appears above water to take breath, cast their harping-tools made of shells, with which they stop its course, and take it. When they have kill'd it, they cut it into pieces, and dry it upon wooden grates, which they call *Boucan*; and thus

dress'd, it will keep good above a month. BARBOT.  
They have not the way of salting and drying it to keep a long while, for want of plenty of salt; that which they use to season their meat being very scarce, and made of the ashes of a sort of palm-tree, so that it is more like salt-petre than common salt.

To get fresh meat all their winter, which is the time of the rains, when they can neither hunt nor fish, they make choice of some fit places where the floods can never come, and there dig ponds of a moderate depth, to hold a good quantity of water, which they inclose round with a pallisado of stakes: they bring water into these ponds, and keep them always full, that they may use them as reservoirs for their winter provisions; putting in tortoises, at the season they come ashore to lay their eggs: there they feed them with the leaves and branches of trees, which they throw into the pond. One of these tortoises is enough to feed a numerous family some time. To carry them to the pond, when they fetch them from a good distance, they string them together with great cords thro' holes they make on the top of their shells, and turning them on their feet, lead them to the water, where they tie them to their canoes, and so drag them home, and then put them into their reservoirs, and loose them.

The *Manati's* flesh used at *Cayenne* is brought ready salted from the river of the *Amazons*; several of the principal inhabitants sending the barks and brigantines thither with men and salt to buy it of the *Indians*, for beads, knives with white hafts of a low price, some linnen, toys, and iron tools. When those vessels are enter'd the river of the *Amazons*, the *Indians*, who always follow the *Manati* fishery, go aboard, take the salt, and with it run up the river in canoes or *Piraguas*, to catch the *Manati's*; which they cut in pieces, and salt as taken, returning with that salt fish to the brigantines; which go not up, because the *Portuguese*, who dwell to the eastward, at *Para*, and other places of *Brazil*, claim the sovereignty of the north side of that river, and give no quarter to the *French*, or other *Europeans* they can take in their liberties, which has occasion'd many disputes and quarrels between them, as I shall observe hereafter. That controversy was decided by the treaty of *Utrecht* in the year 1713. The *Portuguese* some years since designing to settle on the west side of the *Amazons*, cruelly massacred many, who before used to go unmolested, and consequently mistrusting no danger.

The brigantines having got their loading of salted *Manati*, return to *Cayenne*, and sell it there, commonly at three pence a pound. Trade of Manati.  
They

**BARBOT.** They also often bring from thence some slaves, purchased of the *Indians*, with whom they trade, those slaves being commonly handsome young women.

**Other commodities.** They also bring great quantities of hammocks, parrots, parroquets, tortoise shells, tygers skins, and other rarities of that country, and dry'd fish.

**Indian tools.** Before the *Europeans* had furnish'd the *Indians* of *Guiana* with instruments of iron and steel for fishing, hunting, hewing of wood, and cultivating the ground, they made them of hard stones; and besides the endless labour of making, were at no less pains in using them: and perceiving they could do more work in a day with hatchets, bills, knives and hooks, than they could before in a month with their stone tools, they give any thing for such necessaries, and have quite left off the use of their own; which are now good for nothing, but to be kept as a curiosity, and a memorial of the industry and patience of those *Indians*.

**Cassabi.** The *Cassabi* is the common bread of the country, especially among the poorer sort and slaves, and of all the *Indians*, not only of *Guiana*, but of a great part of *South-America*. It is made of the *Mandioca* root, which they scrape, and then press to get out the poisonous juice; being so rank a poison, that half a common glass of it swallow'd, will kill either man or beast, and yet it may be put into sauces and pottages, giving them a good relish, provided it be boil'd but ever so little, for then it loses that pernicious quality.

They bake the *Cassabi* on large, thin, flat iron plates, over the embers, making it into cakes; which when new, are tolerable good food; but when stale and dry, very insipid and poor.

**Drink.** The meaner inhabitants and slaves, besides water, drink that sort of liquor call'd *Ouicou*, which they brew after the *Indian* manner, as before describ'd; tho' not so good as theirs, for the reasons there mention'd.

**Government.** The government and administration of justice is in the governour, as well over the inhabitants as the garrison; but in judicial affairs he is assisted by a council, composed of the prime military officers and chief inhabitants.

**Extent.** The governour of *Cayenne* claims a jurisdiction over the countries of *Guiana*, from the great river of the *Amazons* on the east, to the river *Maroni* at west north-west; and accordingly the late governour *M. de Ferolles*, who was major of the fort and garrison in my time, begun a road by land to the river of the *Amazons*, pretending to drive the *Portuguese* from the rivers *Paron* and *Macaba*, on which they have built three forts for their security. The *French* alledge, that those countries belong to the crown of *France*,

and that it behoves them to defend them not only on account of the trade, but because there are silver mines; so that the country they pretend to, extends about an hundred leagues along the ocean, which is its boundary on the east and north; and this they call *Equinoctial France*, as has been observed before.

This road to the river of the *Amazons*, *Road.* begins at the river *Peiro*, which falls into that of *Paron*, and they afterwards go down that in canoes.

The pretensions of the *French* and *Portuguese* to the sovereignty of this part of *Guiana*, have occasion'd many controversies and blows between them, and several negotiations have been set on foot, and regulations made, to adjust those differences amicably.

To make this point the clearer, I shall here insert the account given me concerning this contest betwixt the *French* and *Portuguese*, by a judicious *French* gentleman, employ'd by the government of *Cayenne*, about the year 1702, to see the treaties concluded between the two crowns punctually executed on the spot; but must begin with the cause of this difference.

The *Portuguese* of *Para*, one of the captainships of *Brazil*, which reaches to the great river of the *Amazons*, envying the trade of the colony of *Cayenne*, in this river, resolv'd several years ago, to secure it to themselves, by setting up a pretension, that their sovereignty, in those parts of *South-America*, had extended for a long time, as far westward beyond the river of the *Amazons*, as the river *Wiapoco*, near cape *Cassepourri*; which, they said, was their boundary, and the separation from the *French* jurisdiction at *Cayenne*. The *French*, on the other hand, affirm'd, that the *Portuguese* limits could reach no farther westward than another river or channel, call'd *Wiapoco*, lying in the midst of the *Archipelago* of islands, at the mouth of the river of the *Amazons*, and almost a hundred leagues in breadth. The *Portuguese* persisted in their claim, aiming to secure to themselves the trade of the river of the *Amazons*, consisting in slaves, *Manati*, hammocks, green stones, fine feathers, and tygers skins; as also to possess solely the benefit of the *Cacao* trade in that part of *Guiana*, on the west side of the river of the *Amazons*, so very advantageous; the large country round about *Macaba*, naturally abounding in plants of *Cacao*, growing of themselves, without any culture, in the woods. They made no scruple to fall out with the *French* on that account; so that at last force of arms was used by the contending parties reciprocally, as opportunity offer'd: but the *Portuguese* having been quick at erecting a small fort at *Arowary*, near

near cape *North*, at the mouth of the river of the *Amazons*, and a pretty large one at *Macaba*, about sixty leagues up it, mounted with fourteen guns; and a little one at some distance from it, with the arms of *Portugal* on the gate; maintain'd their ground for a time, and very much molested the *French* trading that way, either by sea or land: and many have been slain or injur'd on both sides, for the *French* struggled against their antagonists from *Cayenne* and *Wiapoco*, as much as they could.

Things being come to this pass, and for a long while to open violence among the contenders, and their business being thereby very much obstructed; at last there was a treaty set on foot by the two kings, by which it was agreed, that the *Portuguese* should demolish their new forts, and withdraw their artillery and garrisons, which was executed about the year 1702, when the governour of *Cayenne* sent this officer with a small fleet of barques and canoes, and about two hundred men aboard, to Don *Albuquerque*, chief governour at *Para*, with the dispatches of *Portugal*; but yet this was not done by him without great reluctance, and to the great sorrow of the subjects of *Portugal* in those parts.

Thus this country was left to the *French*, but not long at their disposal; for soon after the crown of *France*, labouring hard to dissuade the king of *Portugal* from entering into the grand alliance with the Emperor, the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and the States-general, for restoring the intire monarchy of *Spain* to the house of *Austria*, thought proper to relinquish its interest in that part of *Guiana*, to the *Portuguese*; who losing no time, took possession thereof, and with great diligence rebuilt the fort at *Arowary* and *Macada*, and thus again peaceably possess the beneficial trade of *Cacao*. However, it is to be observ'd, that those nuts are nothing to the right *Spanish*, commonly known by the name of *Caracas* nuts, which are large and sweet; whereas these *Portuguese* nuts are small and bitter. These nuts the *Portuguese* convey in large canoes and barks to *Para*, whence great quantities are sent yearly to *Lisbon*.

Large canoes.

The canoes the *Portuguese* of *Para* make to carry on their trade in the river of the *Amazons*, are extraordinary fine and large, all of one single tree, and some of them eight foot broad, and above sixty in length, with cabbins, wherein they can hang three hammocks in a row, and their *Indians* are very dexterous at navigating of them.

The government of *Para* has above three thousand *Indians*, living in villages, about the town of that name, and maintained as a constant, regular militia, to serve upon all occasions. Those *Indians* are all baptiz'd and instructed in the christian religion, with

their whole families, by the labour of the BARBOT. jesuits, who have erected fine churches in the *Indian* villages, and employ those people in husbandry, when the government has no occasion for their service in war.

The same gentleman farther told me, Beautiful women. that there is a nation of *Indians* on the west side of this river, several leagues up it, whose female sex is exceedingly handsome, and go stark naked, plaiting the hair of their heads very artificially; and that he observ'd, when any of those women came into his presence, they seem'd to be ashamed of being naked, but not at all when return'd among their own people.

That in crossing the wide mouth of the river of the *Amazons*, being near ninety leagues wide, as has been observed, he spent eight days with his little fleet, before he got to the town of *Para*, on the east shore: and found much pleasure every evening at sun-setting, when sailing thro' the *Archipelago* of islands, he observed the sweetness and serenity of the air, the beautiful, ever-green lofty trees along the many channels, formed by the situation of those islands; the clearness of the water reflecting so lively the form and shape of them again in their crystalline surface; together with the variety of beautiful birds in the woods, and their sweet melody. On the west side of the river, and as he crossed some part of the province of *Guiana*, he met with many prospects of landskips, extraordinary fine and pleasant to behold.

The jesuit *Chr. d'Acunna*, who made a voyage from *Quito* down to the mouth of the *Amazons* river, with *Texeira*, general of the *Portuguese* at *Para*, who first of all *Europeans* went up from *Para* to *Quito*, on that river, in the year 1637, upon the report of two *Franciscan* friars, who had escap'd the hands of the *Indians*; tells us, in the relation of his said voyage, of which I shall have occasion to speak farther hereafter, that two leagues below *Ginipape*, the river of the *Amazons* begins to divide itself into several great branches, which form that multitude of islands, which seem to float upon its waters, till it enters into the sea. Islands in the Amazons river.

These islands are inhabited by nations differing from one another, both in their language and customs; not but that most of them understand the language of *Brazil* very well, which is the general tongue in those parts.

The number of these islands is so great, and the people that dwell in them so different, that it is not possible to give a particular account of what is observable among them, without composing a volume. However, I'll name some of the most considerable and best known, as the *Tapuyas*, and the valiant *Pacaxas*; which last dwell on the side of a river, the name of which they bear, that

**BARBOT.** enters the *Amazon* eighty leagues above the river *Paranaiba*, and upon the bank of this last river. These islands are so well peopled, that there is no end of the number of inhabitants, nor indeed of their villages; inso-much, that some of the *Portuguese* assur'd me, they had seen no countries better stock'd with people thro' the whole extent of the *Amazon* river.

The great fort of *Para* is built thirty leagues below *Commata*, belonging to the *Portuguese*, who have commonly there a garrison of three companies of foot, under the command of a governour, who has the oversight of all other officers of garrisons belonging to his government; but this governour is under the jurisdiction of him of *Maragnon*, and must obey his orders. The government of *Maragnon* is above a hundred and thirty leagues distant from *Para*, down along the river, and towards *Brazil*; which occasions great inconveniencies in the conduct of affairs, in relation to the government of *Para*.

The island *du Soleil*, or of the sun, is fourteen leagues below the mouth of the river of the *Amazons*; it has a great harbour shelter'd from all winds, in which ships may ride with great safety; and when they have a mind to sail, they need only wait for the full moon, when the sea is higher than ordinary, and they may pass over all the sands, which render the entrance of this river difficult. This island is above ten leagues in compass; there is very good water in it, and abundance of sea and river-fish. It affords all necessary accommodation for life, the land being extraordinary fruitful, and capable of maintaining as many people as can desire to settle there. An infinite number of crabs is found there, which are the common food of the *Indians*, and other poor people, being now the main support of *Para*; for this is the principal island to which they resort, to seek subsistence for the inhabitants.

Mouth of  
the Ama-  
zons river.

Twenty-six leagues below this island of the sun, directly under the line, this river of the *Amazons* is eighty four leagues over, bounded on the south side by *Zaparara*, and on the other by the north cape, between which it discharges it self into the ocean. It may be call'd a sea of fresh water, mixing with the salt of the sea, being the noblest and largest river in the known world. This same river is otherwise call'd *Orellana*, the name of the first *Spaniard* that sail'd down it from *Peru*. The length of its course has been long reckon'd one thousand two hundred seventy-six leagues, but later discoveries make it one thousand eight hundred; in which course it fertilizes an infinite number of nations, and almost cuts *South-America* asunder, receiving abundance of the noblest and finest rivers in that part of the new world, which

run down to it on both sides. Another thing of it is remarkable, and is, that it runs out with such a torrent, that fresh water may be taken up above thirty leagues at sea; its force and rapidity hindering it from mixing with the salt. It is to be observ'd, that whatsoever *Europeans* first possess themselves of the island of the sun, will easily command the entrance into that noble river of the *Amazons*, and secure the trade of it to themselves.

The lake of *Parima*, so much spoken of <sup>No lake of Parima.</sup> by many authors, is now generally agreed to be altogether fabulous and imaginary; the *French* from *Cayenne* having made all imaginable search after it, as the *Spaniards* and other nations had done before; and for the city *Manoa*, or *El Dorado*, it is of the same stamp. For had there been any such wealth, as many have reported to be in that place, no obstacles would have been sufficient to stop the progress of *Europeans*, but they would have reach'd it long ago: and it is certain the *Spaniards*, who first heard the report of it, and were able to subdue the most valuable part of *America*, would not have been baffled in the pursuit of such treasure as that place was given out to contain; but that after searching all that country, they were fully convinc'd it was fairy treasure, a meer chimæra or invention, and therefore they gave over the pursuit of it, being satisfied those countries afforded nothing worth their toils. The *Portuguese* after them took no little pains to find out that imaginary treasure, and to as little purpose; the *French*, as has been said, have follow'd their example from *Cayenne*, with the like success; and our Sir *Walter Raleigh's* so much celebrated voyage to *Guiana*, was on the same account, and turn'd as little to his honour, nor did he make any other profit than what accrued by robbing of the *Spaniards*.

Since I am upon the description of this part of *America*, and have had occasion to mention the famous river of the *Amazons*, it will not, I hope, be disagreeable to give some farther account of the said river, from the best *Spanish* authors, who alone are able to acquaint us with what has been discover'd relating to it.

When *Francis Pizarro* had subdued the *Orellana* empire of *Peru*, he gave the government <sup>first goes</sup> of *Quito*, and some other northern provinces, <sup>down the</sup> to his brother *Gonzalo Pizarro*; who resolv- <sup>river of the</sup> <sup>Amazons.</sup> ing to make farther discoveries westward, in hopes of finding much gold, he set out with a good number of *Spaniards*, among whom was *Don Francisco de Orellana*, a gentleman of good birth and quality: after many days travel, being in great want of provisions, *Pizarro* sent this *Orellana* in a bark, with sixty men, down a river to seek for provisions. He ran down with the stream

stream for several days through a desert country, till he came to another inhabited; when finding it very difficult to return up two hundred leagues, to the place from whence he came, he resolv'd to proceed; and was carry'd from the river on which he had embark'd into that of the *Amazons*, so call'd in reality from some women they saw fighting among the men: which gave occasion to the so much talk'd of fable of a country of *Amazons*, invented by some men in imitation of those formerly talk'd of in *Asia*, a chimæra much like that above mention'd of the lake of *Parima*, and the city *Manoa*; for never could this country be found any more than that lake or city: so that many go on attesting so manifest a fiction, without considering the absolute impossibility of such places being hid to the search of so many persons, as have rang'd all those regions in quest of them.

*Orellana* sail'd two hundred leagues farther in nine days, and came to a country of peaceable *Indians*, who supply'd him with provisions, and there he staid and built a brigantine. He run almost two hundred leagues farther, without finding any *Indian* towns; and then was supply'd with tortoises and parrots, partridges, and several sorts of fish; there he staid thirty-five days, and built another brigantine. That place was call'd *Aparia*. Proceeding eighty leagues, he found no warlike *Indians* in that space; but was afterwards forc'd to fight his way through fleets of canoes full of arm'd *Indians*; and to land and get provisions by force. The particulars of this relation are too long for this place; and therefore I shall only observe, that after many encounters, they spy'd some women fighting desperately at the head of the men; and not understanding the natives, fancy'd they talk'd to them of *Amazons*, and that there was such a nation: whereas there was nothing but the savage fierceness of those few women to ground the notion upon, as has been observ'd already. And therefore it will be needless to insist longer upon a thing, that has been long since exploded by all men of sense.

Leaving that imaginary nation, I will proceed to the account *Acunna* gives of the river of the *Amazons*, which is as follows. This river runs from west to east, continually on the south side of the equinoctial, never departing from it above two, three, four, or at most five degrees, in the greatest of its windings. This author makes it to rise in the kingdom of *Quito*, in the north of *Peru*; but the jesuits living in that kingdom, say it rises in the lake *Lauricocha*, near the city *Guameco*; and they being better acquainted with that part, I shall pass by what *Acunna* farther says of its original, which he did not see, and insert it afterwards from those je-

suits, proceeding now to what *Acunna* says of its course, of which he was an eye-witness. He describes it thus: Its course is full of windings, receiving a great number of other rivers from both the north and south sides: the breadth varies much, being in some places a league; in others two, three, or more; but the mouth of it is eighty-four leagues over. The narrowest place in all its course from *Peru*, being a quarter of a league, or little less, in two degrees forty minutes of south latitude: the depth is so great, that in some places we could find no bottom; and from the mouth of it to *Rio Negro*, or the black river, being near six hundred leagues, never less than thirty or forty fathom water in the greatest channel; but from thence upwards the depth is uncertain, sometimes twenty, sometimes twelve and sometimes eight fathom; and up at the highest towards *Peru*, it has water enough to carry the largest vessels, which may well go up it: for tho' the current be sometimes swift, yet every day, without fail, there are easterly breezes, which last three or four hours, and sometimes the whole day, and check the stream; so that it is not violent. It is full of innumerable islands of several sizes, and some of them standing very close together. Some of them are four or five leagues in compass, others ten, and others twenty; but that the *Toupinambous* inhabit, is above a hundred leagues about: there are also abundance of small islands, all which are overflow'd every year, as is much of the large ones. There is such vast plenty of fish, that if any one offers it to the natives, their common answer is, *put it into your own dish*. They take very much, without any other instrument but their hands. The *Manati* is the choicest of all their fish; and found from the very source to the mouth of the river.

Tho' this river lies all along so near the equinoctial, yet the heat of the sun is not offensive, nor the evening-air, notwithstanding its being cold and moist, prejudicial: for during our voyage down it, I frequently pass'd whole nights in the open air, without receiving any hurt of colds, or pains in my head or limbs; and yet have felt the ill consequence of being abroad in moon-shine nights in other parts. It is true, that most of our men, who came from cold countries, had agues at first, but were cured by bleeding two or three times.

This sweet temperature of the air causes all the banks of the river to be cover'd with a thousand several sorts of lovely trees; the pleasant verdure whereof, is perpetually preserv'd by the moderate nature of the climate. We discover'd every where most beautiful landskips; which convinc'd us, that nature was able, where it pleas'd, to exceed art.

The

BARBOT.

The ground is commonly very low near the banks, but rises gradually at some distance with little hills, adjoining to delightful plains, all cover'd with flowers, and no trees among them. Beyond them are lovely vales, cloth'd with grás and several sorts of herbs, preserv'd continually green, by the many rivulets running through them. Farther on still are hills, rising one above another, till they form those high mountains, which run across all *South America*, and are call'd *La Cordillera*, or the ridge of the *Andes*.

There are many thickets producing all sorts of simples, which the natives know how to use for the cure of diseases. Among them are *Cassia*-trees, bearing the best *Cassia* of all the *West-Indies*; as also excellent *Sarsaparilla*, gums and rosins very good for bruises; and a prodigious quantity of honey, which is not to be exhausted, being as good to eat, as for the composition of various medicines; and in proportion, of a sort of black wax. There is balsam of *Copayba*, the best in *America*; and in short, an incredible variety of herbs and plants, and trees of a surprizing tallness and bulk.

Four things particularly abound on this river; 1. timber for building, fine ebony, and common wood; 2. cacao-trees for making of chocolate, covering the banks and growing wild; 3. tobacco in infinite plenty; and 4. sugar, as also *Anotto* or *Rocou*, and *Pita*, being excellent thread, besides a thousand other things. It is reasonable to believe there are gold and silver mines, because I saw much gold among the *Indians* we met in going down, and they assur'd us there were mines of both sorts.

This great river receives the waters of the richest countries of *South America*: in many parts along it, the country is extraordinary populous, as appears by the huts being so thick together, tho' they are in continual wars, destroying and making slaves of one another in their turns. They seem bold enough among themselves, but will not stand before *Europeans*. Their arms are javelins, darts, and flat heavy clubs. But enough of this digression, let us return to the account of *Guiana*.

Europeans  
in Guiana.

The coast of *Guiana*, from cape *Orange* to near the river *Oronoque*, was, about the year 1666, possessed by three *European* nations. The *Dutch* were about the river *Aproague*; the *French* had the island of *Cayenne*, and the rivers of *Ovia*, *Corrou*, and *Sinamary*; this last about twenty-five leagues north-west from *Cayenne*, and fifty-three east from *Surinam*; and the *English* had a small colony and redoubt on the river *Maronny*, their chief settlement being then at *Surinam* river, which is so good and deep, that ships of three hundred tons run twenty leagues up it. The *Zealanders* were possess'd of the river *Berbiche*,

and had repuls'd the *English* who attack'd them there, with considerable loss. The same year 1666, the states of *Zealand*, being provok'd at the *English* having invaded, and taken from them all the lands they had been possess'd of in *America*, except the river *Berbiche*, sent thither commodore *Creiffen* with four men of war, and three hundred men, to attack *Surinam*. He sail'd from *Zealand* at the latter end of *January*, arriv'd at *Cayenne* in *March*, went thence for *Surinam*, sail'd up the river under *English* colours, and came to the fort of *Paramorbo*, three leagues up the river, without being taken for an enemy; but being discover'd there for want of signals, the fort began to fire on his ships, which he answer'd with broad-sides from all the vessels, and immediately landed his forces. The *English* who had liv'd long in profound security, found themselves too weak, and the fort in no posture of defence on the land-side; and their habitations being dispersed along the river, for thirty leagues up, the fort could not be succour'd but by water, where the *Zealanders* were masters: upon which considerations, they surrender'd it, capitulating for all the inhabitants of the river of *Surinam*, and those of *Kamomieque*; stipulating, that all those who should take the oath of fidelity to the states of *Zealand*, should enjoy their estates peaceably; the habitations of such as absented themselves, and those belonging to the late lord *Willoughby*, should be forfeited to the said states; all foreigners, who had no plantations there, should remain prisoners of war, and all the *English* be oblig'd to deliver up their arms. When the capitulation was executed, *Creiffen* put aboard a fly-boat he had taken in the river, the most valuable part of the booty he found in the places that were confiscated, and the prisoners aboard a man-of-war, after causing the fort to be repair'd and put into a posture of defence; and leaving in it the sieur *de Rame* with a hundred and twenty men, he sail'd for the islands.

The *French* colony at *Cayenne*, was founded in the reign of *Lewis XIII.* of *France*; but so much neglected, during the minority of his successor, by reason of the civil wars in *France*, that the new company, which had obtain'd of the king the propriety of that island, and the continent of *America* neighbouring upon it, made little or no advantage of it; and therefore in the year 1663 made it over to another company, which had a patent granted by the late king of *France*, dated in *April* 1664, and sent over governours and officers, to take possession of it in their name, forbidding the inhabitants to trade with any other *European* nation; by whom, especially the *Dutch*, they used to be before supply'd with slaves, provisions, and clothes.

The



The king of France, having declar'd war against England in January 1666, pursuant to his treaty with the states of the united provinces, it was carry'd into the islands and continent of America, notwithstanding the good correspondence; which general de la Barre had settled between the English at Surinam, and the colony of Cayenne, during his government there in 1664 and 1665; allowing, and even assisting them, to fish and trade with their sloops and barks, about the river *Wiapoco*, cape *North*, and the *A-mazons*: which liberty, the governour of Cayenne the chevalier de Lezy, brother to the before-mention'd general, had continu'd them to enjoy, by a particular treaty of neutrality for the coasts of Guiana, notwithstanding the declaration of war, between the two crowns in Europe. Nevertheless, on the fourteenth of August 1666, William Biam the English commander at Surinam, sent a letter to colonel Noel, the French chief at Sinamary, to acquaint him, he was order'd by the lord Willoughby, general of the English colonies in South-America, to whom he was subordinate, to make void the neutrality, agreed on between the two national colonies in America, declaring that from thenceforward the French on the coast of Guiana, were to look upon the English on that coast, as well as elsewhere, as their enemies, who would act against them for the future as such. And about four of the clock the very next morning, the French not suspecting any surprize from the English of Surinam, which was fifty-three leagues distant, were assaulted by eighty English and Indians of that river, in their redoubt, unprovided of arms and ammunition, and fifty of them made prisoners of war, with colonel Noel; and about twenty others made their escape to the woods, and brought the account of their misfortune, and the breach of neutrality to Cayenne.

French basely surprized by the English.

English take Cayenne.

The Zealanders of *Berbiche* some time after took the English settlements at Surinam and at Sinamary: and about the twenty-third of September 1667, the English under Sir John Harman, having resolv'd to recover Surinam and take Cayenne, which they knew the *West-India* company of France had left unprovided since the month of October 1666, of all manner of stores, by which the colony was become very weak and sickly, and had order'd the chevalier de Lezy, to discontinue all the fortifications, begun for the security of the island, &c. appeared before *Maburi* point in Cayenne, landed there two hundred men, before the governour, with his few forces gather'd in great haste, could come up to oppose the descent; which being sustained by seven or eight hundred other men in sloops and boats, render'd the efforts of the French to

repulse them fruitless there. The chevalier BARBOT. de Lezy endeavour'd to rally his men about the chappel of *Remire* or *Armire*, but in vain; and the consternation being great all over the island, he order'd all the inhabitants to ship themselves in some barques that were in the port, and to come to him to the river *Macouriaque*, five leagues from Cayenne, whither he fled, to prepare the Indians there to assist him, and shelter the fugitives. But several of the inhabitants forc'd the masters of the sloops to carry them to the river *Maronni*, contrary to the directions of their governour; who having waited twenty-four hours for them, on the banks of the *Macouriaque*, where he had appointed the rendezvous, and not receiving the least intelligence of them, went thence, coasting the shore, all along to the Zealanders at Surinam, leaving admiral Harman and his English in possession of the whole island of Cayenne, at a very cheap rate: but it was afterwards restor'd to the French, by the treaty of peace, and the chevalier de Lezy to the government.

The French and Dutch have had long Dutch contests about this island, and drove one take it. another out of it successively. In the year 1677, the Dutch then at war with France, took the island of Cayenne from the French. Jacob Binkes, admiral of Zealand, arriv'd the fourth of May 1677, before Cayenne; on the fifth he landed eleven hundred men, without any opposition, summon'd fort *St. Lewis* to surrender, and being refused, attack'd it with such good success, that the garrison consisting of three hundred men, commanded by the governour the chevalier de Lezy, surrender'd themselves the same day prisoners of war. Binkes in a few days subdu'd the rest of the island, and sent to Holland for men to settle there, looking upon it as a better place than Surinam, and as fruitful as the best of Brazil. Whilst an answer could come from Holland, he sail'd thence on the twenty-third of May, leaving a good garrison for the Leeward islands, and on the first of June took that of *Marigalante*. But the French soon dis- French pointed all Binkes's projects; the French recover it. vice-admiral, the count d'Estrees, recovering Cayenne, and restoring it to the proprietors, who have ever since continu'd possess'd of and considerably improv'd it, driving the Dutch from *Wiapoco* and the river *Aproague*, as has been said before: so that at present they have no settlements on that coast, besides Surinam and *Berbiche*; and the English none, having by the treaty of *Breda* given up all their pretensions to the continent of South-America to the Dutch; and particularly the river of Surinam, which is now a large strong colony, very profitable to the Dutch, among whom are also some French refugees,

**BARBOT**. refugees, eminent for their traffick and wealth.

The *Dutch* town stands on a rising ground environ'd with morasses, which renders the air unwholesome, but is nevertheless pretty well peopled and fortify'd; a thing in which the *Hollanders* spare no labour or charges, where they make a settlement: and so they have built good forts at the entries of the rivers of *Berbiche* and *Essequibe*, for the security of their colonies there. All which nevertheless were oblig'd by the *French*, under *Monseur Cassart*, to ransom themselves, in the year 1713.

### The COURSE OF NAVIGATION from Cayenne to Martinico.

**H**AVING resolv'd to proceed on our voyage to *Martinico*, we set sail accordingly on the fourth of *May*; but had not gone a gun-shot from the road, before we were so becalm'd, that it oblig'd us to come to an anchor, on very bad ground: whence however we got out with much labour towards night, when we fell somewhat lower, and there anchor'd again, to wait for the next morning tide. But the rains falling very heavily all that day, we tarry'd there till the day after, when we sail'd with a very swift north-east wind. Being past the point of the fort, we saluted it with five guns, and about two in the afternoon, were to leeward of the great rock, call'd *l'Enfant perdu*, in four fathom water; but full of fear, because it is not the usual course, and we could not justify it: for had we drop'd anchor thereabouts, we had certainly lost the ship. Which made us resolve to give it into the hands of providence, which was indeed very propitious to us in that extremity; so that at sun-setting we were three leagues to the windward of the *Devil's Islands*, which lie west of *l'Enfant perdu*, near the coast of *Guiana*; and are so call'd, because of the great trouble and hazard the *French* have commonly been at, to weather them in calm weather. The tide set very swift upon them, but the fresh gale and good tide did us considerable service; and it is observ'd, that generally all ships which come out of *Cayenne*, are very studious to improve the opportunity of wind and tide, so exactly together, as they may sail to windward of this rock; lying out at sea about three leagues north by west of the point of the fort of *Cayenne*: which being so weather'd, leaves more room to pass the isles *au Diable* with safety. These isles *au Diable* are three in number, some leagues off at sea from the mouth of the river *Caurora*: the *Indians* call one of them *Erepice*, and another *Cauwerry*; and the

Thus I have endeavoured to give a short account of the province of *Guiana*, and of the *European* colonies there, as they stand at this present time, in a much clearer way and method than any yet extant, as also of the several nations of *Indians*; all upon the best authorities that can be had, from persons of much credit, in regard of their candour, intelligence and experiences in that part of the new world: to which I have added some of my own observations, which I have reason to hope, will not be altogether unacceptable.

*Dutch*, *Duyvels Eylanden*, or the devil's islands.

We pass'd by them on a *Saturday* towards the evening, with a fresh gale at north-east, a rough sea and easterly tide, running westward along the coast; and the *Wednesday* following we had sight of the island of *Barbadoes*, about seven leagues to the windward, belonging to the crown of *England*; leaving *St. Vincent*, another island, inhabited only by *Indian* cannibals, to the leeward. And all that night we coasted by *Barbadoes*, which, as much as I could discover of it in the evening, when we approach'd it, is a very fine pleasant country, all over full of large buildings, windmills and plantations.

The easterly tide, above mention'd, we commonly meet, and it serves us to come from *Cayenne* to *Martinico*. It is not, however, so swift to westward, but that from the east end of *Trinidad* island it is possible to beat it up with the land and sea-breezes. The variation on the *Guiana* coasts is sixty degrees east, and at *Barbadoes* fifty and a half.

The next morning at break of day we were about six leagues from it, and about ten spy'd two sail, standing to north by east: at noon we had a very good observation, fourteen degrees twenty-three minutes north latitude. At three in the afternoon had sight of the island *St. Lucia*, to the leeward of us, which all our sailors aboard, except the chief mate, would have to be *Martinico*. This occasioned long debates and disputes among them, but the chief mate having prevail'd in his opinion, we immediately stood to windward, till the next morning: and well for us that we did; for at break of day we found our selves two leagues off *Cul de Sac Marin*, at the *Cabesterre* of that island, on the east side of *Martinico*, which appear'd as in the print. After which, PLATE 34. steering for the *Cul de Sac Royal*, round about the diamond-point, a high round rock,

The Sight of Part of y<sup>e</sup> Isl<sup>l</sup> Martinico: the Cul de Sac A being at W. about 7 or 8 Leagues and y<sup>e</sup> great Mountain Pelée at S.W.

the Mount Pelée in a Mist and  
always so



The Prospect of Fort Royal of Martinico, as it sheweth from the Entry of the Harbour call'd Cul de Sac Royal.



- A The Fort Wall
- B The Second Wall Palsaded
- C The Sea Bayton on y<sup>e</sup> Entry of Cul de Sac Royal
- D The Steep cut down at l'Escarpe
- E The Potters house

- F The Point of Fort Royal in y<sup>e</sup> Bay
- G A Battery of 12 Guns on y<sup>e</sup> Bay
- H A Guard house
- I The Cafines or Souldiers houses
- J The Wood
- K A Earth n Battery of 9 Guns
- L The Generals house
- M A Guard house
- N A Powder house
- O The Prison and Pitt
- P The advanced Works
- Q The Sandy point of land that joins Fort to y<sup>e</sup> Main Island
- R The Near or Point, at abt 1/2 League distance seen over y<sup>e</sup> Sandy Point
- S The Louisa Bridoe
- T The Cul de Sac Royal

G. Entry of y<sup>e</sup> Cul de Sac Royal

F. French Corvette or Guard Ship

I Key Ship



rock, about a mile out from the island, of which more hereafter; we arriv'd before it about the evening of the twelfth of *May*, and paid the usual salutes to the fortress, which shows as in the above-mentioned print, and got ashore, just as the tattoo was going: having thus made our passage from *Cayenne* hither, in seven days, without any remarkable accident. The slaves aboard, being about two hundred and fifty, were all very hearty, having lost only seven of them by sickness, or otherwise, in all our voyage at and from the *Gold Coast of Guinea*, and found the island in much want of them; and therefore to render them more valuable, I resolv'd to dispose of part of them at *Guadaloupe*, being inform'd that the planters long'd there much for our arrival.

Accordingly the next day having waited on count *de Blenac*, captain-general and commander in chief of all the *French Caribbean* islands, and brought our ship about the *Negroes* point, and *Le Prescheur*, some days after, when it had been careen'd in the *Cul de Sac Royal*, to the town of *St. Peter of La Basseterre* or *Martinico*; after the usual compliments to the governour, we begun the sale of our slaves, at about seven thousand pounds weight of brown sugar, the *Indian* piece, as they term it there, to be paid at farthest within the month of *June* following, upon a certain forfeiture agreed on. The sale went thus on pretty briskly, all our slaves being *Gold Coast Blacks*, which are much more acceptable in the *French* islands, as I have observed before, in the chapter of slaves, in the description of *Guinea*. I caus'd about sixty of them to be ship'd off for *Guadaloupe*, in a small fly-boat, of about eighty tuns, which had been dispatch'd from *Rochel*, with provisions for the frigate, the sun of *Africa*, I was in, to help load off our effects, and arrived at *Martinico* a month before me.

Slaves how valued.

Note, That the *French* imitate the *Spaniards* in valuing slaves by the denomination of the *Indian* piece, which the *Spaniards* call *Pieza de Indias*. By which is meant, a *Black* from fifteen to twenty-five years of age; from eight to fifteen, and from twenty-five to thirty-five, three pafs for two. Below eight, and from thirty-five to forty-five, two pafs for one. Sucking infants follow their mothers without accompt. All above forty-five years, with the diseas'd, are valued by arbitrators.

On the seventeenth of *May* I went aboard the flyboat, the *Hope*, and proceeded for *Guadaloupe*; having much ado to get up our anchors, which were fast in the rocky ground of the road of *St. Peter*. At break of day of the eighteenth we were no farther than the point of *Le Prescheur*, and continued so till ten, when by means of a fresh gale

we soon drew near the island *Dominica*, BARBOT. where we coasted along all that day, and the following night; being there becalm'd, as it commonly happens to all ships sailing by, because of the high hills in it.

That island is inhabited only by three hundred and fifty to four hundred *Indians*, men and women, and some slaves run away from the neighbouring *French* colonies: the *Indians* being all tall lusty people.

At break of day the nineteenth, we were got to the westward of the northerly point of *Dominica*; and about nine we brought the small islands *Les Santes*, south of *Guadaloupe*, to bear east. Afterwards we got sight of *Marigalante*, at north-east, about five leagues; a low flat island, and *French* colony, and about noon anchor'd in *Guadaloupe* road: where, after the usual compliments paid to the chevalier *Hinselin*, the then governour of the island, and he having forc'd me to accept of his house, which stands on the water-side of *La Basseterre*, near the iron-gate, (a battery of some heavy, large iron guns, that point at the road, to secure the landing-place;) I had all my slaves brought ashore thither, and in a few days dispos'd of them all to the inhabitants and planters, for about six thousand pounds of brown sugar a-piece, one with another, the sugar being there better than at *Martinico*. Having before sent back the flyboat to that island again, to help load the sun of *Africa*, with orders to return to *Guadaloupe*, whither he came to me again the tenth of *July*, and ship'd there all the product of the slaves, either in brown or white sugar, refin'd there only with earth, and valued one hundred for six hundred of the brown; when I had taken leave of the governour, with whom I was very familiar, and who did me considerable kindness in recovering my effects, in a very short time, which is not easily done there, I sail'd again with the flyboat for *Martinico*, on the twentieth of *July* at midnight.

The twenty-first we were becalm'd all day under *Dominica*, and saw a sail afar off at sea, being a ship bound for *Rochel*, as I understood afterwards.

On the twenty-second, found our selves five leagues to leeward of the point *Le Prescheur*, at *Martinico*, in a calm all day. At night ply'd it with a good gale, and so till the twenty-fifth in the morning, when we enter'd, with much difficulty, into the *Cul de Sac Royal* of that island, where we found fourteen or fifteen sail of ships of all forts, put in to winter, and among them the sun of *Africa*; into which I order'd part of the sugars and cotton I had purchas'd at *Guadaloupe*, to be remov'd out of the flyboat, lying side by side with it, for the greater conveniency: which having compleated the full lading of the

**BARBOT.** the frigate, we brought her out of that harbour, in order to sail forthwith to *France*, leaving a factor behind, to load the rest of our effects in the flyboat, which was to sail after us.

*Voyage from MARTINICO to FRANCE.*

ON the first of *August*, at break of day, we sailed out of the *Cul de Sac Royal*, and were becalm'd under the *Morne aux Beufs*; which oblig'd me, having some business at fort *St. Pierre*, to order the long-boat to be mann'd, and went there ashore, the ship plying to and fro before *La Basseterre*; and about seven at night return'd aboard, and proceeded on our voyage to *Rochel*, saluting my friends in the island with seven guns. The frigate was very leaky, and deeply laden, having aboard near three hundred tuns of sugar, cotton, and other goods.

The second in the morning, were three leagues to leeward of *Dominica*; at night had some small tornados.

On the third early, had very stiff gales, our top-sails almost on the tops, hazy weather, and the point of *Guadaloupe*, call'd *Le Bailly*, bore east. As we proceeded, we saw the islands *Antegoa* and *Redonda*, belonging to the crown of *England*; the latter appearing only as a round large hill, and then we pass'd about three leagues to windward of *Monserrat*, another *English* island.

The fourth, about eight in the morning, we had sight of the southerly point of the island of *St. Bartholomew*, belonging to the *French*, distant eight leagues west by north; and at the same time the *Cabesterre* of *St. Christopher's*, with a fresh north-east wind; setting our course north north-west, and north by west, hazy weather, and a rough sea.

The fifth, the same weather, course north and north-east, the wind at east north-east, and no observation.

The observation the day following twenty-one degrees forty-five minutes, the sun in the zenith.

The seventh, in the morning, we spied a sail to leeward three leagues, steer'd north, and afterwards north by west, to speak with that ship, which proved to be an *English* pink; afterwards order'd the course north by east: our observation this day twenty-three degrees eighteen minutes. At four a-clock were exactly under the tropick of *Cancer*; the next night had loud claps of thunder, and great lightnings; the wind north-east, and east north-east; the course north, and north by east. For some days very apprehensive of a hurrican, that being the time of the year for them, but God favour'd us with a change of the weather; and so we continued our voyage, without any remarkable accident, only our leaks increas'd very much, so that we had much

toil to keep up the ship to the end of our voyage, our two pumps going without intermission day and night; which extremely fatigued our crew, tho' numerous, and made us all very uneasy.

Being in the latitude of the *Azores* or *Flemish Weeds* in islands, or *Terceras*, we every day saw abundance of weeds floating on the sea; which some, who had been on the coast of *New Spain*, said, came from the channel of *Babama*, being carried thence into the ocean by the rapidity of the currents, and scatter'd all about by the westerly winds, which continually blow on the coasts of *Virginia* and *New-England*.

*Emanuel de Faria y Sousa*, in his history *Statue in* of *Portugal*, takes notice, that in one of *Tercera* islands, on the top of a mountain, call'd *del Cuervo*, or of the crow, in the days of king *Alfonso*, the fifth of the name, and twelfth king of *Portugal*, there was found a statue of a man on horseback, his head bare, his left hand on the horse's main, and the right pointing to the west. It stood upon a stone pedestal, which, together with the whole statue, was all of one piece, and under it were certain characters cut in the rock, but could not be understood. By this account it appears, that these islands had been known before, and had the name of *Azores*, or of hawks, from the great number of those birds seen there when discover'd.

At length, by God's providence, on the sixteenth of *September* following, we spy'd land to the leeward of us, being part of the coast of the lower *Poitou* in *France*. At eight a-clock we saw *Olone*, and soon after the light-house of the isle of *Rbee*, call'd *la Tour des Balveines*, my native country. At three in the afternoon we came to an anchor in *Palisse* road, before the fort *de la Pree*, a strong place on the south-east side of the said isle of *Rbee*, which we saluted with five guns, having spent forty-six days in our passage, from the *Cul de Sac Royal* of *Martinico* to *Rochel*; and eleven months and ten days in our whole voyage to *Guinea*, out and home, bringing all our effects with us.

*Another Voyage from GUINEA to MARTINICO.*

AT my second voyage from *Guinea* to *Martinico* directly, in the man of war *L'Emerillon*, with a sloop, in 1682, being by that day's observation in fourteen degrees five minutes of north latitude, and by estimation in three hundred and ten degrees forty-six minutes longitude, the sloop, which was a considerable way a-head of us, towards the evening made a signal that they saw land, without being positive whether it was *Martinico*, or *St. Lucia*: for which reason we lay by all night, and by the next day-light

light found the land was the east side of *Martinico*, and our selves in the *Emerillon*, nearer to the north point of *Le Prescheur*, than to the southerly point of the *Diamond*; and so resolv'd to sail north about the point *Le Prescheur*, to the great road of *St. Peter's* town, and thence to *Cul de Sac Royal* to careen. The sloop finding themselves in the morning farther to the southward than we, held on their course that way, and sailed by the point of the *Diamond* to the said *Cul de Sac Royal*.

The next day about eight, as we made the best of our way to *St. Peter's* road, saw the island *Dominica*, and being in a fresh gale, put the head to the land, till about three in the afternoon, when we were becalm'd under the point *Le Prescheur*; and soon after follow'd by a large flyboat, the *St. John*, coming from *Rochel*, on board of whom were some of the chief planters wives, coming from *France*, who deliver'd me several letters from my friends at *Rochel*. We continued becalm'd all the next night, with only now and then some gusts from the island. However, the next morning, after abundance of fatigues and motions, we had so work'd the ships, that about nine a'clock we reach'd the road aforesaid, and there came to an anchor, near our other companion of the *Guinea* voyage, the *Jolly*, who was arriv'd there twelve days before us, and inform'd me, that at his sailing from *Whidab* road in *Guinea*, with the *Emerillon* and the *Pearl*, as I have taken notice in that part of the description of *Whidab*, he fell to the leeward of the islands *Prince* and *St. Tome* in the *Bight* of *Guinea*; and after several days spent in turning and tacking, at last reach'd the cape *Lope*, where having taken in wood and water, finding the officers and crew very sickly, and no refreshments at all at the said cape, at that time, even not so much as a chicken, they had projected to sail for *St. Tome*; but whether thro' ignorance, or design of the pilots aboard, could not compass it, and were necessitated to make the best of their way for *Martinico*, in the sorry condition they were in. But by a particular providence finding the trade-winds of south-east, at two degrees south of the line, they got their passage in forty-eight days, and had sold their slaves immediately, the males at six, the females at five thousand weight of brown sugar, the *Indian* piece, to pay in *July* and *August* following, being the season when sugar is most generally made. The next day I caused a hundred and twenty of our slaves to be ship'd off for *Guadaloupe*, in the *Sun* of *Africa*, and afterwards in the ship the *Wonderful*, consign'd to the company's agent there; and then proceeded to the sale of the remaining slaves in the *Emerillon*, which I had caused to be

removed into the *Jolly*, that the other might fail immediately for the *Cul de Sac Royal*, to careen and refit. Two days after this, our consort the *Pearl* arrived from *Cayenne*, for which place I had detached her, in the longitude of seven degrees thirty-five minutes, and in four degrees ten minutes south of the line, on the fourteenth of *May* of that year, as we proceeded from *Prince's* island to *America*, and had sold there near a hundred slaves, at two hundred and fifty livres a-piece, one with another, payable one half in bills of exchange in *Paris* and *Rochel*, and the rest in *Rocou*, or *Anotto*, and some sugars and money; *Rocou* to be taken at twelve sols a pound; the finest sugar at twenty-seven livres *Tournois* a hundred; and the inferiors proportionable, as *M. de Ferolles*, the then governor, inform'd me by his letter: withal complaining, in the name of the inhabitants, that I had not sent two instead of one hundred slaves, which they very much wanted in that island, and the company had promised; but the sending of that number would have too much sunk the price of them.

A few days after, I receiv'd information from the governour of *Guadaloupe*, and the company's agent there, that the slaves I had sent them by the *Wonderful*, were all sold, at the same price we had at *Martinico*, which was yet more advantageous to the company, the sugar of *Guadaloupe* being far better than that of the former island.

The next day the *French* squadron, under *M. de Gabarret*, a flag officer, arrived from *Rochefort*, and *Rochel*; by whom I received orders from the company, to take the first opportunity of ships ready to sail for *France*, and come over, to give their board an account of affairs in *Guinea* and *America*: which I very readily embrac'd, having great reason to fear I should be oblig'd to winter in the islands, where all things were in a sort of confusion, by the ill management of the company's agents, and their quarrels about subordination.

Accordingly, having resolv'd to go over in the *Rainbow*, a twenty-four-gun ship that was half loaded, I caus'd her to take in her full lading with all expedition, of the effects that had been begun to be put into the *Emerillon* and the *Jolly*; and whilst it was doing, settled and regulated several differences and accompts with the company's agents. Which, however, could not be done so timely, as that I might embark in the *Rainbow*; which being ready to sail, and to take in some more goods at that island, departed accordingly; and I follow'd three days after in a sorry brigantine of *Martinico*, when I had taken my leave of the intendant, the governour, and the marquis of *Maintenon*; the same gentleman whose father was pre-

BARBOT. vail'd upon to dispose of his estate and title at *Beauce*, near *Chartres*, to madam *Scarron*, the renowned lady at the *French* court. After which, the marquis retir'd hither with his lady, where he has set up a fine plantation, about two or three *English* miles from the town of *St. Peter*, call'd there commonly *La Montagne*, and is his dwelling-place; the road to which from that town, is a large lane hedged all along, on both sides, with curious rows of large orange and lemon-trees, which makes it one of the most delightful walks that can be imagin'd, for the pleasantness of the prospect, and the ravishing fragrant odour of the blossoms of both fruits. The trees are all the year full of blossoms and fruit, whose pure white and the lively red, together with the largeness of the oranges and lemons, naturally intermix'd in a prodigious quantity among the fresh shining and ever-green leaves of the trees, is extremely charming to behold, especially in the cool of the morning; besides, the great quantity of small birds that swarm there: and more particularly, that so wonderful little creature call'd there *Colibris*, or the humming-bird, some of which are no bigger than a cherry, with variety of shining feathers, (and are used by some for pendants and other ornaments,) continually flying about and perching on the trees.

The oranges there are of that valuable sort, which have a taste betwixt the *Cbina* and *Sevil*, full of juice, and commonly extraordinary large and refreshing. Sometimes not only the trees are loaded with them, but the road is all strew'd with such as fall of themselves when over-ripe; which I particularly observ'd, having frequent occasion to wait on the marquis at his plantation: in going thither, my horse trampled many of them under his feet. This sort of orange in *France* is call'd *Bigarrade*.

Being ready to sail for *Guadaloupe*, I went about a league from the town, where the vessel lay ready, expecting a pass from the count *de Blenac* general of the islands, to embark there in the brigantine, and was detain'd there all that day, by a sort of drizzling rain, attended with horrid claps of thunder, and great lightning, which made us very apprehensive of an hurrican, that being the most common season for them; and occasion'd the Squadron under Mr. *de Garbarret*, before mention'd, to weigh and sail away into the open sea with great precipitation; some of the men-of-war, and our *Sun of Africa* having already receiv'd damage in their rigging by the lightning. The last mention'd ship had her main top-mast all shatter'd by it, every man still having fresh in his memory the hurrican of the year before, which made such great havock at

*Antegoa*; and of which I shall say more hereafter.

The next day the intendant consented that the brigantine should sail forthwith, tho' the general's pass was not yet come down, that being a hasty expedition, for the service of the company; and accordingly about noon, having got my trunks and portmanteaus aboard, with some baskets of the several fruits of the island, sent me by a lady of my acquaintance from her plantation standing near this beach, I set sail for the point *Le Prefcheur*, there to take in some provisions and refreshments.

This short passage was very troublesome and dangerous at the season of hurricans, in a sorry boat, ill mann'd, worse rigg'd, and deep laden. About middle way between *Martinico* and *Dominica*, the weather grew so boisterous, and the wind vary'd so often, that we had good reason to fear a hurrican; but providence protected us. Under *Dominica*, we lay two whole days in dead calms, and excessive scorching weather, without any shelter, in the little vessel, which made us all sick; and made me very uneasy fearing the *Rainbow*, not having heard of me by the time I had appointed, would have proceeded on her voyage to *France*. However, the fourth day of our passage, towards night, we arriv'd safe in the road of *Guadaloupe*, and found the *Rainbow* there, having also had a long passage from *Martinico*; and the day before, lost two of her anchors in that road, for which reason she could not fail: but three days after my arrival, provided other anchors and necessaries for the voyage.

I spent that time in regulating the affairs of the company, with her agents there; and visiting my friends and acquaintance about the island, as madam *du Lion*, the former governour, the chevalier *Hinselin's* widow, the present governour; and other persons of note, with whom I had much discourse concerning the good of that colony, and the affairs of the company, especially in relation to the trade of slaves; all of them desiring I should move the board at *Paris*, to order that island for the future, to be more constantly supply'd with them from *Guinea*; and not to send thither the refuse of the slaves of *Martinico*, as had been practis'd to their great prejudice, by the company's agents and commanders; but that their ships should alternatively make directly for their island from the coast of *Guinea*. They also desired I should pray the board to employ in their affairs there, men of a good repute and vers'd in trade, with many other particulars.

On the twenty-second of *July*, about eleven in the morning, I went aboard the *Rainbow*, thinking to sail; but it blew desperately hard all that day, so that we could not get up our anchors,



anchors. The next morning, the weather being pretty favourable, we got under sail, and proceeded on our voyage for *Havre de Grace* in *France*, passing in sight of *Montserrat*, *Redonda*, *Nevis*, *St. Christopher's*, and *Antegoa*, and arrived there safe on the nineteenth of *September* following; nothing very remarkable having occur'd in all our passage, besides what I am now to relate, as being somewhat singular in it self, and very terrible to behold.

On the twenty-eighth of *July*, six days after our departure from *Guadaloupe*, the wind at south-west, we cross'd the tropick of *Cancer*, by our estimation, steering north-east by north. The twenty-ninth we were becalm'd all day, and so the thirtieth; by observation this day, twenty-five degrees twenty minutes north latitude; we took a shark, the weather thick and rainy.

On the thirty-first we saw a sail a-stern, at break of day, standing south-east, thick weather and excessive hot, with great flashes of lightning; being then by estimation about eighty-four leagues south by east of the small islands of *Bermudas*. Towards evening the heat abated a little till near eleven at night, when it increas'd almost intolerably, and was very calm. We hal'd up our sails at two in the morning, being apprehensive by the disposition of the weather of some dreadful storm, or other fatal accident; and we had scarce done it, before on a sudden all the hemisphere appear'd in a flame, with frightful horrid thunder all about the ship, attended with a violent heavy rain like a flood, and a tempestuous wind, which made us hope that the storm would soon blow over: but instead of it, the flashes of lightning and claps of thunder increas'd and grew so prodigious, that the two elements of air and water seem'd to be converted into fire, with such a dead calm and suffocating sulphureous stench, that we could scarce breathe; which gave us all cause to apprehend some dismal event. About three in the morning a flash of lightning fell with a dreadful noise on the fore-castle, going in at one of the doors, and passing through the head, without doing any other harm, besides slightly wounding a little black boy, who lay there in the elbow, and some poultry, which cry'd after a hideous manner; and struck a mighty consternation among us all: it also splinter'd a timber in the fore-castle. About half an hour after, the weather not only continu'd, but the violence seem'd to increase; and then a second flash of lightning fell upon our main-mast, with so prodigious a noise, that the most undaunted sailors were seiz'd with horror, and some utterly stupify'd and void of sense. When this happened, I was just stepping out of the great cabin into the steeridge; and

distinctly saw, about four or five paces from me, as it were a ball of fire, about as big as a man's fist; which burst into many sparks, much in the nature of sky-rockets, when they are at their highest elevation, giving such a monstrous report, that I know not how to express it; but it stunn'd me as if a great number of large cannon had been exactly fir'd the same moment. This made me fall down backwards on a trunk that stood within the cabin-door; and in that posture I continu'd some minutes quite beside my self; nor were those who stood in the steeridge less frightened and amaz'd. That which redoubled our consternation, was the hideous shrieking and crying we heard at the same time from all parts of the ship, both above and under deck, as well from the men, as several sorts of creatures we had aboard; as sheep, hogs, turkeys, hens, ducks, monkeys, goats, dogs, parrots, and geese, some of which we afterwards found dead, their heads, feet or tails carry'd away; the unparalleled thunder continuing all the time, and the flashes of lightning incessantly flying about the ship, as being the only body that was any thing rais'd above the ocean; and lightning generally reputed to attack the highest places. The waves, tho' in motion, did not break or rise very high, by reason the air had been so long still; and the ship having no sails out, or wind to keep her steady roll'd about so violently, that the men could not stand without holding by something.

Being in this dreadful condition, on a sudden we were all in a thick sulphureous smok, rising from under the decks, which made us all conclude the ship had taken fire, or that the lightning had pierc'd thro' to the very bottom; so that we had no other prospect than being immediately devour'd by the flames, or swallow'd up by the merciless sea: and the more, for that not only the hold was stow'd quite full of sugar-casks and barrels of indigo, but even between decks, there was little stirring for bales of cotton; so that it was impossible to come at any leak to stop it. In this perplexity a man was order'd to try the pumps, to see what water the ship made; and others to search all parts for fire. The few minutes they were about it, seem'd an age to us all, our fate depending on their report; but it pleas'd the infinite goodness of God, that they found no tokens of fire below, nor any increase of water by the pumps: which report much cheer'd our drooping spirits, and made us conclude, it might be a true opinion, that lightning never penetrates into liquid bodies; and that the stinking smok which encompass'd us, was produc'd by the violent agitation of the air, and the extraordinary pressure occasion'd by thunder and lightning.

BARBOT. lightning, especially between the tropicks, and near them; the causes and effects of which, are beyond our comprehension.

This made us change our *miserere mei Deus* into *laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, for so great a deliverance in such dismal circumstances; and put us in mind of the words of the psalmist, *Psalms xxix. 3. and lxxvii. 18, 19. The voice of the Lord is upon the waters; the God of glory thundereth; the Lord is upon many waters. And again, The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven; the lightning lighted the world, the earth trembled and shook. Thy way is in the sea, and thy paths in the great waters; and thy footsteps are not known.* These lofty expressions of the psalmist, in some measure speak the nature of that tempest, which no tongue or pen can describe, as it appear'd to us, for some hours, without intermission. I shall only add, that during that space of time the lightning seem'd to run in that serpentine figure, as poets and painters represent *Jove's* thunderbolts; and so entirely fill'd the hemisphere, that we could not but conclude the time of the general conflagration, mention'd in the scripture, was then come. Sometimes the whole horizon appear'd more light than it does in the brightest sun-shine day at noon, and immediately we were left amidst the obscurity of the darkest night; light and darkness often succeeding one another, as if they had struggled which should prevail upon the ocean, which very much affected our eyes, occasioning much weakness in them.

After a considerable time spent in returning thanks to our great deliverer, the day appear'd, its light by degrees dispelling the noise of the thunder and the flashes of lightning; when follow'd such a heavy shower of large and warm rain, as quite laid that other storm, with this farther advantage, that it much refresh'd us, cooling the close suffocating air, which was compleated by a gentle wind rising gently with the rain, and carrying off that insupportable sulphureous stench, which had before almost suffocated us.

Strange effect of lightning.

As the day-light increas'd, so that we could see things about us, it was very surprising to behold the shatter'd condition of our masts, sails and rigging; and our decks strew'd with the splinters of our masts and yards: but especially the main mast, on which the second flash of lightning, before spoken of, had fallen, and pass'd almost from one end to the other: for it lighted on the iron spindle of the fane, which it cut asunder, as if it had been done by hand; and we found it sticking deep in the planks of the deck on an end, and still burning hot to the feeling, tho' it was five hours since it had been done. Most of the sails not being fur'd, but only drawn up in the brails, were

either torn or scorch'd and burnt; and most of the rigging was in the same condition. The lightning having cut the spindle, as has been said, sunk through the top-gallant and top-mast, shivering them as if they had been hew'd in splinters with tools; then shattering all the tops and the main-yard, and sinking down through the whole body of the main-mast, till it came between decks, where it burst a barrel of indigo that lay at the foot of the mast, scattering all the indigo far about, tho' the place was full of bags of cotton; whence rising again thro' the scuttle in the steeridge, it broke out near the great cabin-door, and burst with that dreadful noise, and in the manner before mention'd.

Another surprising effect of this storm, *It affects* was, that it disabled all the compasses which *the compasses* were in use, some of them deviating seven, *pass.* and others twenty-three degrees; only the azimuth compass being then dismounted and hid in its box under a bed, receiv'd no hurt: which was well for us, we having no load-stone aboard the ship, to touch the others again and render them useful; and being forc'd to make use of that one all the rest of our voyage.

About seven in the morning the wind ceased, and a small rain follow'd it; and in a short time the weather grew dismal dark, and the sea rising more and more, the thunder was renew'd, attended with great flashes, and the wind shifting suddenly from south-east to west, and west north-west, and thence again to south-east, gave just cause to apprehend we were to expect a hurrican; which put us all into a great consternation and dread, considering the dismal condition our ship was in. Having resign'd our selves to the will of providence, and fervently begg'd its assistance in the worst of extremities, we set all hands to work to put the vessel into the best posture to resist the storm if it should come; to this effect our top-masts were struck, and the yards brought down to the gunnels of the ship.

In that condition we waited four hours with great anxiety, what the event would be; after which, by degrees, we began to conceive hopes of good weather again, by the sight of a little bright cloud rising at south-east, which brought on a gentle wind, abated the surges of the ocean already very high up, and at length cleared the air into a calm.

This lasted not long; for just after dinner the wind began a-new to blow fresh at north-west; and as it still increas'd, shifted on a sudden to the north, and then again to the north-east, bringing on another storm of thunder and lightning, with a heavy rain, for two hours, which seem'd two years to every man aboard, looking upon it as a cer-

tain forerunner of a hurrican. However, it pleas'd God to avert it at last; for then the wind shifted to the east, the ocean grew more still, the weather clear'd up, the thunder ceased, and the flashes vanish'd away; till the air became serene and settled. Prayers being ended, our people grew hearty, and fell to repair the damage in our masts, sails and rigging, as well as it could be done in our circumstances; but it was so very great, that it could not be perform'd in a short time: our main mast, particularly, was so shatter'd, that it could not be made serviceable, without fising it; for which, by good fortune, we were provided with some spare pieces of timber. Whilst that was doing, we held on our course with our two foresails, to north-north-east and north-east by north, about a league an hour, our pumps giving little or no water. The following night was fair and cool.

The next day, the carpenter had repaired the main mast, so that towards night the main yard was hoisted up, in calm weather. At night we had a brisk gale. That day, our observation was twenty-seven degrees three minutes north, and three hundred sixteen degrees forty minutes longitude east, steering north-east by north, the wind at east-south-east and east by south.

The next morning we spy'd two sail to windward, standing north-east by north, but our main-top mast and sail not being up, we could not chase them. The observation was, at noon, twenty-eight degrees twenty minutes north; at night hazy weather, and some short gusts of wind, very inconsiderable: the variation seven degrees and a half east.

The next day we were becalm'd in rainy weather; the two sail we had spy'd the day before, stood then to leeward, and put out *English* colours: observation twenty-nine degrees twenty-five minutes, course north-east by north, the wind east-south-east.

The next day little wind, but great swelling waves. The two following days calm, observation thirty-two degrees five minutes, three hundred and twenty degrees twelve minutes longitude of *Ferro*; we caught four dorados, and the day after two more. And thus being deliver'd from any more apprehension of a hurrican, we held on our course for *Havre de Grace*; where we arriv'd, as has been said, on the nineteenth of *September* following. I staid there some days, and was present at the publick rejoicings for the birth of the duke of *Burgundy*, the dauphin of *France's* eldest son. Among other illuminations made there on that night, that which the men of war that were in the bason made, was very fine, each ship that was rigg'd, being every where from top-

gallant shrouds to the deck, the stays, braces, &c. full of lights in lanthorns. Thence I went by land to *Dieppe*, and afterwards to *Rouen*, to visit my friends; and from *Rouen* to *Paris*, where I gave, in my two months stay there, a full account to the directors of the *African* company, of their affairs in *Guinea* and in *America*, and my advice what was most advantageous for the good of the company.

The late honourable *Robert Boyle*, who during the latter years of his life honour'd me with his acquaintance, was pleas'd to read my *French* manuscripts, relating to *Guinea*, and took particular notice of the above-mention'd tempest of fire and brimstone. He told me, he had receiv'd much the same account of a storm, in which an *English* ship had been about a year before, not far from *Bermudas*, which was insert'd at length in the *London* gazette, only differing in that particular about the compasses; for whereas ours were made to swerve, some seven, others twenty-three degrees, theirs deviated much more; which he concluded was the effect of the thunder separating the adamant from it.

#### Of HURRICANS.

THERE are three sorts of hurricans in the *West-Indies*, viz. norths, souths, and hurricans.

The norths and souths are more peculiar at the bay of *Mexico*, *Cuba*, *Florida*, *Hispaniola* and *Jamaica*, and the adjacent parts of *America*, at several times of the year, according to their latitude and longitude; and differ only from the hurricans, which particularly affect the *Caribbee* islands, in being more constant to one point of the compass, or coming sooner in the year; but do the same mischief, some of them lasting thirty hours or longer, as the hurricans in the *Caribbee* islands. These norths and souths give some signs of their approach, as well as the hurricans; and by what enquiry I have made, differ but little from each other in that point.

The hurricans which chiefly rage among the *Caribbee* islands, are generally preceded by unusual gentle winds, and very fair weather; or by a great glut of rain, or else by both rains and calms together: or again, by a violent rain for two days, and then fair again for two or three days more.

The clouds that precede a hurrican fly high, pressing forwards, and so linked one within another, that they all move together. The skirts of them are of several hideous colours, and the very edges of a pale fine colour next that dull yellow; and nearer the body of the cloud, of a copper colour. The body it self, which is very thick, appears ex-

**BARBOT.** extraordinary black ; and all together it looks very terrible. However, it must not be taken for a general rule, that this tempest does always give warning of its coming exactly alike ; for there may be some difference in those signs, tho' all of them are plain enough, if well observed. Besides, sometimes they are double, sometimes only single signs ; and sometimes the signs may be more visible and plain than at other times, through some accidental cause, as of some high land or mountain interpos'd between the observer and the horizon ; particularly if it lies north-east from him, the quarter where hurricans commonly rise.

By these signs the inhabitants are mostly certain of a hurrican ; and dispose themselves as much as may be to avoid the terrible effects of its fury, and warn the commanders of ships to provide for it ; some retiring into proper harbours, as in the *French* islands *Cul de Sac Royal*, and *Saintes* near *Guadaloupe*, or endeavour to make the best of their way to the open sea, far from land. In the *English* islands, *Moskito Cove* in *St. John's* harbour in *Antegoa*, serves them for a retreat on such occasions. For want of such harbours, they moor their ships as secure as they can with all their cables and anchors, besides some cables they make fast ashore to great trees ; all their masts and yards down, their crews often retiring ashore for shelter. The planters, as is practis'd in the *French* colonies, repair with their families and best moveables to their hurrican huts, each substantial planter having such a one near his plantation ; being built low, on large stumps of trees deeply fix'd in the ground, and commonly not above seven foot high, of strong posts fasten'd to each other by cross-pieces of timber, with ropes cast over the roof to secure it from flying away.

The hurricans commonly begin with a very fierce north-east ; and veering about to the north and north north-west, settle there a-while, bringing with them very heavy gluts of rain for five or six hours ; and then will often abate much, and fall flat calm, and the rain cease. The sea enraged by those fierce winds, looks in the night all of a fire ; and ebbs prodigiously : and on the contrary, at other times ships that lay a-ground before the storm, are by it cast a great way up the land, some from one side of a harbour to the other ; the shores strew'd with fish of several sorts, great and small ; even sharks, porpoises, and abundance of fowls are also destroy'd by it. The houses are blown down, some of them torn from their very foundations, and carried away through the air, as it once happen'd at *Guadaloupe* ; and even men blown up into the air. The trees are torn up by the roots, or their

heads and branches shatter'd, and look as if the flames had scorch'd their leaves ; and sometimes no leaves are left on them, nor any green on the ground, but all looks like winter : the low-lands overflow'd, ships cast ashore lying on their sides, and the masts sticking in the sand ; others drove from their anchors, beating in pieces on the rocks, or crushing and battering one another : and others carry'd out to sea, some never heard of again ; and some having much ado to preserve themselves from the furious tempest, the sea being in a violent motion as well as the air. Abundance of persons are drowned or kill'd by sundry accidents occasion'd by the storm, and a multitude of goods of all sorts spoil'd, wash'd away, or damag'd : so that it is a dismal spectacle to behold the island, that has been expos'd to the fury of some hurricans, and to hear the complaints of the inhabitants, many of whom were before well to pass, being in one night reduced to a very low condition. *Antegoa* had that misfortune in 1681, as I have observed. The hurrican which happen'd at that time, wrought such terrible effects there, that those who used the trade, coming thither soon after, could scarce believe it to be the same island : and the same has happened at *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, *Marigalante*, *Montserrat*, *St. Christopher's*, and other neighbouring islands, as also to *Barbadoes*, all of them being subject to these tempests in their turn, some one year, and some another : and some of them have felt two or three hurricans, in the months of *July*, *August*, and *September*, the usual time of their coming.

This sort of tempest was very fatal to the *English* squadron, under the lord *Willoughby*, consisting of thirteen ships, a ketch, and three barks, which sail'd from *Barbadoes*, with two thousand land-men, besides the ship's crews, in *August* 1666, with a design to conquer the island of *St. Christopher* ; and by the way, they attempted to take some large rich *French* ships of the company, which were retir'd into the harbour of the isles of *Les Saintes*, near *Guadaloupe*. The *English* fleet had, to that effect, got to the windward of those islands, by means of a gentle north-west wind, then blowing ; and being betwixt the said islands, *Marigalante* and *Dominica*, having *Guadaloupe* a-head of them, the wind rose by degrees, with all the signs of an approaching hurrican ; which, about seven in the evening, began so fiercely, that the fleet was dispersed, and all the ships lost, except a fly-boat, and two <sup>English</sup> ships lost. other smaller vessels, which escaped with only the loss of their masts.

The *English* ships the admiral had detached before the hurrican came, for the isles of *Saintes*, to carry away thence the *French* company's

company's ships, before mention'd, were there drove ashore. The officers, foldiers and mariners, being about six hundred men, got to land, with part of their ammunition and cannon, to fortify themselves there, in a sorry small redoubt they found, against any attacks from the *French*, in case of necessity, till they could find means to get away by sea, to some of the islands of their nation.

But the fleur du *Lion*, governour of *Guadaloupe*, being inform'd of it, tho' all the barks and boats of his government had been destroy'd by the same hurrican, caus'd his men to be carried over by small parcels, to the *Saintes*, in seven canoes only; who being joined by some seamen and inhabitants of those islands, that were intrenched in so advantageous a post, that the shipwreck'd *English*, tho' much superior in number, had not been able to subdue them: that gentleman having, as has been said, join'd those men, passing that tract of three leagues of sea, with two four pounders carried in his canoes, and afterwards received a small detachment from *Marigalante*; with the four hundred men he had in all, attack'd the *English* in their entrenchments, several times, and at last forc'd them to surrender themselves prisoners of war, to the number of near five hundred foldiers, and twelve officers, after thirty-five had been kill'd, and eighty wounded. Thus the whole squadron was lost, with above four thousand men, and the lord *Willoughby's* design on *St. Christopher's* frustrated.

We have the following account of an hurrican at *Guadaloupe*; that island being, of all the other *French* colonies there, the most subject to them; insomuch, that about the year 1656, it suffer'd by three in the space of fifteen months.

“ That hurrican I am to describe, began with a rumbling and cracking in the woods, as if carts at a distance were rolling of stones, for three hours together; after which, the whirlwinds blew so fiercely, about six in the evening, as is not possible to express: for it was as if the whole island would have been swallow'd up. Many trees in the woods were torn up by the roots, or broken short off, and the houses overthrown, none escaping but such as were built with stone; which, notwithstanding their strong walls, were very much shaken.

“ After these fierce whirlwinds, which lasted very long, the sky seem'd to open, chang'd its colour, and appear'd inflamed like red-hot iron; a continual noise of thunder was heard, attended with such frequent flashes of lightning, that all people were forc'd to keep their eyes shut, and to lie

“ down flat with their faces to the ground, no person whatever being able to endure the light. BARBOT

“ About ten at night the wind shifted on a sudden, and taking a round towards the *Basseterre* of *Guadaloupe*, forc'd ashore all the ships that were in that road; they not having had time to make away to sea, because the wind veer'd so suddenly, and were all staved to pieces on the rocks, and most of the men drown'd.

“ At four in the morning, the great hurrican commenced, which in five or six hours time made such terrible havock, that to express the violence of it, I need only say, it threw down all the trees that had escaped before, except some large *Acomas* and *Courbarils*, which remain'd standing without branches, like masts of ships; and most of the birds, chickens, and turkeys were kill'd; as were the rabbits, dogs and pigs; and the *Mandioca* roots thrown up in all the plantations, which occasioned a great dearth in the island.

“ After the hurrican, there remain'd a sort of infection in the air, which bred such a quantity of caterpillars, that all the earth was cover'd with them; and they were so prodigious large and long, that the like has not been ever seen in *Europe*: they brouz'd all the plantations in so short a time, and in so deplorable a manner, that one would have thought they had been all burnt.”

After this dismal account of the nature and effects of hurricans, it is easy to conceive how uncomfortable it is to live in those parts, where men's lives and estates are in continual danger; but want, or covetousness put men upon exposing themselves to the utmost extremities. For notwithstanding these disasters and hazards, and the devastations that have been there successively, on occasion of wars between the *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, some of those islands, as well *French* as *English*, are very well peopled, and wealthy, as I shall show in the general description I design to give of them, after I have mentioned what sailors commonly do in *America*, upon the approach of a hurrican, or of a north or a south tempest, to save their ships and lives.

The *English* commonly bring to, under a main-sail and mizen, and if the wind grows too fierce, they bring the ship under a mizen only: and if they cannot maintain that, then they ballast their mizen; which is taking up the great part of the sail, and leaving only the point out, to keep the ship's head steady. If, after all this, the winds and seas are too high for them, then they put before it; but not before they have try'd their utmost,

The men taken by the French.

Hurrican at Guadaloupe.

BARBOT. most, especially if they are near shore. The *French* and *Spaniards*, on the contrary, in the *West-Indies*, lie under a fore-sail and mizen; but this must be an extraordinary strain to a ship, especially if she is long. However, it must be own'd, there is this conveniency in it, when they are minded to put away before it, it is but halling up the mizen, and then the fore-sail veers the ship presently; which must be the reason why they do it. For when the wind comes on so fierce, that they can no longer keep on a wind, they put right afore it, and so continue till the storm ceases, or the land takes them up;

that is, till they are run ashore. Tho' the before-named other *European* nations don't use this method, yet they find means to bring about their ships, as well as the *Spaniards*: for if after the mizen is hall'd up, the ship will not wear, they do it with some head-sail, which sometimes puts them to their shifts; and among others, this has prov'd very effectual in extremities, *i. e.* to send some men a little way up the fore-shrouds, about half-mast high, and there to spread abroad the flaps of their coats, which will make the ship wear in three or four minutes.

*The END of the SECOND BOOK, and SUPPLEMENT.*

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A N  
A P P E N D I X

To the preceding

M E M M O I R S

O F

*North and South-Guinea,*

A N D T H E

L O W E R E T H I O P I A.

C O N T A I N I N G,

General Observations, and an Account of the first Discoveries of *America* by the *Europeans*; with a brief Relation of Admiral *Christopher Columbus's* Voyages.

The Description and History of the *Caribbee* Islands of *America*; *Tabago, Granada, Granadilla, Bekia, St. Vincent, Barbadoes, Santa Lucia, Martinico, Dominica, Los Santos, Marigalante, La Deseada, Guadalupe, Monserrate, Santa Maria Redonda, Nieves, Antigua, Barbuda, St. Christopher, St. Eustachius, St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, Anguila, Saba, Santa Cruz, The Virgins, Anegada, to St. Juan de Puerto Rico.*

Their Product, Trade, Wars, &c.

An Account of the Rise and Progress of the *English* Trade to *Africk*, before the Year 1697. A Fragment of a Letter of Sir *Thomas Roe*, Embassador from King *James I.* of *England*, to the *Great Mogol*, concerning Fortresses and Garrisons for security of Trade in *Asia*; and a method of a Table of Course in long Voyages, by the same.

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APPENDIX

MEMOIRS

OF

WILLIAM PIERCE

ESQ.

BY

WILLIAM PIERCE

ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON: Printed by R. CLAY AND COMPANY, BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.



## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS,

And an ACCOUNT of the

First Discovery of *A M E R I C A*,By *CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS*,From the History of the *West Indies*, Written in *Spanish* by *ANTONY DE HERRERA*, Historiographer to the King of *Spain*.

## C H A P. I.

*Of the Motives the Ancients had to believe there was another World.*

**T**HE generality of mankind was so far from imagining there could be any such country as the *West-Indies*, that the very notion of it was looked upon as extravagant; it being universally believed, that there was no land beyond the *Canary* islands, but that all to the westward of them was an immense ocean; and yet some of the ancients gave hints that there were such lands. *Seneca* in the close of the second act of his tragedy of *Medea*, tells us, The time will come when the ocean shall become navigable, a vast land be discovered, and a new world be found. *St. Gregory* on the epistle of *St. Clement*, says, There is another world, and even worlds beyond the ocean. Others inform us, that a *Carthaginian* merchant ship, accidentally in the ocean, discovered an island incredibly fruitful, full of navigable rivers, many days sail remote from the continent; not inhabited by men, but wild beasts, and therefore would have settled there; but that having given the senate at *Carthage* an account of it, none was permitted to sail thither, and the more absolutely to prevent it, those who had been there were put to death. But this makes not for our purpose, because there is no authentick proof of this voyage, and whoever speaks of it does not lay it down cosmographically, so as the admiral *Christopher Columbus*, who first discovered the *West Indies*, might gain any light by it; nor were there any wild beasts, either in the windward or leeward islands by him discovered; and therefore, those who would rob him of part of the honour, alledge *Plato* in *Ti-*

*mæo*, who says, There was no failing that ocean, because the entrance to it was shut up at *Hercules's* pillars, or the streights of *Gibraltar*; but that in the said ocean there had been an island bigger than all *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africk*, and from it a passage to other islands, for such as went to them; and from those islands they might go to all the continent opposite to them, near the true ocean. These men explicating the said words after their manner, with more wit than truth, will have it that the passage shut up is the streight of *Gibraltar*, and the gulph the great ocean; and that the great island by which they passed to the others was called *Atlantis*, the others being the leeward and windward islands; the continent, *Peru*, and the true ocean, the *South Sea*, so called for its vast extent. But it is certain that no man had any positive knowledge of it; and what there now seems to have been, is only made up of guesses and notions since the discovery; for by reason of the vast extent of the ocean, the ancients concluded there was no possibility of sailing across it. However, they labour to confirm their opinion, by alledging, that there was formerly much known of the *Torrid Zone*, which they pretend to prove, by saying, that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* coasted about *Africk*, from the streight of *Gibraltar* to the *Red Sea*; and *Eudoxius* from that sea to the streight; and that they passed through the torrid zone, cutting the equinoxial. Besides that, *Ovid* and *Pliny* mention the island *Trapobana*, now called *Zumatra*, which is under the line.

HERRERA

All this is not to the purpose, for *Seneca's* words did not answer, the discovery he proposed being to the northward, whereas ours is to the westward; and the coasting of *Africk* differs very much from traversing the vast ocean, as the admiral *Columbus* did, and the *Spaniards* that afterwards follow'd him. If any notice is to be taken of ancient hints, that alone is worth observing, which we find in the twenty eighth chapter of *Job*, where God seems to have kept this new world concealed from men, till in his inscrutable judgments it was decreed to bestow it on the *Spaniards*. Nor is any account to be made of what others say, alledging, that the scripture by *Ophir* means *Peru*, believing it was called *Peru* at the time of writing the Holy Text, as it is now; for neither is the name of *Peru* so ancient, nor so universal to all that country; it being a general practice among discoverers to give names to ports and lands as occasion offered; and accordingly they called all that kingdom *Peru*, from a river the *Spaniards* first put into, or from a *Cacique* in those parts, as will be observed hereafter; and the likeness of words is too trivial a foundation to

build matters of moment on. The most solid historians affirm, that *Ophir* is in the *East Indies*; because *Solomon's* fleet must of necessity have run quite across it, passed by *China*, and through the immense ocean to come to the *West Indies*, which could not be; nothing being more certain, than that they went down the *Red Sea*, and the ancients were not acquainted with the art of navigation now in use, without which they could not launch out so far into the main; nor could those parts be so well known by land. Besides that from *Ophir* they carried king *Solomon's* peacocks, and ivory, which were never seen throughout the *West Indies*. It is therefore believed, that the island *Trapobana* was the place whence they carried all those valuable commodities to *Jerusalem*, and they called all the new discovery, the new world; because containing as much land as was before known, there was no better way of expressing its vast extent, as also because the product of it differ'd from ours, tho' the elements were the same, and in this appellation they followed *Seneca*, and *St. Jerome*.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the Motives that induced Admiral Columbus to believe there were Countries unknown.*

THE admiral *Christopher Columbus* had many reasons to persuade him, that there were new lands to be discovered; for being a great cosmographer, and well skilled in navigation, he considered, that, the heavens being circular, and moving round the earth, which in conjunction with the sea makes a globe of two elements; what was then known could not be all the earth, but a great part must be still undiscovered, according to the measure of 360 degrees the whole circumference contains, which being reduced into leagues, allowing seventeen and a half to a degree, make six thousand three hundred leagues; and that must certainly be inhabited, for God had not made it to lie waste; and tho' very many questioned, whether there was land, and water about both the poles, yet it was requisite, that the earth should bear the same proportion towards the *Antartick* pole, as this part does to the *Arctick*; and hence he concluded that all the five zones were inhabited, and was the more confirmed in it, after he had sailed into 75 degrees of north latitude.

He also concluded, that as the *Portuguese* sailed to the southward, the same might be done to the westward, where in all reason there must be land found; and for the more

satisfaction, he took notice of all the tokens mariners observed, which made for his purpose, till he became very positive, that there were many lands to the westward of the islands of *Cabo Verde*, and the *Canaries*, and that it was practicable to sail over the ocean, and discover them, because the world being round, all the parts of it must of necessity be so to; that the earth is so fixed it can never fail, and that the sea tho' shut in by it, preserves its roundness, without falling away, with regard to the center of gravitation.

Laying together many natural reasons, and perceiving, that not above the third part of the greatest circle of the sphere was discovered, being the extent eastward, from the islands of *Cabo Verde*, to the farthest then known land in *India*, he concluded there must be much room for farther discoveries to the westward till they came to meet with those lands the end whereof was not yet known by sailing eastward. In this opinion he was much confirmed by *Martin de Bobemia*, a *Portuguese*, his friend, born in the island of *Fayal*, and an able cosmographer.

Many more things concurred to encourage *Columbus* to that mighty enterprize, among which was, that discoursing with those who

All five  
Zones  
habitable.

Lands to  
be found  
westward.

used to sail to the westward, and particularly the islands *Azores*, *Martin Vicente* assured him, that being once four hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of cape *St. Vincent*, he took up a piece of wood, artificially wrought, and as was supposed, not with iron; whence, the wind having been many days at west, he inferred that piece of wood must come from some island. *Peter Correa*, who had married *Columbus's* wife's sister, assured him, that in the island of *Puerto Santo*, he had seen another piece of wood, brought by the same winds, and wrought after that manner; as also canes of such a thickness, that every joint would contain above a gallon of liquor. *Columbus* himself said, he had heard the king of *Portugal* affirm the same, in discourse upon such affairs, and that he had those canes, which he ordered to be shewed him; and he concluded to have been drove by the wind, there being none such throughout all *Europe*, wherein he was confirmed by *Ptolemy*, who in the first book, and seventeenth chapter of his cosmography, says, there are such canes in *India*. Some inhabitants of the islands *Azores* farther assured him, that when the wind blew hard at west, and north-west, the sea threw up pine-trees on the coast of the islands of *Graciosa* and *Fayal*, whereas those islands produce none of that sort. The sea also cast up two dead bodies on the island *Flores*, whose faces seemed to be very broad, and their features different from the Christians. Another time they saw two canoes, with moveables in them, which might be drove away by the force of the wind, in passing from one island to another, and those boats never sinking, they at length came to the *Azores*. *Antony Leme*, who had married a wife in the island of *Madera*, declared, that having run a considerable way to the westward in his caravel, he fancied he had seen three islands near the place where he was; and many inhabitants of *Gomera*, *Hierro*, and the *Azores* affirmed, they every year saw some islands to the westward. These, *Columbus* said, might be those *Pliny* speaks of in his natural history, where he says, the sea to the northward did cut off from the land some pieces of woods, whose roots being extraordinary large, they drove on the water like floats, and looked like islands at a distance.

In the year 1484, an inhabitant of the island *Madera* asked leave of the king of *Portugal* to discover a country he saw every year, and always in the same manner, agreeable to what the people of the *Azores* said; and for this reason in the ancient sea charts, some islands were laid down about those seas, particularly that they called *Antilla*, which was placed some-

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what above two hundred leagues west from the *Canaries* and *Azores*; and that the *Portugueses* believed to be the island of the seven cities, the fame whereof, and desire of finding it has occasioned many to commit great follies out of covetousness, and spend much money to no purpose. The story goes, that this island of the seven cities was peopled by them, at the time when *Spain* was overrun by the *Moors*, in the reign of king *Roderick*, when flying the persecution of those infidels, seven bishops imbarck'd with a great number of people, and arrived in that island, where every one of them built a town, and left the people should entertain any thoughts of returning, they set fire to their ships. That in the days of prince *Henry of Portugal*, a ship of that country was driven by a storm upon that island, where the natives carried the sailors to the church, to see whether they were Christians, and observed the *Roman* ceremonies, and finding them to be so, desired they would stay till their lord could come, but that the *Portugueses* fearing lest they should burn their ships and detain them, returned well-pleased into *Portugal*, hoping to be considerably rewarded by the prince, who reproved them for coming away with so imperfect a relation, and ordered that they should return, which the master and sailors durst not do; but departing the kingdom, were never more heard of.

They add that the sailors belonging to this *Portuguese* ship, gathered some sand for their cook room, and a great part of it proved to be gold; whereupon some adventurers set out from *Portugal* to discover this country, among whom one was *James de Tiené*, whose pilot *James Velazquez*, inhabitant of the town of *Palos*, assured *Columbus* at the monastery of *St. Mary of Arabida*, that they lost themselves at the island of *Fayal*, and sailed 150 leagues to the south west, and at their return discovered the island *Flores*, following many birds they saw flying that way, which they knew were not water fowl. Next, he said, they sailed so far to the north-west, that Cape *Clare*, in *Ireland*, bore east from them, where they found the west winds blew hard, and the sea was very smooth, which they believed was occasioned by the nearness of some land, covering it from the violence of the wind; and that they durst not prosecute that voyage, because it was in *August*, and they feared the approach of winter: This happened 40 years before *Columbus* discovered the *West-Indies*.

Another sailor at port *St. Mary* declared, that in a voyage to *Ireland*, he saw that country, which they imagined to be *Tartary*, inclining to the west-ward, and has since

7 M

appeared

HERRERA

**HERRERA** appeared to be that they called *Bacallaos*, being part of *Canada*, but could not make it by reason of the stormy winds. *Peter de Velasco* of *Galicia*, declared that in a voyage to *Ireland*, he stood so far to the northward, that he saw land to the westward of that island. *Vincent Diaz*, a *Portuguese* pilot and inhabitant of *Tavira*, returning from *Guinea*, said that about the height of the island *Madera*, he thought he saw an island, which appeared to be real land, and discovered the secret to a *Genoese* merchant his friend, whom he persuaded to fit out a ship for that discovery, and that with the king of *Portugal's* leave, advice was sent to *Francis de Cazana*, the merchant's brother, for him to rig a ship at *Sevil*, and put it under the command of *Vincent Diaz*; but that he rejected it, and the pilot returning to the island *Tercera*, with the assistance of *Luke de Cazana* fitted out a ship, and going out two or three times above an hundred leagues, found nothing. To these may be added the attempts made by *Gospar*, and *Michael de Cortereal*, sons to the commander that discovered the island *Tenera*, who were lost in search after that land. All which particulars were sufficient to encourage *Columbus* to undertake such an enterprize; for when Providence has decreed a thing should be done, it disposes the means, and provides the proper instruments.

Having said enough concerning the grounds *Columbus* had to believe there were other lands to discover, it will not be improper to add a work concerning the *Antipodes*, which the ancients would not allow

of, and positively maintained it was impossible to sail across the torrid zone. It is to be observed, that tho' in all parts whatsoever men's heads are upright towards heaven, and their feet towards the center of the earth, yet in regard to the whole circumference of the world, they stand like the spokes in a wheel, pointing every way, and all in their natural posture upright, because the heaven is every where uppermost, and the earth the proper tendency for the feet. Now, tho' there be two parcels of continent, the one containing *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africk*, and the other *America*, or the *West-Indies*, yet they are not two distinct lands, but one and the same, only in part separated by the sea, and in some places cut into islands. As for the *Antipodes* the people of *Lima*, *Cuzco*, and *Arequipa* are so to those at the mouth of the river *Indus*, in *Calicut*, and *Ceylon*; and those of the *Molucco*, or *Spice* islands to them of *Guinea* in *Africk*. All the errors of the ancients as well concerning the *Antipodes*, as the torrid zone, were defeated by the voyage performed by the ship call'd the *Victory*, which first sailed quite round the world, under the command of captain *John Sebastian del Cano*, a native of *Gultaria*, in the province of *Guipuzcoa*, touching at both *Antipodes*, and passing the tropicks and equinoctial, which demonstrated this matter to the world, and immortalized the names of captain *Ferdinand de Magalbaens*, or as we call him *Magellan*, for attempting, and the afore said captain *John Sebastian del Cano* for perfecting so incredible a work.

### C H A P. III.

#### *Of the Torrid Zone, and the Western Hemisphere.*

**T**HE ancients believed the torrid zone not habitable, because of the direct vertical reflection of the sun; yet experience teaches us that the various position of places alters their disposition to heat or cold, drought or moisture, more than the nearness and distance of that planet. Thus we see the violence of winds gathers strength in hollow vales, and dissolves in open plains. The heat of the sun gathers, and intends itself in the cavities, and confined parts of the earth; and dilates itself in the flats; and so the heat and cold of the air and earth varies much according to the height, or lowness of the situation, its being to the east or west, and either near to, or far from the sea, lakes, rivers, woods, and windy or calm mountains; so that the degrees of heat, or cold, dryness, or moisture do not depend on the nearness, distance, directness,

or obliquity of the sun beams; but on the position of the place, and there are all those varieties within the torrid zone, contrary to the opinion of *Aristotle* and *Virgil*.

A great part of the new discovered land, lies under the torrid zone, which is extraordinary damp, and abounding in waters; for it rains and snows there, especially when the sun is most direct over it, when the rains are great, and begin at noon. No part of the world has greater rivers than *South America*: from the isthmus of *Panama* to the streights of *Magellan*, where are those of *Santa-Maria*, or the *Magdalen*, *Oronoque*, *Orellana*, or the *Amazons*, the river of *Plate*, and others. In *North America* are the rivers of *Alvarado*, *Grijalva*, *Guatemala*, *Mexico*, &c. *Ethiopia* also has great rivers, and lakes; and such there are in the islands of *Ceylon*, and *Sumatra*, and there is much more sea than land under the

torrid zone. The rains increase as the sun draws near the equinoctial, and decline as he goes off towards the tropicks, and thus there are very temperate countries under the torrid zone, and some rather cold than hot; as for instance *Pasto Collao*, and *Potosi*, where there are mountains continually covered with snow. The length of the night is the cause hereof, the days and nights being always equal near the line, and the more we remove from it, so much the more the summer days lengthen, and the nights shorten. This shortness of the day obstructs the sun's intending his heat so much under the equinoctial, so that we find the summer is hotter in the south part of *Spain*, and *Italy*, than at *Quito*, and *Collao* in *Peru*.

Another reason why there are hotter, and colder parts of the torrid zone is because of the very high mountains in the *West-Indies* which cool the air: for high places are more subject to cold than the low, which is occasioned by the clouds, and the lakes, and rivers flowing from them, which being formed by melted snow, and running impetuously refresh the air in the plains; besides that the mountains being excessive high they shade one another, and this added to the length of the nights renders the torrid zone temperate. Over and above all this, the cold winds never cease blowing, a perpetual levant reigning, without any opposition, over the ocean, and a cold south wind in *Peru*, and *Brazil*, rising after noon, as the breezes do at the windward islands. On all open seas the winds are more regular; but by land they vary according to the mountains, rivers, lakes, woods, or other circumstances; but in the torrid zone the winds from the sea are generally pleasant, and healthy, and those from the land thick and unwholsome; and even this varies according to the difference of the coasts, yet generally the land breezes blow from midnight, till the sun begins to be high, and those off the sea, from his mounting till after he sets.

The most experienced sailors affirm, that they never meet with calms abroad in the wide ocean, but can always advance more or less, by reason the air is impelled by the motion of the heaven, enough to carry the ship right ahead; so that during the whole voyage from the city of *Samia*, in *Peru*, to the *Philippine* islands, which they reckon above 2000 leagues, all along near the equinoctial, or not at above 12 degrees distance, a ship in *February* and *March*, when the sun is vertical, never met with any calm, but had always a fresh gale, and consequently performed that voyage in two months. Near the coasts

where the vapours of the islands, and continent reach, there are often many dead calms, both within and without the torrid zone; and so hurricanes and spouts are more frequent near the land, as far as it's exhalations reach, than in the broad ocean; but this within the torrid zone, for without it there are both calms and hurricanes out at sea.

As to the difference between the two hemispheres, the first which we live in seems to bear the preference beyond the other, because ours is fuller of stars, which are thick close about the arctick pole, whereas there are very few within 30 deg. of the antarctick, within which distance is the cock's foot, being the lowest of the four that compose the crozier. Our continent extends more to east and west, and is more proper to be inhabited than the other which stretches out too much towards the pole, and is too narrow from east to west, for that which lies so from east to west is more temperate, and the other near the pole is subject to excessive cold, and over long nights. The Mediterranean is also a great conveniency lying between *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africk* for the trade and correspondence between those parts; but in the other hemisphere the sea is too wide and consequently more dangerous, and troublesome. In the other hemisphere there were no dogs, asses, sheep, goats, swine, cats, horses, mules, camels, or elephants; nor orange, lemon, pomegranate, fig, olive or quince-trees, melons, vines, wheat, or rice, nor had they iron, guns, printing or learning; and navigation did not extend out of sight of land; their government was barbarous, their mountains and woods not habitable, nor that part which was inhabited so populous as ours. In some of their woods the natives lived like brutes, as the *Chichimecas*, of *New Spain*, who had no head, no laws, no settled place of abode, but lived dispersed, feeding on the product of the earth, as others did in *Florida*, and *Paraguay*. When the *Spaniards* entered *Peru*, *Cuzco* was the only place that bore the form of a city, and it is certain that those who live in cities are more polite, and civilized than such as dwell dispersed in woods, like wild beasts.

I cannot but take notice, that a discreet *Indian* being asked, what was the best the *Indians* received from the *Spaniards*, he answered, the *Spanish* hens eggs whereof there is great plenty, and they are to be had new laid every day, they are good for young and old, either raw or dressed; for the hen herself must be either boil'd or roasted, and does not always prove tender; whereas the egg is good every way. He

added

HERRERA  


HERRERA added horses and light: because a horse carries a man at his ease, and his burdens; and light, because the *Indians* never knew how to make wax, or tallow candles, or

to burn oil, and this served to live part of the night, and this he thought the most valuable thing.

## C H A P. IV.

*How America was first peopled, and why the name of West-Indies was given to it.*

MUCH enquiry has been, to know, whence the inhabitants of the other hemisphere passed over thither, which they must certainly do from ours, and yet the *Indians* of *Peru* did not sail thither designedly, for the ancients were no able navigators, nor had they any use of the compass, without which there is no sailing over the main ocean. That was first discovered by *Flavius*, or *John Gioia*, a native of the coast of *Amalfi*, in the kingdom of *Naples*. The inhabitants of the vale of *Xanza*, in *Peru*, say, they have it from their ancestors, that they descend from a man and a woman, who came out of the spring of *Guaribalia*. Those of the vale *Andabayla*, tell us they proceeded from the lake of *Socdococa*; those of *Cuzco* from that of *Titicaca*. Others say, that after a deluge, mankind was restored by six persons that came out of a cave. But laying aside all these follies, since all the race of man descends from *Adam* and *Eve*, it is plain they must come from us; but we are so little acquainted with the extremities of the earth, that nothing can be positively asserted.

Indian opinions of their original.

Some say, that to the northward *Groenland* is the same continent with *Esotiland*, or the most northern regions of *America*; and if so, it is likely, that the *Asiatics* and *Norwegians* stretching out their habitations, by degrees spread themselves into those new countries; which seems to be in some manner verified by the same customs which are common to the *Japoneses*, northern *Americans*, and *Norwegians*; for they all live in forests, and caves, and hollow-trees, covering themselves with the skins of fishes and wild beasts; feeding on fish, and such fruit as the earth naturally produces, and they differ very little in complexion. Nor is there any thing known how far the land runs out to the southward, tho' several imperfect discoveries have been made that way, and consequently, whether people

might pass over that way, no great ships having been ever seen in the *West-Indies* before *Columbus*. The *Americans* are more like the eastern nations, than the *Europeans*, and therefore it is most likely that none of the latter came among them before the *Spaniards*. To imagine that *America* should be peopled by persons drove thither by stress of weather is very unlikely; nor is any account to be made of what the *Indians* say, touching their antiquities; for they know nothing worth regarding, as having lived long without kings, or any regular government; but wandered about like the people of *Florida*. They were all certainly wild, and under no dominion, only chusing commanders to lead them to war, some of whom proving more politick, and stronger, began to subdue the rest, and by degrees laid the foundation of the kingdoms of *Peru*, and *Mexico*, which tho' still barbarous, yet were preferable to all the other *Indians*; whence it seems to be most likely, that the *West-Indies* were peopled by degrees from the continent, extending themselves in process of time farther and farther.

The motive *Columbus* had for giving the name of *Indies* to those new found countries, was, that he might thereby the more excite those princes he had to do with, and render his project of more weight, as proposing to find gold, silver, pearls, and other sorts of drugs than our hemisphere affords, and therefore he concluded these his discoveries might vie with the *East-Indies*, and this gave reputation to his undertaking. Besides his design being to discover the east by the way of the west, and the *East-Indies* lying in the remotest part of the east, as that he sought in the farthest west, it might as well be called *India* as the other; and then *Peru* being discovered after *New Spain*, the name was made plural, calling them *Indies*, because divided into those two great parts.

## CHAP. V.

Columbus proposes his Design to the King and Queen of Spain, and after many Repulses is admitted by the Queen.

THESE *Indies* are the countries comprehended within the limits assigned to the crown of *Castile*, and *Leon*, consisting of one hemisphere, or half of the globe, being 180 degrees, commencing at a meridian at 39, or 40 degrees from that of the city of *Toledo*, and proceeding westward; so that allowing 17 leagues and a half to a degree, this allotment contains 3700 *Spanish* leagues in breadth east and west. To come to *Christopher Columbus*, whom the *Spaniards*, adapting the word to their language, call *Colon*, he was born in the city of *Genoa*, in which particular, and that his father's name was *Dominick*, all that write of him agree, and he owns it himself. As to his original, some bring it from *Placentia*, others from *Cucureo*, a town on the sea coast, near that city, and others from the lords of the castle of *Cucaro*, in that part of *Italy*, formerly called *Liguria*, now the dukedom of *Montferrat*, so near the city of *Alexandria de la Pagla* that they hear the bells of it. It appears that the emperor *Otho* the 2d, in the year 940, confirmed to the brother earls *Peter*, *John*, and *Alexander Columbus*, the estates feudal and real, they possessed in the liberties of the cities of *Aqui*, *Savona*, *Asti*, *Montferrat*, *Turin*, *Vercelli*, *Parma*, *Cremona*, and *Bergamo*, with all the rest they held in *Italy*. By other records it appears that the *Columbi* of *Cucaro*, *Cucureo*, and *Placentia*, were the same, and that the afore-said emperor, in the same year 940 granted unto the said brothers *Peter*, *John*, and *Alexander Columbus* the castles of *Cucaro*, *Cowzano*, *Rosignano*, and others, and the 4th part of *Bistagno*, which belonged to the empire, and this demonstrates the antiquity of the family.

Goes into Portugal. He came into *Spain*, and particularly to *Portugal*, very young, as other men do, to seek his fortune, where he married *Donna Philippa Moniz de Perestrelo*, by whom he had *D. James Columbus*, and afterwards by *Donna Beatrix Henriquez*, of the city of *Cordova*; *Don Ferdinand*, a gentleman excellently qualified, and learned. Being thoroughly convinced of what he had been so long revolving in his mind, that there were new lands to discover, he resolved to publish it; but knowing that such an undertaking was only fit for some sovereign prince, or state, he proposed it to that of *Genoa*, where it was looked upon as a chimera; and then to king *John* the 2d of *Portugal*, who tho' he gave him a

favourable hearing, being then taken up with the discovery of the coast of *Africk*, along the ocean, did not think fit to engage in so many enterprizes at once; but however referred the matter to the consideration of doctor *Calzadilla* known by the name of *Don James Ortez*, bishop of *Ceuta*, who was a *Spaniard*, born at *Calzadilla*, in the mastership of *Santiago*, and to master *Roderick*, and master *Joseph*, Jewish physicians, whom he entrusted in matters relating to discoveries, and cosmography; and tho' they declared they thought it a wild notion, yet having heard *Columbus*, the reasons he alledged, and the course he intended to steer, they advised the king to send a caravel, giving out it was bound for *Cabo Verde*, to discover the truth of that imagination, according to the course laid down. This vessel having run many leagues at sea, and been beaten in storms, it returned without finding any thing, and ridiculing *Columbus's* notion, who was not ignorant of this practice.

This very much offended *Columbus*, and gave him such an aversion for *Portugal*, that his wife being dead, he resolved to go away into *Spain*, and lest he should be served there as he had been in *Portugal*; sent his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, at the same time into *England*, where *Henry* the 7th then reigned. He spent much time on the way, being taken by pirates, and stayed there to learn the methods of that court, and how to solicit. *D. Christopher Columbus* resolving to propose his design to king *Ferdinand*, and queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth* of *Spain*, departed *Portugal* privately, in the year 1484, for *Andaluzia*, knowing that the king of *Portugal*, being sensible that what he had said was well grounded, and that those who went in the caravel had not done their duty was enclined to consult about that enterprize: He landed at *Palos de Moguer*, whence he went away to the court, which was then at *Cordova*, leaving his son in the monastery of *Rabida*, half a league from *Palos*, under the care of *F. John Perez de Marchena*, the guardian of that house, who was a piece of a cosmographer, and learned in humanity.

He proposed the business at *Cordova*, and found most encouragement from *Alonso de Quintanilla*, comptroller of *Castile*, a discreet man, inclined to great undertakings, and who finding him a man of worth gave him his table, without which he could

HERRERA

Under-hand dealing of that king.

Columbus in Spain, his brother in England.

Alonso de Quintanilla entertains him.

**HERRERA** not have subsisted so long as he was soliciting. It was pressed so far, that their catholick majesties giving ear to the proposal, referred it to F. *Ferdinand de Talavera*, prior of *Prado*, of the order of St. *Jerome*, and confessor to the queen, who was afterwards the first archbishop of *Granada*. He called an assembly of cosmographers, but there being few of that profession then in *Spain*, and those none of the ablest in the world, and besides *Columbus* forbearing fully to explain himself, for fear of being served as he had been in *Portugal*, the result was not answerable to his expectation; for some said, that since in so many ages as were elapsed from the creation of the world, all men who had been perfectly skilled in sea affairs, never knew any thing of those lands *Columbus* persuaded them they should find; it was not to be imagined that he should be wiser than all of them. Others coming closer to cosmography, alledged the world was so large, that three years would be too short a time to reach the farthest eastern parts, whither *Columbus* said he intended to sail; and to confirm their opinion, they quoted *Seneca*, who tells us, that wise men did not agree whether the ocean was not infinite, and questioned whether it was possible to sail over it; and supposing it to be navigable, whether there was any land inhabited beyond it, and there was any possibility of going to it. They farther urged, that no part of this globe of earth and water was inhabited, but one small parcel left in this our hemisphere above the water, and that all the rest was sea; however, if it could be found practicable to go on to the farthest parts eastward, it would also be granted the same might be done from *Spain* westward.

Extrava-  
gant opi-  
nions  
against  
*Columbus*.

Others pretended, that should *Columbus* sail directly westward, it would be impossible for him ever to return into *Spain*, by reason of the roundness of the globe; for that whosoever should go beyond the hemisphere known to *Ptolomy*, must descend so much, that it would be impracticable to return, because it would be like climbing a steep mountain; and though *Columbus* answered all these objections, they could not comprehend him. Thus the assembly declared the project was vain and impracticable, and that it did not become the majesty of such mighty princes to be prevailed upon by so trivial an information.

After much time spent, their catholick majesties ordered *Columbus* should be told, that being engaged in several wars, and particularly the conquest of *Granada*, they could not then venture upon other expences; but when that was over they would again examine the matter, and

so they dismissed him. Those who look upon it as a fable, that *Columbus* had this secret from a *Portuguese* pilot, who discovered those parts, being drove upon them by a storm, urge in vindication of their opinion, that had *Columbus* known it so certainly, he would never have put it to be argued, or have hazarded being thus excluded by their catholick majesties; but would have found some way to declare it to them affirmatively.

Having received this answer, *Columbus* went away very disconsolate to *Sevil*, after spending five years at court, to no purpose. He had his project proposed to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and some say to him of *Medina Celi*, and they also rejecting him, he writ to the king of *France*, intending to go over into *England* to seek his brother, from whom he had heard nothing a long time, in case the *French* did not entertain him. Having set this resolution, he went away to the monastery of *Rabida*, for his son *James*, intending to leave him at *Cordova*, and having discovered his design to F. *John Perez de Marchena*, GOD who had reserved this discovery for the crown of *Castile* and *Leon*, so ordered, that F. *John Perez*, perceiving *Columbus*, who had lived so long in *Spain*, as to think himself in a manner naturalized, went unwillingly to treat with other princes, prevailed with him to put off his journey, and for the better understanding of what he proposed, associated to him one *Garci Hernandez*, a physician; and they three conferring together, *Garci Hernandez* as a philosopher, was very well pleased. Hereupon F. *John Perez*, who was known to the queen, as having sometimes heard her confession, writ to the queen, who ordered him to repair to the court, which was then at the new city of *Santa Fe*, or *St. Faith*, before *Granada*, and to leave *Columbus* at *Palos*, with hopes of success. When F. *John Perez* had discoursed the queen, she ordered 20000 maravedies, [which, according to the present way of reckoning, is little above ten pounds, yet in those days was a gift for a queen] to be sent *Columbus*, by *James Prieto* of *Palos*, for him to return to the court, and upon his coming, the negotiation was again set on foot. However, the prior of *Prado*, and others who joined with him, being against the undertaking, and *Columbus* demanding great conditions, among which was, that he should have the titles of admiral and viceroy,; and they thinking he required too much in case of success, and that in case of failure, the granting of it was dishonourable; the treaty was again entirely broke off, and *Columbus* resolved to go away to *Cordova*, in order to proceed to

*Columbus*  
tries other  
great men.

*France*,



France, being positive not to go to Portugal on any account.

Alonso de Quintanilla, and Lewis de Santangel clerk of the greencloth for the crown of Aragon, were much concerned that this enterprise should be laid aside, and cardinal Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza at the request of F. John Perez, and Alonso de Quintanilla had heard what Columbus proposed, and valued him as a man of worth. However, the adverse party objected, that he venturing nothing of his own in that discovery, and requiring to be made admiral of a fleet under their catholick majesties, it would not much concern him, though the enterprise failed. To which he answered, That he would be an eighth part in the charge, provided it might be refunded, with the proportionable share of the profits at his return, and yet nothing was concluded. In January 1492, he departed the city of Santa Fe, for Cordova, in great perplexity, their catholick majesties being then possessed of the city of Granada. That same day Lewis de Santangel told the queen, he much admired that her majesty, who had always a great genius for extraordinary undertakings, should fail when so little was hazarded, and so much might be gained; for should that enterprise be embraced by another prince, as Columbus affirmed it would, if Spain rejected it, she might easily reflect how great a detriment it would be to her crown; and since Columbus appeared to be a man of worth, and desired no reward but for what he should find; venturing part of the charge and his own person, the thing ought not to be thought impracticable, as the cosmographers pretended,

nor the attempting of it to be looked upon as indiscretion, though it did not succeed; since it was the part of great princes to discover the wonders and secrets of the world, which had gained other monarchs eternal renown; besides that, Columbus demanded but a million of *maravedies* [*which is little above five hundred and twenty pounds of our money, according to the present computation*] to fit himself out, and therefore he desired that so small an expence might not obstruct so great an enterprise.

The queen being also importuned by Alonso de Quintanilla, who had much credit with her, thanked them for their advice, and said, she would embrace it, provided they would stay till she had a little recovered the great expence of the war; but in case they thought fit, the business should be prosecuted out of hand, she would consent to have the money raised upon some of her jewels. Quintanilla and Santangel kissed her hand, because she was pleased at their request to undertake that which she had before refused, upon the advice of many others; and Lewis de Santangel offered to lend the sum required of his own money. This being resolved, the queen ordered an *alguazil*, or messenger to go post after Columbus, and bring him back; who overtook him two leagues from Granada, at the bridge of Pinos, and though much concerned to have been so much slighted, he returned to the city of Santa Fe, where he was well received, and the secretary John Coloma was ordered to prepare the contract and instructions; after he had spent eight years in soliciting to have his project undertaken, with much vexation and uneasiness.

CHAP. VI.

The Contract between the Queen and Columbus, he fits out three Vessels, sails to the Canaries, and thence on his Discovery.

Columbus and the secretary Coloma having conferred together about the conditions he had demanded from the beginning, they at length agreed on the following articles, which were signed the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 1492.

Conditions granted to Columbus.

1. Admiral of the seas.

*Imprimis*, their highnesses, as sovereigns of the ocean, do from this time constitute Don Christopher Columbus their admiral throughout all those islands, or continents, that, by his means shall be discovered and conquered in the said ocean, for the term of his life, and after his death to his heirs and successors for ever, with all the immunities and prerogatives belonging to the said office, in the same manner as they have been enjoyed by their admiral Don Alonso Enriquez, and his predecessors, within their liberties.

2. Their highnesses do constitute, and appoint the said Columbus their vice-roy, and governor-general of all the islands, or continents, which, as has been said, he shall discover, or conquer, in the said seas; and that he shall nominate three persons for the government of each of them, whereof their highnesses shall chuse one.

2. Viceroy and governor general.

3. That their highnesses grant to the said Columbus the tithe of all commodities whatsoever, whether pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spice, or any other, bought, bartered, found, taken, or otherwise had within the limits of the said admiralty, the charges being first deducted; so that he take to himself the said tithe of the net product, to enjoy, and dispose of at his pleasure.

3. To have the tithe of all goods.

4. That

HERRERA

4. To try  
causes.

4. That in case any controversies shall arise on account of the commodities he shall bring from the said islands, or countries, so conquered, or discovered as aforesaid, or on account of those here taken of other merchants in exchange for those, in the place where the said trade shall be settled; if it shall of right belong to the admiral to try such causes, he shall be allowed to do it himself, or by his deputy, as was allowed to the admiral *Don Alonso Enriquez*, and his predecessors, within their districts.

5. To be  
an eighth  
in all ships.

5. That it shall be lawful for the said *Columbus*, whensoever any ships are fitted out for that trade, to contribute the eighth part of the charge, and accordingly to receive the eighth part of all the produce.

Columbus  
goes to  
Palos to  
fit.

These articles were signed in the city of *Santa Fe*, in the plain of *Granada*, with which, and the aforesaid sum of money he departed that place on the 12<sup>th</sup> of *May*; and leaving his sons at school in *Cordova*, went away himself to the port of *Palos*, in order to expedite his voyage; very few at court believing he would perform what he had promised. Their catholick majesties strictly enjoined him, not to touch at *Guinea*, nor to come within an hundred leagues of the *Portuguese* conquests. They gave him letters patents to all kings and princes in the world, that they might honour and entertain him as their commander. He went to *Palos*, because there were very able seamen, and he had many friends among them, as also for the sake of *F. John Perez de Marchena*, who assisted him very much in this affair, disposing the minds of the seamen, who were unwilling to venture upon an unknown voyage. He had also orders to that town, to furnish him with two caravels, which it was obliged to serve the crown with three months every year. He fitted out another ship to be admiral, and called her *St. Mary*; the second was named *Pinta*, commanded by captain *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, and his brother *Francis Martinez Pinzon* master; and the third *la Pinna*, which had *latin*, or triangular sails, of which *Vincent Yanez Pinzon* was captain, and master, who much forwarded the equipment, and laid down half a million of maravedies (about two hundred sixty pounds) for the eighth part of the charge, making use of the family of the *Pinzones*, who were men of the first rank in that town, wealthy, and able sailors, and all the common seamen seeing them inclinable to the voyage were willing to undertake it.

Columbus  
sails on his  
discovery  
An. 1492.

A year's provision being put into the ships, with ninety men, most of them inhabitants of *Palos*, for there were some friends of *Columbus*, and of the king's servants, they set sail on the 3<sup>d</sup> of *August*, this same year 1492, half an hour before sun

rising, and got over the bar of *Saltes*, so the river of *Palos* is called, directing their course for the *Canary* islands, all the men having after the example of *Columbus* confessed their sins, and received the blessed sacrament. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of *August* the rudder of the caravel *Pinta*, where *Martin Alonso Pinzon* commanded, broke loose, and it was suspected to have happened by the contrivance of *Gomez Rascon*, and *Christopher Quintero* the owners of her, and seamen, because they went that voyage with an ill will, and had endeavoured to disappoint it before they set out. This obliged them to lie by, and the admiral made up to the caravel, tho' he could not assist her, it being usual so to do; to encourage the men. However *Martin Alonso Pinzon* being an able sailor, the rudder was so fastened with ropes, that they held on their course till the tuesday following, when it got loose again, thro' the violence of the wind, and they were all obliged to lie by.

This misfortune happening to the caravel *Pinta*, at first setting out, might have startled a superstitious person, especially considering how refractory *Martin Alonso Pinzon* afterwards proved towards the admiral; but having again made fast the rudder, the best they could, they discovered the *Canary* islands on the 11<sup>th</sup> of *August*, about break of day, and not being able, by reason of the contrary winds, to reach *Grand Canaria* in two days, *Martin Alonso* was ordered, as soon as he could get to land, to provide another ship, the admiral going himself with the other two to *Gomera*, with the same intent; but finding none returned to *Canaria*, resolving to make a new rudder to the caravel *Pinta*, and to change the sails of the caravel *Pinna* which were *latin*, or triangular into square, that she might labour the less, and keep company with more safety. He sailed again on the 1<sup>st</sup> of *September*, after noon, and returning to *Gomera*, took in flesh, wood, and water very hastily, in four days; for being informed that some *Portuguese* caravels ply'd thereabouts to take him, he apprehended some misfortune, because the king of *Portugal* was much concerned when he heard that *Columbus* had agreed with their catholick majesties, suspecting he had missed his fortune. On thursday the 6<sup>th</sup>, he failed to the westward, and made little way by reason of the calms; yet the next day they lost sight of land, and many sighed, and wept, believing they should never see it again, *Columbus* comforting them with the hopes of wealth, and success. That day they ran eighteen leagues, the admiral designedly reckoning but fifteen, thinking it convenient to shorten the voyage, to lessen the apprehension of the seamen. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of

Is at the  
*Canary*  
islands.Sails west-  
ward.

September,

September, being a hundred fifty leagues from the island of *Ferro*, they saw a piece of a mast, that seemed to have been carried by the current, which a little farther they found set very strong to the northward. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of *September*, being fifty leagues more to the westward, about night fall the admiral perceived the needle varied a point westward, and somewhat more about break of day.

The said variation had never before been observed by any man, which made him much admire it, and more three days after, when having run an hundred leagues farther upon the same course he found the needles varied at evening two points, and in the morning exactly pointed upon the north star. On Saturday the 15<sup>th</sup>, being near three hundred leagues to the westward of the island of *Ferro*, in the night they saw a flame of fire fall into the sea, four, or five leagues south-west from the ships, the weather being calm, and the sea smooth, and the currents full setting north-east. The men in the caravel *Ninna* said, they had the day before seen one of those birds we call water-wagtails, which they admired, as being the first they had seen, and a bird they say does not fly above fifteen, or twenty leagues from land. The next day they were more surprized to observe some spots of green, and yellow weeds on the surface of the water, and the more for that it seemed to be newly broke loose from some island, or rock; and on Monday they saw much more, which made many conclude they were near land, and the rather

because they saw a live small grasshopper on the weeds. Yet others thought they might come from lands, or rocks lying under water, which made them fear and mutter against the voyage. They also took notice, that the sea water, was but half so salt as it had been before, and that night they saw abundance of tunny fishes, following so close after the ships, that the men in the caravel *Ninna* killed one with an harping iron; and in the morning the air was temperate, that it much delighted and pleased them, the weather being much the same as it is in *Andaluzia* about *April*. About three hundred sixty leagues west from the island *Ferro*, they saw another water-wagtail, and on Tuesday the 18<sup>th</sup> of *September*, *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, who was before, in the caravel *Pinta*, which was an excellent sailer, lay by for the admiral, and said he had seen a multitude of fowl, flying westward, which made him hope to discover land that night, at about fifteen leagues distance to the northward; nay he fancy'd he had seen it; but the admiral not believing it, would not lose time, in going out of the way to seek it, tho' all the men were that way inclined, as not thinking that was the place, where according to his notion it was to be found. That night the wind freshened, when they had sailed eleven days without handing their sails, running always to the westward before the wind. The admiral constantly noted down all particulars, as the winds that blew, the fishes, and birds he saw, and all other tokens, continually making observations, and sounding.

HERRERA

Other tokens observed.

An exhalation.

A bird three hundred leagues out at sea.

Weeds.

CHAP. VII.

*The Voyage continued; the Signs they observed; shewing that there must be Land; the Men grow mutinous, the Admiral endeavours to appease them.*

ALL the men being unacquainted with such a voyage, and having seen nothing but the sky and water in so many days, began to mutter, as thinking their condition desperate, and therefore diligently observed all tokens they saw, none having ever been so far out at sea as they then were. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of *September* a sea-gull came aboard the admiral, and others appeared in the evening, which put them in hopes of land, believing those birds were not gone far from it; and hereupon they threw out the lead with two hundred fathom of line, and tho' they found no bottom, it appeared that the current did set south west. Thursday the 20<sup>th</sup>, about ten in the morning they saw two gulls more, near the admiral, and some time after took a black bird, with a white spot on his head, and the feet like a duck; and they killed a small fish, and saw abundance of weeds, which the ships

failing over, they began to be less afraid. The next morning at break of day three little land birds came aboard the admiral singing, and when the sun was up, flew away, which was some comfort to the men, as believing, that the other sorts of sea fowl might venture out farther, but those little birds could not come from so great a distance. Some time after they saw another gull, coming from the west north west, and the next day after noon another water-wagtail, and a gull, and more weeds to the northward, which was some encouragement, supposing they must come from some land not remote. Yet these very weeds troubled them, because sometimes there were such thick spots of them, that they hinder'd the way of the ships, and therefore they kept from them, as much as they could.

The next day they saw a whale, and on the 22<sup>d</sup> of *September* some birds; and during

More tokens observed.

**HERRERA** ing those three days they met with fourth west winds, which tho' contrary, the admiral said were good, because the ships having sailed all that while before the wind, the men believed it would be impossible to return home. Yet for all he could alledge the men grew mutinous, and began to slight him, and rail at the king for sending them upon such a voyage; whilst *Columbus* sometimes fed them with hopes, and other whiles threatned them with the punishment they must expect from his majesty. But on the 23<sup>d</sup>, the wind came up at west north west, with a rough sea, as they all wished, and at nine in the morning a turtle dove flew over the admiral, and in the afternoon a gull, and other white birds, and they found grasshoppers among the weeds. The next day came another gull, and turtle doves from the westward, as also some small fishes, which they killed with harping irons, because they would not bite at the bait.

Murmur-  
ings.

All these tokens proving vain, the men's fear increased, who began openly to mutter, that the admiral had projected to make himself great, at the expence of their lives; and since they had done their duty, venturing out farther than any men had ever done before them, they ought not to seek their own destruction, by failing on to no purpose, till their provisions were spent; which though never so sparingly managed, would not serve them back again; nor would the ships hold out, being already crazy; so that no man could blame them, and the admiral having met with so much opposition, they would be the sooner believed. There wanted not some, who said, That to avoid all controversy, it were the best way privately to throw him overboard, and give out he had dropt accidentally, as he was gazing on the stars, and this would be the surest method to save themselves, since no examination would be made. Thus the men daily inclined more and more to mutiny, which much perplexed *Columbus*, who sometimes with good words, and then again with menaces curbed their insolency; often inculcating the tokens they met with, to assure them they should soon find a wonderful rich country, where all their toils would be overpaid. Thus they continued so full of care and trouble, that every hour looked to them like a year, till on tuesday the 25<sup>th</sup> of *September*, *Vincent Yañez Pinzon* talking to *Columbus*, cried out, land, land. Sir I demand my reward for this news, and then pointing to the south west, shewed a bulk that looked like an island, about twenty five leagues from the ships, which tho' afterwards believed to be a contrivance concerted between them two, yet at that time was so pleasing to the men,

that they returned thanks to God; and the admiral pretended to believe it, till night, directing his course that way a great part of it, to please his crew.

The next morning they all perceived those were clouds, which often look like land, and then with general dissatisfaction stood westward again, continuing so to do as long as the wind favoured, and observing the signs, saw a gull, a water-wagtail, and other birds; and on thursday morning, another gull flying from the west to the eastward, they also saw many of the fishes called gilt-heads, some of which they struck with harping irons; another water-wagtail passed by very near the ships, and they observed, that the currents did not run so strong in a body as before, but turned back with the tides, and there were fewer weeds. Friday following they saw many *dorados*, or gilt-heads, and on saturday a water-wagtail, being a sea fowl that never rests, but pursues the gulls, till for fear they mute, which the other catches in the air, and lives on; and of these there are great numbers about the islands of *Cabo Verde*. Soon after abundance of gulls appeared, as also numbers of flying fishes. In the afternoon they found many weeds stretching out in length from north to south, as also three gulls, and a water-wagtail pursuing them; the men constantly believing the weeds were a sign that there was land near, but under water, and that they should perish. On sunday four water-wagtails came near the admiral, and they coming together, it was believed that the land was not far off; and many weeds appeared lying in length from west north west to east south east; besides many of those fishes they call emperors, which have a hard skin, and are not good to eat. Tho' the admiral took notice of all these signs below, yet he omitted not to observe those in the heavens. He perceived, that at night-fall the needles varied two full points, and in the morning they were exact with the north star, which much perplexed the pilots, till he told them, that was occasioned by the north-star's rounding the pole, which somewhat satisfied him; for this variation made them apprehend some danger, being so far from land.

Monday the first of *October*, at break of day a gull, and those there they say are like bitterns, came aboard the admiral; and others before noon, and the weeds then set from east to west, many fearing that they should come to some place, where the land was so close to the said weeds, that they must stick aground, and be lost. That same morning the pilot told *Columbus*, that they were five hundred eighty eight leagues west from the island of *Ferro*; the admiral

This seems to be a mistake in the number of leagues, being so much more than Columbus had sailed.

ral answered, he reckoned but five hundred eighty four; but in reality his reckoning was seven hundred and seven. The pilot of the caravel *Ninna*, on wednesday following in the afternoon said, by his computation they had run six hundred and fifty leagues, and he of the *Pinta* six hundred and thirty, which was a mistake, for they always sailed right before the wind. However, *Columbus* said nothing, lest the men being so far from land should dismay. On the second of *October* they killed a tunny fish, and saw many other sorts, as also a white bird and many grey ones, and the weeds looked withered, and almost reduced to powder. No birds appearing on the third, they feared they had left some island on either side, supposing all the birds they had seen passed over from one island to another, and the men being of opinion to turn off to either hand, *Columbus* did not think fit to lose the opportunity of the wind, which carried him due west, that being what he desired, and because it would lessen his reputation, should he fail up and down to seek for that he always said he was assured of. This made the men mutiny again, and no wonder, considering so many were led by one, of whom they had but little knowledge, and run into such a vast ocean, where for so many days they had seen nothing but the sky and water, without knowing what would be the end of it. But it pleased God to provide fresh signs, wherewith they were somewhat pacified; for on the fourth of *October*, after noon, they saw above forty sparrows and two gulls, which came so close to the ships, that a sailor killed one of them with a stone, and many flying fishes fell into the ships, with which, and the admiral's fair words, they were appeased.

The next day a gull, a water-wagtail, and many sparrows appeared near the ship to the westward. On sunday the seventh, there was some sign of land to the westward, and none durst say so, tho' they all wish'd for it, in hopes of gaining an annuity of 10000 maravedies, which their catholick majesties had promised to him that first saw land; and lest they should upon every fancy cry, land, out of covetousness of the reward, it was ordered, that whosoever

should pretend to see land, if it were not verified in three days, should be for ever excluded from that benefit, tho' he afterwards really discovered it. However, they in the caravel *Ninna*, which was foremost, being the best sailer, concluding for certain that they had seen land, fired their guns, and hoisted out their colours, but the farther they advanced, the more their joy declined, till it quite vanished. In this disconsolate condition it pleased God again to comfort them with the sight of great flights of birds, and amongst them some belonging to the land, which made to the south-west; whereupon *Columbus* concluded he could not be far from land, and therefore altered his course from west to south-west, alledging, that the difference was not great, and that the *Portugueses* had discovered most of their islands by such flights of birds, and that those he saw took the same way he had always designed for discovering of the land, for they well knew he always told them he did not expect to meet with it, till he had sailed seven hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of the *Canaries*, where he had said, he should find the island *Hispaniola*, which he then called *Cipongo*, and must certainly have been upon it, but that knowing it lay north and south in length, he had not before turned to the southward, for fear of being foul of it, yet he believed it lay among other islands to the left, the way those birds flew, they being so numerous because the land was so near; for on monday the eighth about a dozen of small birds of several colours came to the ship, and after hovering a while about it, flew away, many others making to the south-west. That same evening many large birds appeared, and flocks of small ones, coming from the northward, and they saw many tunny fishes; and the next morning a gull, ducks, and small birds flying the same way the others had gone; besides the air was more fresh and fragrant, as it is at *Sevil* about *April*. But now the men were so eager to see land, that they regarded no signs, tho' on wednesday the tenth many birds were seen both by day and night; yet neither the admiral's encouragement, nor upbraiding them with pusillanimity could quell those people.

HERRERA

## C H A P. VIII.

*Admiral Columbus discovers the Islands of San Salvador, The Conception, Fernandina, Isabella, and others; the Description of them, and of the Natives.*

**HERRERA** **I**T pleased GOD that when *Columbus* was no longer able to withstand the mutinous temper, and discontents of his men, on thursday the 11<sup>th</sup> of *October* 1492, in the afternoon, he received some comfort, from the manifest tokens there appeared of the nearness of the land; for those aboard his own ships saw by her side a green rush, and then a large green fish of that sort which is usually near rocks. They in the caravel *Pinta* saw a cane and a staff, and took up another artificially carved, and a bit of board, and many weeds fresh torn off from the shore. Those of the caravel *Ninna* saw other such like tokens, and a thorn tree branch with the berries on it, which seem'd to be fresh broke off, all demonstrations of their being near land, as was the sand they brought up with the lead in sounding; besides the unsteadiness of the wind then blowing was thought to be occasioned by the land. *Columbus* concluding that he was certainly near it, as soon as it was night, after evening prayer, he made a speech to his men, signifying the infinite goodness of GOD to them, in conducting them safe through so long a voyage, and since the tokens hourly appeared more certain, he desired they would watch all the night, since they knew, that the first article of the instructions he gave them, when they left *Spain*, directed that after sailing seven hundred leagues, without finding land, they should make no way from midnight till day, but stand upon their guard, for he was most confident they should make the land that night, and that besides the ten thousand maravedies annuity their majesties had promised to the first that saw it, he would give him a velvet doublet. About ten at night, *Columbus* sitting on the poop saw a light, and privately called *Peter Gutierrez*, one of the king's grooms of the privy chamber, and bid him look at it, and he said, he saw it. Then they called *Roderick Sanchez* of *Segovia*, inspector of the fleet, who could not discern it, but it was afterwards seen twice, and looked like a candle that was lifted up, and put down, so that *Columbus* made no doubt of its being a true light, or that he was near land, as it proved, being people going from one house to another. About two in the morning, the caravel *Pinta*, which was always foremost, made a signal of land, which was first descried by *Roderick de Triana*, a sailor, and but two leagues distant. However the reward of ten thousand maravedies annuity, was by their ma-

jesties declared to belong to the admiral, and was always paid him out of the revenue of the shambles at *Sevil*; because he saw the light, in the midst of darkness, meaning the spiritual light they were bringing among those barbarous people; GOD so ordering, that as soon as the war with the *Moors* was ended, after seven hundred twenty years since their first coming into *Spain*, this work should be begun, that so the kings of *Castile*, and *Leon*, might be continually employed in bringing of infidels to the knowledge of the catholick faith.

When the day appeared, they perceived it was an island, fifteen leagues in length, plain, much wooded, with good water, a fresh lake in the middle, and full of people, who stood full of admiration on the shore, believing the ships to be some monstrous creatures, and impatient to be better informed, as the *Spaniards* were to go ashore. The admiral went off in his boat well mann'd, and the royal standard hoisted, as did the captains *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, and *Vincent Yannez Pinzon* with the peculiar colours of the enterprize, being a green cross with some crowns, and the names of their catholick majesties. When they had all kiss'd the ground, and returned thanks to Almighty GOD, on their knees, for that his mercy to them, the admiral stood up, and called that island *San Salvador*, that is, *St. Saviour*, but by the inhabitants it was named *Guanabani*, being one of those afterwards in general called *Lucayos*, nine hundred fifty leagues from the *Canary* islands, and discovered after thirty three days sail. *Columbus* took possession of it, with the usual formalities, for the crown of *Castile* and *Leon*, in the presence of the notary *Roderick de Escovedo*, vast numbers of the natives looking on. The *Spaniards* then owned him as admiral, and viceroy, taking an oath to obey him, as representing the king's person in those parts, with all the pleasure, and satisfaction as may be imagined for such success, all of them begging pardon for the trouble they had put him to through their irresolution and pusillanimity. The admiral perceiving those *Indians* were a simple peaceable people, who stood in admiration gazing on the Christians, wondring at their beards, complexion, and cloaths, gave them some red caps, glass beads, and such baubles, which they highly valued, the *Spaniards* being no less surprized to behold those people, their posture, and behaviour.

First land discover'd

The island called *St. Saviour*.

The admiral returned aboard his ships followed by the *Indians*, some of them swimming, and others in their boats, called *canoes*, made of one entire piece of timber, like troughs, or trays, they carried with them bottoms of cotton, parrots, and javelins, pointed with fish bones, and some other things to barter for glass toys, hawks bells, and such trifles, which they were so well pleased with, as to put a high value upon pieces of broken earthen glazed plates and porringers. Men and women were all stark naked, like people in their primitive innocence; the greater number being under thirty years of age, though there were also some old. They wore their hair down to their ears, and some few to their necks, ty'd with a string to the head, in the nature of tresses. Their features and countenances were good, tho' their extraordinary broad foreheads were some deformity. They were of a middle stature, well shaped, their skins of an olive colour, like the natives of the *Canary* islands; some were painted white, others black, and others red; most of them about their bodies, some only their faces, eyes, and noses. They were totally unacquainted with our weapons, for being shewed some swords, they ignorantly laid hold of the edge; nor did they know any thing of iron; but made use of sharp stones found in the rivers to work in wood. Being asked by signs, how they came by some scars the *Spaniards* saw among them; they answered, That the people of other islands came to take them, and they were wounded standing upon their own defence. They seem to have voluble tongues, and ready wits, easily repeating the words they heard. No living creatures whatsoever were seen there, but only parrots. The next day, being the 13<sup>th</sup> of *October*, abundance of *Indians* came aboard the ships in their *canoes*, most of which carried forty, or fifty men; and some so small that they held but one. They rowed with an oar, like a baker's peel, as if they had been digging with a spade. The *canoes* are so contrived, that if they overset, the *Indians* swimming turn them up again, and lade out the water with dry'd calabashes they carry for that purpose. They had cotton to barter, and some of them gave as many bottoms of it as weighed a quarter of an hundred weight, for the *Portuguese centis*, being a small brass coin, worth less than a farthing. There were no jewels, or other things of value, except some little gold plates they hung at their noses. They were never satisfied with gazing at the *Spaniards*, kneel'd down, lifted up their hands, as it were to praise God, and invited one another to go see the men that came from heaven.

Being asked, whence they had that gold;  
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they answered, from the southward, where there was a king, who had abundance of it, making signs with their hands. HERRERA  
The admiral understanding there were other countries, resolv'd to go seek them. The ships were never clear of *Indians*, who as soon as they could lay hold of any thing, tho' it were but a bit of a broken earthen dish, went away well pleased, and swam ashore; offering whatsoever they had for any trifle they gave them. Thus the day was spent in trading, and they all went away, their generosity in giving being occasioned by the value they had for what was returned, looking upon the *Spaniards* as men come from heaven, and therefore desiring something to keep in remembrance of them.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of *October*, in the morning, the admiral took a view of all the coast towards the north-west, in the boats. The natives followed by land, offering provisions, and calling others to see those heavenly men, lifting up their hands in admiration, and others in canoes, and some swimming, by signs asked whether they were not come from heaven, and desiring they would go ashore to rest. The admiral gave them all strings of glass beads, pins, and other toys, being well pleased to see so much simplicity, till he came to a ridge of rocks, where there was a spacious safe harbour, where a strong fort might have been built, because it was almost enclosed by the water. In that place there were six houses, with abundance of trees about them, which looked like gardens. The men being weary of rowing, and the land not fit to make any stay there, *Columbus* took seven *Indians*, that they might learn *Spanish*, and returning to the caravels, proceeded to discover other islands, above an hundred whereof appeared, all of them plain, green, and inhabited, the names whereof the *Indians* told. On monday the 15<sup>th</sup>, he came to one, seven leagues from the first, and called *Santa Maria de la Conceptione*, or *St. Conception Mary of the Conception*, the side whereof next to *San Salvador* stretches out fifty leagues; but the admiral ran along it east and west, where the extent is but ten leagues, anchored on the west side, and went ashore. Vast numbers of the natives came down immediately full of admiration; and he finding still the same thing thought fit to proceed farther. A canoe being aboard the caravel *Ninna*, one of the seven *Indians* brought from *San Salvador* leaped over, and swam away, and though the boat pursued, it could not overtake him; another had made his escape the night before. An *Indian* came in a canoe to barter cotton; the admiral ordered a red cap to be put on his head, and hawksbells about his arms and legs, and so he went away well pleased with his cotton. 7 P The

HERRERA

The next day, being tuesday, he proceeded westward to another island, the coast whereof ran out eighteen leagues north west and south east. He came not to it till wednesday the 17<sup>th</sup>, afternoon, by reason of the calms. By the way they met an *Indian* in a canoe, who had a piece of such bread as they eat, and some water in a calabash, or gourd, a little black earth, such as they use to paint themselves, and dry leaves of a sort of herb they highly value, because it is wholesome, and sweet scented, and in a little basket a string of glass beads, and two *vinteins*, which is a small *Portuguese* silver coin, worth under two pence; by which it appeared he came from the island of *San Salvador*, had passed by the *Conception*, and was going to the island which the admiral now called *Fernandina*, in honour of the king, and to make the *Spaniards* known. The way being long, and the *Indian* tired with rowing, he went aboard the ships, where the admiral ordered he should have bread, and honey given him to eat, and wine to drink, and as soon as he came to the island, caused him to be set ashore, with some toys. The good account this man gave of his entertainment, brought the people to barter aboard the ships, as had been done in the other islands, they being all alike. When the boat went ashore for water, the *Indians* readily shewed it them, and helped to fill the pipes; yet these seemed to be somewhat more understanding than the others, for they stood harder in the exchange of their things, had cotton blankets in their houses, and the women covered their privities with little cotton wrappers, like short coats, reaching from the navel half way the thighs, and others with a swathe of the same sort; such as had no better did it with leaves of trees, which was not used by the maidens.

*Fernandina*  
island.


This island seemed to have plenty of water, many meadows, and groves, and some pleasant little hills, which the others had not, with an infinite variety of birds that sung sweetly, and flew about in flocks, most of them different from what *Spain* affords, and there were many lakes; near one of these they saw a creature seven foot long, which they supposed to be an alligator, and having thrown stones it ran into the water, where they killed it with their spears, admiring its bigness, and strange shape; yet afterwards experience taught them, that the said animal, being flead and scaled is good meat, for the flesh of it is white, and most valued by the *Indians*, and in the island *Hispaniola* they call them *Yvanes*. In this island they saw some trees, that looked as if they had been grafted, as bearing four or five sorts of leaves, and yet they were natural. They also saw fishes of fine co-

lours, but no land animals, except large tame snakes, the aforesaid alligators, and a little sort of rabbits, not unlike mice, which they call *Utias*. Proceeding farther towards the north west, to view the island, they anchored at the mouth of a stately harbour, having a small island before it; but went not in because of the shallowness, nor would the admiral remove far from a town, that sheltered them, having seen none in any of the other islands of above ten, or twelve houses, like tents, some of them round, and others sloping both ways, with an open porch before, after the *Flanders* fashion, and these covered with leaves of trees, handsomely laid on against wind and rain, with vents for the smoak, and handsome ridges, or ornaments at the top. Within them there was nothing but what they carried aboard the ships to barter; only their beds were of net ty'd up to two posts, which they call hamacks. Here were also some little dumb dogs. An *Indian* was seen, who had a little piece of gold at his nose, with some marks on it like characters, which the admiral would fain have had, supposing it to be some coin; but it afterwards appeared that there was none throughout all the *West-Indies*.

Nothing more being found at *Fernandina*, than what had been seen at *San Salvador*, and the *Conception*, he proceeded to the next islands. The fourth was called *Saomoto*, and he gave it the name of *Ifabela*, in honour of her catholick majesty, taking possession of it before witnesses, with a notary, as was done in all the rest. The land appeared as beautiful as the rest, looking like *Spain* in *April*, and the people of the same sort. There they killed an alligator, and as they were going towards a town, the inhabitants fled, carrying away what they had; but the admiral having ordered that no harm should be done, they soon came to the ships, to barter, as the others had done, and he gave them toys, asking them for water, that they might grow more familiar, and they brought it in gourds. He would not lose time at the *Ifabela*, nor any of the others, which were very numerous, and all alike, but resolved to go find out one they told him was very large, and by them called *Cuba*, pointing to the southward; he supposing it to be *Sucipango* by the signs they gave, and mighty things they seem'd to say of it. He steer'd his course west south-west, made little way on wednesday and thursday, by reason of the rain, and at nine in the morning changed his course to south-east, running eight leagues, and discovering eight islands lying north and south, which he called *del Arena*, or of sand, on account of the shoals about them. He was told it was a

*Ifabela*  
island.



day and a half's sail from thence to *Cuba*, left them on saturday the 27<sup>th</sup> of *October*, and standing south south-west, discovered *Cuba* before night, yet because it grew late HERRERA and dark, would not draw nearer, but lay  by all night.

## C H A P. IX.

*The Admiral discovers, and takes a view of the Islands of Cuba, and Hispaniola, and is forsaken by Martin Alonso Pinzon.*

*Cuba*  
island.

ON sunday the 28<sup>th</sup> of *October*, he drew near the coast, and called the island *Juana*, or *Joanna*, which appeared to be better than the others, there being hills, mountains, various sorts of trees, plains, and waters to be seen at first sight. He anchored in a great river he called *San Salvador*, or *St. Saviour* for a good omen. The wood seemed to be very thick, the trees tall, bearing blossoms, and fruit, different from ours, with abundance of birds. The admiral wanting some information, sent to two houses there were in sight, the inhabitants whereof fled, bearing nets, and other fishing tackle, and a dog that did not bark. He would not suffer any thing to be touched; but went on to another great river he called *de la Luna*, or of the moon; another he named *Mares*, or seas, the banks whereof were full of inhabitants, who fled to the mountains, which were covered with several sorts of large tall trees. The *Indians* he brought with him, signified, that there was gold, and pearls, which he thought was likely, having seen mutches, and said it was not ten days sail from thence to the continent, only upon a notion he had conceived, upon what *Paul*, a physician of *Florence* had writ; and though he was in the right, it was not the land he imagined; and believing that if many men went ashore the *Indians* would be the more fearful; he sent only two *Spaniards*, with one of the *Indians* of the island of *San Salvador*, and one of *Cuba*, who came to the ships in a canoe. The *Spaniards* were *Roderick de Xeres*; inhabitant of *Ayamonse*, and *Lewis de Torres*, who had been a *Jew*, and spoke *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and some say *Arabick*. He gave them toys to barter, allotted six days for their stay, and order'd what they should say in the name of their catholick majesties; directing they should go up the inland, and enquire into all particulars, without doing wrong to any man. In the mean while he refitted his ship, and found all the wood they burnt had a sort of gum like mastick, the leaf and fruit much resembling the lentisk tree, but was much bigger. In this river of *Mares* the ship had room to wind, and it has seven or eight fathom water at the mouth, and five within, there being two small hills on the south-west side, and a pleasant plain cape running

out to the west north-west, and this was afterwards the port of *Barocoa*, which the adelantado, or lord-lieutenant *Velazquez*, called of the *Assumption*.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of *November*, when the ships were ready to sail, the *Spaniards* returned, with three natives of the island, saying they had travelled 22 leagues, and found a town of fifty houses, built like those already mentioned, wherein were about 1000 inhabitants, a whole race living in a house; that the prime men came out to meet, and led them by the arms to lodge in one of those houses, where they were seated on stools made of one entire piece of wood, in the shape of a living creature that had short legs, the tail standing upright, and the head before, with gold eyes, and ears. That all the *Indians* sat about them on the ground, and came one after another to kiss their hands and feet, believing they came from heaven, and giving them boiled roots to eat, which tasted like chestnuts, intreating them to stay there, or at least to rest themselves for five, or six days, the *Indians* that went along with them, having said much in their commendation. Afterwards abundance of women coming in to see them, the men went away, and those with the same admiration kissed their hands and feet, touching them, as if they had been something holy, and offering what they had. That many would have come away with them, but they gave leave only to their lord, his son, and a servant of his, of whom the admiral made very much.

What the  
*Spaniards*  
saw up the  
island.

They added, that both going and coming they met with several towns, where they were courteously entertained, but none of them had above five or six houses together; and by the way they met several people, every one carrying a lighted firebrand in his hand, to make fire, and smoke themselves with certain herbs they took with them, as also to roast roots, that being their chief food. That the fire was easily lighted, for they had a sort of wood, which being rubbed one piece against another, as if they were boring, soon took fire. They saw several sorts of trees, which they had not seen along the sea coast, and extraordinary variety of birds quite different from ours, and among them partridges and nightingales; but had found

**HERRERA** no four-footed creature, except those little cur dogs, that could not bark. That there was much land sowed with those roots, and that grain they called *Maiz*, which was well tasted, either boiled whole, or made into flower. They saw vast quantities of spun cotton, in bottoms, and thought there was above 12000 weight of it in one house, for it grows wild in the fields; and opens itself, when ripe, as the roses do: but not all at once, for there were some heads open, and others still closed, upon the same plant; and they would give a small basket full of cotton for a leather thong, or a piece of glaz'd earthen ware, or looking glass. They did not use that cotton for cloathing, being all naked, but to make nets to lie in, and to weave small clouts, to cover their privities. Being asked for gold and pearls, they said there was plenty of them at *Bobio*, pointing to the east.

The *Spaniards* made much enquiry among the *Indians* they had aboard for gold, they answered, *Cubanacan*, and the others thought they meant, the great *Cham*, and that the country of *Cathay* was near, for they also made signs to denote four days journey. *Martin Alonzo Pinzon* was of opinion, it must be some great city that was four days journey off; but it was not long before they understood, that *Cabanacan* was a province in the midst of *Cuba*, for *Nocan* signifies in the middle, and that there were gold mines. The admiral having received this information, would not lose time; but ordered some *Indians* of several parts to be taken, to carry them into *Spain*, that every one might give an account of his own country, as witnessess of the discovery. Twelve men, women, and children were secured without giving offence, and when they were ready to sail, an *Indian*, husband to one of the women, and father to two of the children that were aboard, came and desired to be carried along with them. The admiral ordered he should be received, and all of them well used; but the wind proving northerly was obliged to put into a port he called *del Principe*, or the princes, in the same island, which he only viewed from without, near a great number of islands, about a musket shot distant from one another; and this place he called *Mar de Nuestra Señora*, our ladies sea, the channels between the islands being so deep, and well adorned with trees and greens, that it was very delightful sailing through them. The trees were different from ours, some of them looking like mastick, others like *lignum aloes*, others like palm, with the stems green, and smooth, and others of several sorts. And tho' these islands,

among which they went in their boats, were not inhabited, there were many fires in them made by fishermen, the people of *Cuba* using to go thither to fish, and fowl, their numbers being infinite; and there they looked for other provisions, for they eat several filthy things, as great spiders, worms breeding in rotten wood, and other corruption; and fish half raw, whose eyes they put out as soon as taken, and devour them; and so many other things which would turn a *Spaniard's* stomach. In these employments they spent several seasons of the year, sometimes in one island, and sometimes in another, like people that weary of one sort of diet, change for another. In one of these islands with their swords they killed a creature that looked like a wild boar; in the sea they found some mother of pearl, and among many other sorts of fish they drew up in the net, one was like a swine, with a very hard skin, and no part of it soft but the tail. They observed the sea ebb'd, and flowed much more than in any of the other parts they had seen thereabouts, which the admiral attributed to the many islands, and the tide was contrary to what it is in *Spain*, which he concluded so to be, because there it was low water when the moon was south south-west.

On Sunday the 18th of *November*, he returned to *Puerto del Principe*, or the prince's port, and at the mouth of it erected a cross made of two large pieces of wood: *Monday* the 19th, he made towards *Hispaniola*, which some called *Bobio*, and others *Babeque*, yet as it afterwards appeared *Babeque* was not *Hispaniola*, but the continent, for they called it by another name *Caribana*. By reason of the contrary winds he spent three or four days cruising about the island *Isabela*, but did not go up to it, for fear the *Indians* he had taken should slip away, and here they found some of the weeds they had met with in the ocean, and perceived it was carried away by the currents. *Martin Alonzo Pinzon* understanding the *Indians* said there was much gold at *Bobio*, and coveting to enrich himself, left the admiral on *Wednesday* the 21st of *November*, without any stress of weather, or other lawful cause, and his ship being a good sailor got foremost, till at night he quite disappeared. The name of *Bobio* the *Indians* gave to *Hispaniola* seemed to denote it was full of many *Bobios*, which are their houses or huts. The admiral perceived that notwithstanding he had made so many signals, *Martin Alonso* did not appear, returned to *Cuba*, with the other two ships, the wind being contrary, to a large and safe harbour, which he called *Santa Catalina*, or *St. Catherine's*, that

that day being the said faint's eve. Here he took in wood and water; saw some stones that had veins like gold; on the shore there were tall pines, fit for masts of ships; and seeing all the *Indians* directed him to *Hispaniola*, he sailed along the coast 12 leagues farther, where he found good spacious harbours, and among them a river, up whose mouth a galley might conveniently pass, and yet the entrance was not discernible till near at hand, the conveniency whereof invited him to go up the boat's length, and found 8 fathom water, and running up farther drawn along by the clearness of the water, the beauty of the trees, the pleasantness of the banks, and the variety of birds, he saw a boat with twelve seats for men to row, under an arbour, and in some houses close by they found a mass of wax, and a man's head hanging in a basket at a post, which wax they carried to their catholick majesties, but never any more was found in *Cuba*, so that it was supposed to have been brought from *Yucatan* by strefs of weather, in a canoe, or otherwise. They found no people to enquire of, for they all fled, but saw another canoe 95 spans long, which could contain fifty persons, made of one tree, like the others, and tho' they had no iron tools to work them with, those they made of flint served, the trees being very large, and the heart of them soft and spongy, so that the flints easily made impression on them.

The admiral having sailed 107 leagues to the eastward, along the coast of *Cuba*, came to the eastermost point of it, and departed thence on the 5th of *December*, for *Hispaniola*, being a passage of 18 leagues eastward, yet could not reach it till the next day by reason of the currents, when he came to the port he called *St. Nicholas*, because it was that Saint's day, and found it good, spacious, deep, surrounded with thick groves, tho' the land is mountainous, the trees not very large, and like those in *Spain*; there being pine, and myrtle, and a pleasant river fell into the port, and along the banks of it were many *Canoes*, as big as brigantines of twenty five benches.

However finding no people, he went on, HERRERA to the northward, as far as the port he called of the *Conception*, south of a small island he named *Tortuga*, 10 leagues from *Hispaniola*. Perceiving that this island of *Bobio* was very large, and the land and trees like those of *Spain*, and that in one draught of a net, among other fish, his men had taken skates, soles, and other fishes known to the *Spaniards*, which they had not seen before, and had heard nightingales, and other *European* birds sing, which they admired, in *December*, he called it *la Espannola*, that is, the *Spanish* island, which we corruptly write and pronounce *Hispaniola*; because the first was called *San Salvador*, or *St. Saviour*, in honour of God; the 2d the *Conception*, in honour of our lady; the 3d *Fernandina*, the 4th *Isabella*; and the 5th *Joanna* from the king, queen, and prince, and therefore the name of *Spain* was thought fit to be given to the 6th, tho' some said, it might be more properly called *Castellana*, that is the *Castilian* island, because only the crown of *Castile* was concerned in that discovery. The *Indians* he had with him giving a good account of that place, which he was desirous to be certified of, and to know whether it was so wealthy as they represented, and the natives flying, and giving one another notice with fires; he resolved to send out six armed *Spaniards*, who having gone far, without meeting any people, returned, telling wonders of the deliciousness of the country. He ordered a cross to be erected at the mouth of the harbour, on the west-side, and three seamen being in a wood viewing the trees, to make it, they saw abundance of naked people, who fled, as soon as they discovered them, into the thickest parts. The sailors pursued, and took a woman, who had a little plate of gold hanging at her nose. The admiral gave her hawkbells, and glass beads, ordered a shirt to be put upon her, and sent her away with three of the *Indians* he brought with him, who understood her, and three *Spaniards* to bear her company to her habitation.

#### CHAP. X.

*The farther Discovery of the Island Hispaniola, Simplicity of the Natives, kind Reception of the Cacique Guacanagari, the Admiral loses his Ship, and resolves to settle a Colony in this Country.*

THE next day he sent nine *Spaniards* well armed, with an *Indian* of the island of *San Salvador*, to the woman's habitation, which was 4 leagues to the south east. They found a town of 1000 scattered houses, and desert, the inhabitants being fled. The *Indian* was sent after them,

who called, and said so much in praise of the *Spaniards*, that they returned, and quaking with wonder laid their hands on their heads, by way of honour and respect, giving them to eat, and desiring they would stay with them that night. Abundance of people now flocked together,

HERRERA ther, carrying the woman the admiral had given the shirt to on their shoulders, and her husband, who was going to give him thanks. The *Spaniards* returned with an account, that the country abounded in provisions, that the natives were whiter, more tractable, and better countenanced than those of the other islands, and that the country where the gold was found lay more on the eastward; besides that the men were not so large, yet brawny, and well set, without beards, their nostrils wide, their foreheads smooth, broad, and nothing graceful, which were so shaped, as soon as they were born, as a Beauty; for which reason, and because they always were bareheaded, their skulls were so hard that they might break a *Spanish* sword. Here the admiral observed the length of the day and night, and found that twenty half hour glasses were run between sun and sun; but he believed there had been some mistake, through the negligence of the sailors, and that the day was somewhat above eleven hours. Having learnt thus much, tho' the wind was contrary, he resolved to leave that place, and passing between *Hispaniola*, and *Tortuga*, found an *Indian* in a canoe, and wondered that the sea running so high, had not swallowed him up. He took him and his canoe into the ship, and set him ashore, with some toys, who so highly commended the *Spaniards*, that many resorted to the ships; but they only brought some small grains of fine gold hanging at their noses, which they freely parted with. Being asked, where that gold was found, they made signs that there was plenty of it farther on. The admiral enquiring after his island of *Cipango*, they thought he had meant *Cibao*, and pointed to it, being the place that afforded most gold in that island.

The *Cacique* comes aboard.

The admiral was informed, that the lord of that part of the country, whom they called a *Cacique*, was coming, attended by 200 men, to see the ships; and tho' young, he was carried in a chair, on men's shoulders, and had a governor, and counsellors. When he came near it was observed that they paid him wonderful respect, and he was extraordinary grave. An *Indian* of the island *Isabela* went ashore, and spoke to him, telling him the *Spaniards* were heavenly men. He went aboard, and being come to the poop, made signs for those that attended him to stay behind, except two men of riper years, who sat down at his feet, being his counsellors. The admiral ordered they should give him to eat, he took a little of every sort, which he tasted, then gave it to the other two, and from them it was carried out to the rest; but when they gave him to

drink he only touched it with his lips. They all observed much gravity, spoke little, his men looked upon his mouth, and talked to him. The admiral thought these people more rational than those of the other islands, and it growing late the petty king, or *Cacique* went ashore.

The next day, tho' the wind was contrary, and blew hard, the sea did not run high, because sheltered by the island *Tortuga*, and some seamen went a fishing, with whom the *Indians* were much pleased. Some men went to the town, and barter'd with glass beads for small plates of gold, which much pleased the admiral, that their majesties might see he had found gold in his discovery, and that his promises were not vain. The king, in the afternoon, came down again to the shore, and at the same time a canoe, from the island *Tortuga*, with forty men in it, to see the *Spaniards*, at which the *Cacique* seemed to take offence; but all the natives of *Hispaniola* sat down on the ground, in token of peace, and those in the canoe landed; but the king stood up, and threatened them, whereupon they went off again, and he threw water, and some stones at them to shew his anger, and gave the admiral's *Alguazil* a stone to throw at them, which he did not, but smiled. They in the canoe returned very submissively to *Tortuga*, and the admiral used all means to find out that place, where they said, there was so much gold. This day, in honour of the feast of the *Conception*, the admiral ordered the ships to be adorn'd, hoisting the colours and streamers, arming the men, and firing the cannon. The king came aboard, when the admiral was at dinner, and sat down by him, without suffering him to rise, the respect those naked people paid to their sovereign being very remarkable. He invited him to eat, and the *Cacique* took the meat as he had done the time before; and after dinner, they laid before the admiral a gold girdle, which looked like those they use in *Spain*, but the workmanship was different, and some gold plates. The admiral gave the king an old piece of hanging that was before his bed, because he perceived it pleased him, and some amber beads he had about his neck, a pair of red shoes, and a bottle of orange flower water, which pleased him highly. He and his men seemed much concerned that they could not understand one another, and offered all the country afforded. The admiral shewed him a piece of *Spanish* coin, bearing the heads of their catholick majesties, which he admired, as also the colours, with the crosses, and royal arms. Then he returned ashore, the admiral having done him much honour, and

Second entertainment of the *Cacique* aboard.

and was carried back to his town in the chair, or bier. There was also a son of his, attended by abundance of people, and before him they carried the things the admiral had given him, held up singly on high, that they might be seen by all men. Next a brother of the king's went aboard, whom the admiral treated, and shewed much respect to, and the next day he order'd a cross to be erected in the square belonging to the town near the sea, which the *Indians* paid respect to, as they saw the Christians did, for the town the king lived in, was 4 leagues off.

On tuesday night, the admiral being desirous to discover some of the secrets of that country, hoisted sail, yet could not in all wednesday the 19th get out of that little channel, between the two islands, or reach a port there was in it. He saw abundance of woods and mountains, and a small island he called *St. Thomas*, judged that the island *Hispaniola* had many capes and ports, found the weather very delightful, and the land pleasant. Thursday the 20th he put into a port, betwixt the little island of *St. Thomas*, and a cape. They saw several towns, and many fires, or smokes, for the season being dry, and the grass growing high, they burnt it to make ways, because being naked it would hurt them, as also to catch the *Uti*s, which they did by means of the fire. The admiral went with the boats into the harbour, and having taken a view, said it was a very good one. They saw some *Indians*, who were shy of the *Spaniards*, but those who came in the ships, bid them not to fear, and then there flocked such multitudes of men, women, and children, that they covered the shore. They brought victuals, gourds full of water, and good bread made of *Mayz*, or *Indian* wheat; nor did they hide the women, as in other places, but all stood in admiration to behold the *Spaniards*, and praised *God*. They were a whiter people, more cleverly shaped, better natured, and more generous, and the admiral took much care that no offence should be given them. He sent six men to see the town, where they were entertained like persons that came from heaven. At this time came some canoes, with *Indians*, from a petty king, who desired the admiral to come to his town, and expected him with abundance of people, on a point of land. He went with the boats, tho' many intreated him to stay with them. As soon as the boats arrived, the king sent the *Spaniards* provisions, and finding they received them, the *Indians* went to fetch more, and some parrots. The admiral gave them hawkbells and glafs, and other toys, and returned to his ships, the women

and children crying out to him to stay. He ordered meat to be given to some that followed him in canoes, and others that swam half a league to the caravels, and tho' the shore was covered with people, abundance were seen going and coming to and from the ships, across a great plain, which was afterwards called *la Vega Real*, or the royal plain. The admiral again commended that port, and gave it the name of *St. Thomas* because discover'd on his day. HERRERA

On saturday the 22d, he designed to go seek out those islands where the *Indians* said there was much gold, but was hinder'd by the weather, and therefore sent out the boats a fishing. Soon after came a man from king *Guacanagari* to desire he would go into his country, and he would give him all he had, being one of the five sovereigns of the island, and master of most of the northern side, on which the admiral then was. He sent him a girdle he wore instead of a purse, and a vizard mask, with ears, a tongue, and nose, all of beaten gold. The girdle was all set with small fish bones, like seed pearl, curiously wrought, and four fingers broad. he resolved to depart on the 23d, but first sent six *Spaniards*, with the notary, to please others, who were no less desirous to see them. They were well treated, and bartered for some cotton, and grains of gold. Above 120 canoes came to the ships with provision, and earthen pitchers of good water, well made, and painted red, and giving their sort of spice, called *Axi*, which they put into dishes of water, and drank it off, shewing it was wholesome. The bad weather detaining the admiral, he sent the notary to satisfy king *Guacanagari*, and two of his *Indians* to a town, to see whether there was any gold, because having got some considerable quantity of late days, he believed there was plenty. It was certainly concluded, that no less than 1000 men came into the ships this day, every one of whom gave something, and those who came not aboard from their canoes cried out to them to take what they brought. The admiral by what he had seen till then, guessed the island to be as big as *England*. The notary went to *Guacanagari*, who came out to meet him; he thought his town more regular than any of the others he had seen. All the natives gazed on the *Spaniards* with surprize, and satisfaction. The king gave them cotton cloths, parrots, and some pieces of gold; the people parted with such as they had, and kept the trifles the *Spaniards* gave them like relicks, and so the notary and his companions returned to the ships, attended by the *Indians*. Monday

**HERRERA** day the 24th the admiral went to visit king *Guacanagari*, who was four or five leagues from the port of *St. Thomas*, and there he diverted himself, till seeing the sea calm, he went to bed, for he had not slept in two days and a night. The weather being calm, the steersman left the helm to a grummet, notwithstanding the admiral had commanded, that whether the wind blew or not, he who was entrusted with the helm, should never leave it to another. The truth is, there appeared no danger of shoals, or rocks, for on Sunday, when the boats attended the notary to the *Cacique*, they had sounded all the coast, and what rocks there were from the point to the east south east, for three leagues, and had observed which way they might pass; and therefore being now in a dead calm, they all went to sleep, and it happened that the current carried on the ship by degrees, with such a mighty noise, that it might be heard a league off, when the lad, who was at the helm, perceiving the rudder to strike, cried out.

The admiral loses his ship.

The admiral hearing him, was the first that got up, then came the master, whose watch that was, whom he directed, since the boat was out, to heave out an anchor a stern, that so by help of the captain they might work off the ship; but when he thought they had been executing his orders, he perceiv'd that some of the men were flying in the boat to the other caravel, which was half a league to windward. Perceiving that the water ebbed, and the vessel was in danger, he order'd the mast to be cut by the board, and many things cast into the sea, to get her off; but nothing would do, for the water falling off again, the ship every moment stuck faster, and lying athwart the sea, tho' it was calm, the seams of her open'd, she heel'd to one side sprung a leak below, and was fill'd with water, and had the wind or sea been rough, no man had escap'd; whereas had the master done what the admiral order'd, the ship had been saved. The boat came back to their relief, for they in the other caravel seeing how the matter stood, did not only refuse to receive them, but were coming with it to help; but there being no remedy, order was taken to save the men, to which purpose the admiral sent *James de Arana*, and *Peter Gutierrez* ashore, to tell the *Cacique* that he had lost his ship at a league and a half from his town, as he was going to see him. *Guacanagari* shed tears for sorrow, and immediately sent out his *Canoes*, which in a moment carried off all there was upon the deck, he coming with his brothers, and taking great care, that nothing should be touch'd; for he stay'd himself to secure the goods, and sent

to bid the admiral not be concern'd, for he would give him all he had, and the goods were carried to two houses he appointed for laying of them up. The *Indians* assisted with so much diligence, and good will, that nothing more could have been done, had they been in *Spain*; for the people were peaceable and loving, their language easy to pronounce and learn; tho' naked they had some commendable customs, the king was serv'd in great state, was himself very steady in all points, and the people were so curious in asking questions, that they would know reasons for every thing they saw. They knelt down at prayers, as well as the *Spaniards*, and it did not appear at that time, that they had any other religion, but worshipping of heaven, the sun, and moon.

Wednesday the 26th of *December*, *Guaca-Guacanagari* went aboard the caravel *Ninna*, where *gari* goes to visit the admiral. the admiral was, very much afflicted for the loss of his ship; he comforted him, offering all he had. Two *Indians* of another town came with gold plates, to exchange for hawkbells, which they most valu'd, and the admiral was well provided with such toys, knowing by the *Portugueses* how beneficial they were in *Guinea*. The seamen also said, that others brought gold, and gave it for ribbons, and other trifles. *Guacanagari* perceiving that the admiral valu'd it, told him, he would have some brought from *Cibao*. Then going ashore, he invited the admiral to eat *Axi* and *Cazabi*, which was their chief diet, and gave him some vizor-masks with ears, noses, and eyes all of gold, besides other small things they wore about their necks, and complain'd much of the *Caribbees*, who carry'd away his subjects, and that was the reason why he fled at first, believing that the *Spaniards* were *Caribbees* [whom we call *Canibals*, or *Man-eaters of the Caribbee Islands*.] The admiral shew'd him his weapons, and a *Turkish* bow, with which a *Spaniard* shot very well, promising to defend him; but he was most frighted at the canon, for when that fir'd, all the *Indians* fell down, as if they were dead. The admiral finding all people so loving, so many tokens of gold, and the country so fruitful and pleasant, concluded that God had permitted the ship to be lost, that a settlement might be made there, and the preaching of his holy name begin in that place; for he often permits that this should not be done merely for his honour, and the advantage of our neighbours, but for the reward men expect in this world, and in the next; for it is not to be believ'd that any nation in the world would venture upon so many hardships as the admiral and the *Spaniards* did, in so dubious and dangerous

gerous an undertaking, were it not in hopes of some reward, which has carry'd on this holy work. The *Indians* went forwards and backwards for hawksbels, which was the thing they most valued, and as soon as they came near the caravel, they held up the pieces of gold, crying, *Cbuque, Cbuque*, signifying, Take and give the bell. An *Indian* ashore came with a piece of gold, weighing about half a mark [that is four ounces] which he held in his left hand, and stretch'd out the right, and as soon as he had receiv'd the bell, he dropt the gold, and ran away, thinking he had cheated the *Spaniard*.

Pleasant simplicity of an *Indian*.

The admiral resolv'd to leave some men in this country, to trade with the *Indians*, make discoveries up the land, and learn the language, that at his return from *Spain* he might have some to direct him in planting of Colonies, and subduing it, and many freely offer'd themselves to stay. He order'd a tower to be built, with the timber of the ship that was cast away, and by this time advice was brought, that the caravel

*Pinta* was in a river, towards the easter-<sup>HERRERA</sup> most point, and *Guacanagari* sent to get certain information of it. The admiral took much care to advance the structure, and the more because he had daily fresh motives so to do: in regard that *Guacanagari* always express'd much fear of the *Caribbees*, to encourage him, and at the same time give a proof of the effect of the *Spanish* arms, the admiral order'd a cannon to be fir'd against the side of the ship that was cast away, which was pierc'd through, and the ball fell into the water beyond it. He shew'd him what execution our weapons would do, and said, those he intended to leave in his country, should defend him with them, because he intended to return into *Spain*, to bring jewels, and other things to present him. Above all, those people were so fond of the hawksbels, that some of them, fearing there should be none left, would come to the caravel over night, to desire to have one kept for them till the next morning.

## C H A P. XI.

*The Admiral affectionately receiv'd, builds a Fort in Hispaniola, and disposes all Things for his Return to Spain.*

A canoe sent to seek the other caravel.

THE admiral had sent a *Canoe*, with a *Spaniard* in it, to find out the caravel *Pinta*, and carry a letter to *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, kindly desiring he would join him again, without taking notice of the fault committed in leaving him; but he return'd with an account that he had gone above twenty leagues without finding him, and had he gone five or six farther, he had not lost his labour. An *Indian* afterwards said, he had two days before seen the caravel at anchor in a river, yet was not credited, since the others had not met with her, and yet he spoke the truth as it afterwards appeared, for he might see her from some high ground, and made haste to tell his lord. The sailor, who went in the canoe, said, that twenty leagues from that place he saw a king, who had two great gold plates on his head, as had several others who were with him, which as soon as the *Indians* in the canoe spoke to him, he took off. The admiral fancy'd that *Guacanagari* had forbid them all selling any gold to the *Spaniards*, that it might all pass through his own hands. The building of the fort was hastned, and to that effect *Columbus* went ashore, for he always lay aboard the caravel. As he went in the boat he thought he had seen *Guacanagari*, who slipp'd into his house, perhaps for the more state, having concerted to perform the ceremony he afterwards did,

V O L. V.

which was sending his brother, who receiv'd the admiral with much joy and civility, and led him by the hand to one of the houses that were given to the Christians, being the best and biggest in the town. There they had prepar'd him a place to sit in adorn'd with the inner rhinds or films of palm-trees, which are as large as a great calf's skin, and almost of that shape, very clean and cool, and one of them covers a man, and keeps the rain off him, as if he had a calf's or cow's skin over him, and they serve for many uses, being by the *Indians* call'd *Yaguas*.

Reception of the admiral.

They seated the admiral on a chair, with a low back to it, as the *Indians* used, being very handsome, smooth, and shining, as if they had been of jet. As soon as he was seated the brother gave notice to the king, who came presently, put a great plate of gold about his neck, with much satisfaction, and stay'd with him till it grew late, when the admiral return'd to lye aboard his caravel. He had many motives for settling a colony in this place; the chief whereof were, that when it was known in *Spain*, that some men were left there, others might be inclinable to go over; and because the one caravel he had left could not conveniently contain them all; besides the good will he found in those that were to be left, to which they were much encourag'd by the meekness and affability of the natives;

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HERRERA natives; as also for that, tho' he had resolv'd to carry the king some of the *Indians*, and such other notable things as he could find in the country, as a testimony of his discovery, it was requisite to give a reputation to the action, that it should be known some men had stay'd by their own consent in those parts.

The first fort or town in the *Indies* call'd the *Nativity*.

The fort had a ditch, and tho' made of wood, yet there being men to defend it, the strength was sufficient against the natives. It was finish'd in ten days, an infinite number of men working at it, and he call'd it *la Villa de Navidad*, that is, the town of the nativity, because he came into that port on Christmas-day. The next morning, being the 29th of *December*, a nephew of the king's very young but ingenious, went aboard the caravel, and the admiral being still eager to know where they had their gold, ask'd every body by signs, and began to understand some words. He enquir'd of this youth after the mines, and understood he told him, that four days journey off to the eastward, there was an island he call'd *Guarinoex*, and those of *Macorix*, *Mayons*, *Fumay*, *Cibao*, and *Coray*, where there was abundance of gold. These names the admiral writ down immediately, and thereby it appear'd that he yet knew nothing of the *Indian* tongue; for those were not so many islands, but provinces in *Hispaniola*, and lands subject to so many kings or lords. *Guarinoex* was the king of that vast *Vega Real*, or Royal Plain, above mention'd, one of the wonders of nature; and the youth meant, that the province of *Cibao*, abounding in gold, was in the dominions of *Guarinoex*. *Macorix* was another province, which afforded little gold; and the other names were other provinces, some letters being omitted, or added, because the admiral not understanding, knew not how to spell them; and thought the king's brother, who was present, had reprov'd his nephew, for telling him those names. At night, the king sent him a great gold mask, desiring in return a basin, and a pot, or pitcher, which perhaps were of brass, or pewter, and were immediately sent him, believing they were for models to make others of gold.

On Sunday the 30th of *December*, the admiral went to dine ashore, at such time as five *Caciques* arriv'd there, all of them subject to king *Guacanagari*, with gold crowns on their heads, and much state. As soon as he landed, *Guacanagari* came to receive, and led him by the arm to the same house he had been in before, where the place of state was prepar'd with chairs. He made the admiral sit down, with much courtesy and respect, then took off the crown from his own head, and put it on

the admiral's, who took off a string of curious glass beads, of several colours, making a very fine show, which he had about his neck, and put it on the king's, as also a fine cloth loose coat, he wore that day, and put that on him, then sent for a pair of colour'd buskins, and caused him to draw them on; he also put upon his finger a great silver ring, being inform'd, they had seen a seaman wear one, and did all they could to get it; for they put a great value upon any white metal, whether silver, or pewter. These gifts extremely pleas'd the king, and made him think himself the richest man in the world. Two of the *Caciques* attended the admiral to the boat, and each of them gave him a great plate of gold, which were not cast, but compos'd of many grains, those *Indians* being ignorant of the art of founding, but batter'd out the grains they found, between two stones.

The admiral went to lye aboard the caravel, and found that *Vincent Yanes Pinzon* affirm'd he had seen rhubarb, and knew its branches and the root; which, they say, shoots out little sprigs above the earth, the fruit on it being like green mulberries, almost withered, and the stalk near the root is a very curious yellow, the root under ground being like a great pear. The admiral sent for the rhubarb, and they brought him a frail full and no more, because they carried no spade to dig it up, which was carried to their majesties for a sample, but did not prove to be rhubarb. The admiral look'd upon that they call *Axi* in this island, as good spice, saying it was better than the pepper, or grains of paradise they bring from the east, and therefore they imagin'd there might be other sorts of it.

The admiral being now sensible of God's blessing in discovering to him so many, and such happy nations, with such tokens of gold, which seem'd to promise ineffable wealth; and thinking this an affair of the greatest consequence, he coveted nothing so much as to make known to all the world how much Providence had prosper'd him, and particularly to their catholick majesties. The fort being now finish'd, he order'd to make ready for their return, taking in wood, water, and all other necessaries. The king order'd he should have as much of the country bread, call'd *Cazabi*, as he pleas'd; as also *Axi*, salt-fish, and whatsoever else he had. Tho' he would not willingly have return'd into *Spain*, without first coasting all along that land, which he thought ran far to the eastward, that he might discover more of its secrets, and find out the best way to it, for the better bringing of beasts and cattle,  
yet



**HERRERA** yet he durst not then attempt it, as having but one caravel, and might therefore be in danger, so that it was not reasonable to venture farther on an unknown coast. He complain'd grievously, that *Martin Alonso Pinzon* had forsaken, and thereby put him to these inconveniencies. For to stay in the port he made choice of thirty nine men, the most willing, and freely dispos'd, strong, and of a good constitution to endure hardships, from among all his crew, appointing *James de Arana*, a native of *Cordova*, for their captain, notary, and *Alguazil*, with as full power as he had from their catholick majesties; in case he should die *Peter Gutierrez*, groom of the privy chamber to their catholick majesties was to succeed him, and after him *Roderick de Escovedo*, born at *Segovia*. He also left one master *John*, a surgeon among them, and a ship-carpenter, a cooper, an able gunner, well experienc'd in that business, and a taylor, the rest being all able seamen; furnishing them with bisket, wine, and such other provisions as he had for a year, seeds to sow, all the commodities he had to barter, being a considerable quantity, all the cannon belonging to his own ship that was lost, and her boat.

All things being in a readiness for his departure, he call'd them all together, and made a speech to this effect. *He bid them serve GOD and praise him, for that he had brought them into that country to propagate his holy faith; not to forsake him, but to live like good Christians, and he would be their support; to pray for his good voyage, that he might soon return with a greater force; to love, and obey their captain, which was necessary for their preservation, and he required it of them in their highnesses names; to respect*

*Guacanagari, and wrong none of his people, or offer any violence either to man or woman, that they might be confirm'd in the opinion of their coming from heaven; not to divide themselves, nor go up the country, nor out of Guacanagari's dominions, since he shew'd them so much affection; to survey the coast in their boat and canoes, with his consent, endeavouring to discover the gold mines, and some good port, not being well satisfied with that where they were, call'd the Nativity; to endeavour to barter for as much as they could, fairly, without seeming covetous; and to learn the language, that being so necessary to gain the friendship of the natives, and very useful; and he promis'd, since they gave the king the first footing in that new-found empire, to beg, he would be pleas'd to reward them.* They answer'd, They would most readily comply with all he enjoin'd them. On wednesday the 2<sup>d</sup> of *January*, 1493, he went ashore to take his leave, din'd with *Guacanagari*, and his *Caciques*, recommended to him the Christians, whom he had order'd to serve, and defend him against the *Caribbees*; gave him a very fine shirt, and said he would soon return with presents from the monarchs of *Spain*. The king return'd a courteous answer, expressing much sorrow for his departure. One of the king's servants said, he had sent canoes along the coast to seek for gold; and the admiral reply'd, That had not *Martin Alonso Pinzon* left him, he durst have undertaken to round the island, and carry home a ton of gold; and still he would have done it, did he not apprehend that the caravel *Pinta* might get safe into *Spain*, and inform against him, that so the captain might palliate his offence.

An. 1493.

## C H A P. XII.

*The Admiral sets out in order to return to Spain.*

An. 1493.  
The admiral's departure towards Spain.

**O**N friday the 4<sup>th</sup> of *January*, 1493, *Columbus* departing the port of the *Nativity*, sail'd to the eastward, for a very high mountain, bare of trees, but thick of grafs, and looking like a pavilion, or tent; which he call'd *Monte Christo*, or *Christ's Mount*, and is eighteen leagues east from the cape he named *Santo*, or *Holly*, being four leagues from the port of the *Nativity*. That night he anchor'd six leagues from *Monte Christo*. Saturday the 5<sup>th</sup> of *January* he advanc'd to a little island close by, where there were good salt-pits. He enter'd the salt-pits, and lik'd the country so well, and the beauty of the woods and plains he saw, that he said, that must be the island of *Cipango*, and had he thought he had been so near the mines of

*Cibao*, whence so much wealth was drawn, he would have been much more positive. Sunday the 6<sup>th</sup>, he left *Monte Christo*, and soon discover'd the caravel *Pinta*, sailing towards him, before the wind. They agreed to return to *Monte Christo*, where *Martin Alonso Pinzon* made his excuse, for leaving him; and tho' it was not satisfactory, the admiral conniv'd, and believ'd he had barter'd for much gold, and taken the one half for himself, allowing the other to the sailors. A great river falls into this port, which he call'd *Rio de Oro*, or *River of Gold*, because the sand look'd like gold, and there he water'd. Wednesday the 9<sup>th</sup> he hoist'd sail, came to *Punta Roxa*, or *Red Point*, which is thirty leagues east from *Monte Christo*, and there they took tortoises,

He finds the caravel that had left him.

**HERRERA** tortoises, as big as bucklers, that went to lay their eggs ashore. The admiral affirm'd he had thereabouts seen three mermaids, which rais'd themselves high above the water, and were not so beautiful as they paint them; but had some sort of human face, as he had seen at other times on the coast of Guinea. He proceeded to *Rio de Gracia*, or the River of Grace, where *Martin Alonso Pinzon* had been trading, and was always call'd by his name, and there he order'd four *Indians* the said *Martin Alonso* had taken by force, to be left.

Friday the 11<sup>th</sup>, he sail'd on to a cape he call'd *Belprado*, whence there was a prospect of a mountain, which looking like silver, because cover'd with snow, he call'd it *Monte de Plata*, or Mountain of Plate, and the port at the foot of it *Puerto de Plata*, that is, Port of Plate, being in the shape of a horse-shoe. Running on all along the coast, with the current, and fair weather, ten leagues farther, he found several capes, which he call'd *del Angel*, or the Angel's; *la Punta del Yerro*, the Mistake-Point; *el Redondo*, the Round one; *el Frances*, the French one; *el Cabo de buen Tiempo*, Fair weather Cape; *el Tajado*, the Upright. Next saturday he advanc'd thirty leagues farther, admiring the extent of the island, call'd one cape *de Padre y Hijo*, of the Father and Son, a harbour *Puerto sacro*, sacred Port, and a point of land *Cabo de les Enamorados*, the Love's Cape. Coming up to it he discover'd an extraordinary large bay, three leagues wide, and in the midst of it a small island. There he lay to observe the eclipse, which was like to be on the 17<sup>th</sup>, the opposition of *Jupiter* and the moon, and the conjunction of the sun and *Mercury*, in opposition to *Jupiter*. He sent the boat ashore for water, where they found some men, with bows and arrows; they bought a bow and some arrows, and desir'd one of them to go speak with the admiral; he consented, was ask'd for the *Caribbees*, and pointed, that they were to the eastward; and to the question about gold, pointed towards the island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, saying there was *guanina*, that is, pale gold, which the *Indians* highly value. He gave him meat, and two pieces of green and red cloth, with some little glass beads, and then set him ashore. Five and fifty naked *Indians*, with long hair, like women in *Spain*, great plumes of feathers, bows and arrows, swords made of hard palm-tree wood, and heavy poles, which bruised grievously where they fell, lay in ambush in the wood. The *Indian* made them lay down their arms, they came to the boat, two of their bows were bought by the admiral's order, and they were so far from selling

any more, that they prepar'd to seize the *Spaniards*, for which reason they fell upon them, gave one a great cut in the buttocks, and another a blow on the breast, upon which the rest fled, and they might have kill'd many had they pursu'd them. This was the first time any hostility was committed on this island, betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Indians*. The admiral was concern'd at it, tho' on the other hand he said it pleas'd him, that they might know what the Christians could do.

On monday the 14<sup>th</sup>, in the morning, abundance of people appear'd on the shore, *Columbus* order'd the men in the boat to stand upon their guard; but the *Indians* came as if nothing had happened, and among them was the king of that province, and the *Indian* that had been aboard the caravel, to which that king came with three of his men. The admiral order'd them bisket and honey to eat, red caps, bits of cloth, and beads. The next day the king sent his gold crown, and store of provisions, the men that brought them being arm'd with bows and arrows. Four such understanding youths came to the caravel, that *Columbus* resolv'd to carry them to *Spain*. They gave him an account of several things, and from thence shew'd him the island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*. He departed that bay, which he nam'd *de los Flechos*, or of the arrows, on wednesday the 16<sup>th</sup> of *January*, not thinking fit to stay any longer because the caravels made much water, sailing on with a west-north-west wind, and when he had sail'd sixteen leagues, the *Indians* he had aboard shew'd him the island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, and the *Caribbees*, where the man-eaters liv'd. Tho' he would willingly have taken a view of those islands, yet to satisfy the men, the wind freshning, he order'd to direct their course for *Spain*. Sailing on for some time prosperously enough he saw many tunny fishes, some gulls, and the wind was very drying. They met with abundance of weeds, but being acquainted with them were not apprehensive, and kill'd a tunny fish, and a large shark, which serv'd them to make a good meal, for they had nothing left but bread and wine. The caravel *Pinta* could not sail well upon a bouling, her mizen mast being faulty, and therefore little use made of it; and the admiral waiting for her, they made little way. Sometimes when the weather was calm, the *Indians* leap'd into the water, swam about, and diverted themselves. Having sail'd some days upon several rumb, because the wind was unsteady, *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, *Sancho Ruyz*, *Peralonso Ninno*, and *Roldan* the pilots kept account of the leagues they ran, and making their

their reckoning, concluded themselves to be to the eastward of the *Azores*, for they allow'd more leagues than in truth the caravels sail'd; so that directing their course northward they would not have

come up with the island of *St. Mary*, which HERRERA is the last of the *Azores*, but would have been five leagues from it, and have come up, near *Madera*, or *Puerto Santo*.

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Admiral prosecutes his voyages, touches at the Azores, and is driven by Storms into Lisbon.*

A dreadful storm.

THE admiral being skilful in computing the leagues, found 150 short of the others, and on tuesday the 12<sup>th</sup> of *February*, the sea began to swell with fierce and dangerous storms, so that he drove all the night without any sail aboard, yet afterwards let out a small matter. The sea broke, and beat the ships. In the morning the wind slackened a little, but on wednesday night grew strong again, the waves running so high that the ship could not work her way out. The admiral bore his main-sail, without any bonnet, very low, that it might only carry the vessel through the surges; but perceiving the mighty danger suffered her to drive a stern before the wind, there being no other remedy. Then the caravel *Pinta* began to run from it, and vanished, tho' the admiral carried a light all the night, and she answered. On thursday the 14<sup>th</sup> of *February*, the storm increased, as did the fear of perishing, to which was added the concern of thinking the *Pinta* was lost. The dismal weather ceased not, and the caravel roll'd for want of ballast, the provisions being spent. The admiral seeing death near at hand, that their catholic majesties might not miss of some intelligence of what he had done to serve them, writ down on a skin of parchment as much as he could relating to his discovery, which he wrapped up in an oiled cloth, and put it into a close cask, throwing it into the sea, all the men believing it was some act of devotion, and immediately the wind slackned. Friday the 15<sup>th</sup> of *February*, they saw land a head, towards the east north east, which some said was the island *Madera*, others the rock of *Lisbon*; but the admiral still persisted it was one of the *Azores*. They ply'd backwards and forwards with much trouble, and could not recover the island of *St. Mary*. The admiral suffered much in his legs, having been out in the cold and wet, and on the 18<sup>th</sup> with much difficulty, anchored on the north side of the island, which they found to be *St. Mary's*. Immediately three men hailed the caravel, the boat went for them, and they carried the admiral some refreshment of bread and fowl from the governor, whose name was

*John de Costenbeda*. On tuesday the 19<sup>th</sup> of *February*, he ordered half the men to go out in procession, to a chapel there was near by, in pursuance of a vow made in the storm, and when they returned, he would go with the other half, and desired the three *Portugueses* to send them a priest to say mass. Whilst they were in their shirts at prayers, the whole town, horse and foot, with their governor, fell upon and seized them all. Their long stay made the admiral suspect, that they were detained, or that the boat was staved, the island being surrounded with rocks, and there being no sight of it, because the hermitage was covered by a point of land, which juts out into the sea, he removed with the caravel right against the chapel, and saw abundance of people, and that some went into the boat, and were coming to the caravel.

The governor of the island stood up, demanded security of the admiral to come aboard, and tho' he gave him his word, yet he would not venture his person. The admiral asked him, why he had sent him fresh provisions, and those *Portugueses* to invite him ashore, and yet, notwithstanding there was peace between the crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*, did so base a thing as to detain his men; adding, that to satisfy him of his being employed by the king and queen of *Spain*, he would shew him his commission. The *Portuguese* answered, we here do not know the king and queen of *Castile*, nor do we regard their commission, or stand in fear of them. Some other words passed between them, and the *Portuguese* told him he might go into the port with the caravel, for all he had done was by his king's order, which the admiral bid his men bear witness to; and told the governor, that in case he did not restore his boat and men, he would carry an hundred *Portuguese* prisoners into *Spain*. Then he anchored again where he was before, because the wind blew fresh, ordered the casks to be filled with sea water, to ballast the caravel, and the weather being foul, sailed towards the island of *St. Michael*, by reason there are no good harbours in those islands, and therefore it is safest to be out at sea. It blew a great storm

**HERRERA** storm all that night, and missing the island of *St. Michael*, he returned to *St. Mary's*, where the boat presently came out with two clergymen, a notary, and five sailors, and being promised security they went aboard, and required the admiral to shew them the king of *Spain's* commission, which he did, they returned, and dismissed his boat and men, the governor saying, he had orders from the king of *Portugal* to seize the admiral, and would give any thing to take him.

Having recovered his men, and the weather being fit to sail for *Spain*, he gave orders to stand eastward. The next day a great bird, which the admiral judged to be an eagle, came to the ship. On saturday the 2d of *March* there blew a dreadful storm. They drove without any sails till four of the clock on monday, without any hopes of escaping, but then it pleased **God** they discovered the land, which was the rock of *Cintra*, or as our sailors call it of *Lisbon*, and to avoid the tempest, he resolved to put into the harbour, without being able to lie at *Cascaes*. He gave **God** thanks for his deliverance, and all men admired how he had escaped, declaring they had never seen such storms. The king of *Portugal* was then at *Valparayso*, the admiral writ to acquaint him that the king and queen of *Spain*, his sovereigns, had ordered him to put into any of his

highness's ports, to get what he had need of for his money, and therefore desired his leave to go up to *Lisbon* for his greater security, and to satisfy his highness, that he came not from *Guinea*, but from the *Indies*. *Bartholomew Diaz de Lisboa*, master of a galeon well stored with cannon, came in an armed boat, and bid the admiral come aboard him, to give an account of himself to the king's officers, and the captain of the galeon. *Columbus* answer'd, that he was the monarch of *Spain's* admiral, and therefore accountable to no man, and would not go out of his ship, unless compelled by a superior power. The *Portuguese* bid him send his master, which the admiral also refused to do, saying, he would never consent, unless compelled, for it was the same thing for him to go, as to send another; and that it was the custom of the *Spanish* admirals rather to die, than to put themselves, or their men into the hands of others. The *Portuguese* replied, that since he was so resolved, he might do as he pleased; but desired he would shew him the king of *Spain's* commission if he had any; and having seen it returned to the galeon, and gave an account of what had passed. The captain of it, whose name was *Alvaro Daman*, went aboard the admiral's caravel, with kettle-drums, trumpets, and hautboys, and offered him all he should desire.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*What passed between the Admiral, and the King of Portugal. Columbus arrives at Palos, their Majesties press his coming to Barcelona, and the honourable Reception he had there, the Pope grants those Countries to the Crown of Castile.*

**A**S soon as the report was spread abroad in *Lisbon*, that the admiral was come from the *Indies*, such multitudes of people flocked to see him, and the *Indians* he brought, that it was wonderful to behold, and all men were amazed at it. The next day he received a letter from the king of *Portugal*, by the hands of *Don Martin de Noronna*, his majesty's servant, by which he desired he would come to him, and he, not to shew any mistrust, complied. He lay that night at *Sacavem*, and was well entertained, and the king had given orders at *Lisbon*, for him to be supplied with all he had occasion for gratis. The next day he arrived where the king was, all the gentlemen of the king's household came out to meet, and conducted him to court, where the king received him very honourably, made him sit down, and after expressing much joy for his success, and enquiring after some particulars, said,

he was of opinion, that according to articles with the crown of *Spain*, that conquest rather belonged to the crown of *Portugal*, than to that of *Spain*. He answered, he had not seen those articles, nor knew any more, than that their highnesses had directed him, not to go to *Mina*, or *Guinea*, which had been proclaimed in all the ports of *Andaluzia*, before he set out on his voyage. The king answered, he believed there would be no need of any mediators to accommodate this matter. He ordered the prior of *Crato*, that is of the knights of *Malta*, the prime man then about the court, to entertain him. The next day the king told him, if he wanted any thing, he should be supplied, and making him sit, asked many questions, concerning that new voyage, the latitudes, the people, and other things relating to those parts, being highly concerned that he had let slip that good fortune. There were

were those, who offered him to murder the admiral, that what he had done might not be known; but he would not consent.

On monday the 11<sup>th</sup> of *March*, the admiral took his leave of the king, who was attended by all the gentry about the court. *Don Martin de Noremba* was ordered to conduct him to *Lisbon*; his majesty gave him a mule, and another to his pilot, and twenty *Espadines*, worth about 20 ducats. He took *Villa Franca* in his way, where the queen was, in the monastery of *St. Antony*. He kissed her hand, and having given an account of his voyage, departed, and was overtaken by a servant of the king's, who told him from his majesty, that if he would go into *Spain* by land, he would order him to be attended, provide horses, and furnish him with all necessaries; but he failed for *Sevil* in his caravel, on wednesday the 13<sup>th</sup> of *March*. On thursday before sun rising he came to cape *St. Vincent*, and friday the 15<sup>th</sup> after day to *Saltes*, where he entered about noon with the tide, into the port he had set out from, on friday the 3<sup>d</sup> of *August*, the year before, so that he spent six months and a half on the voyage. Being informed that their catholick majesties were at *Barcelona*, he had thoughts of repairing to them by sea, in his caravel. He landed at *Palos*, was received with a procession, and extraordinary rejoicing of the whole town, all men admiring that mighty exploit, which they never imagined he would have performed so successfully.

The admiral having resolved not to go by sea to *Barcelona*, sent their majesties advice of his arrival, and a brief account of his voyage, referring them to his own more ample information, by word of mouth. The answer met him at *Sevil*, the purport whereof was, to express their joy for his return and success, offering to reward and honour him, ordering him to make haste to *Barcelona*, that they might concert what was necessary for carrying on the discovery commenced, and to consider, whether it were convenient to leave some orders at *Sevil*, that no time might be lost. It is impossible to express how their majesties were pleased, and all the court rejoiced at, and admired to see that accomplished, which they had all despaired of. The superscription of the letter was to *Don Christopher Columbus*, their majesties admiral of the ocean, viceroy, and governor of the islands discovered in the *Indies*. He returned an answer with a particular of what ships, men, stores, ammunition, and provisions were requisite, to return to the *Indies*, and took the way to *Barcelona*, with seven *Indians*, the rest being dead by

the way. He also took with him green and red parrots, and other rare things, never before seen in *Spain*. The fame of this wonder being spread abroad, when he departed *Sevil*, the people flocked from all parts to the road to see the admiral, and the *Indians*. Their majesties having received his memorial, directed *John Rodriguez de Fonseca*, brother to *Alonso de Fonseca*, and *Antony de Fonseca*, lords of *Coca*, and *Alaejos*, to apply himself immediately to the providing of all the admiral thought requisite for his second voyage to the *Indies*.

The admiral came to *Barcelona* about the middle of *April*, was received in solemn manner, all the court and city going out in such numbers, that the streets could not contain them, admiring the admiral, the *Indians*, and the things he brought, which were carried openly. The more to honour him, their majesties ordered their throne to be set out in publick view, where they sat with prince *John*. The admiral came in attended by a multitude of gentlemen, as soon as he drew near their majesties stood up, he knelt down, kissed their hands, was ordered to rise, a chair brought, and he sat down in their royal presence. When he had very sedately, and with much discretion, given their highnesses a short relation of God's mercies, under their highnesses auspicious fortune, of his voyage, and discovery, the hopes he had of finding larger countries; and having shewed the things he brought, and the *Indians*, as they went in their own country; the majesties left their chairs, knelt down, and lifting up their hands to heaven, with tears in their eyes, returned thanks to God, and the musick of the chapel began the hymn *Te Deum*. In regard that what had been concerted at first with the admiral was but a plain contract, and he had performed what he undertook, their majesties in more ample manner ratified to him, what they had promised at the town of *Santa Fe*, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of *April*, the foregoing year, and the patents passed at *Barcelona* on the 30<sup>th</sup> of the same month, this year, and were signed by their highnesses on the 28<sup>th</sup> of *May*. They also gave him the arms of *Castile* and *Leon* to bear together with his paternal coat, with other things denoting his difficult and wonderful discovery; and bestowed some favours on his brothers *Don Bartholomew*, and *Don James*, tho' they were not then at court. The king took the admiral by his side, when he appeared in publick in *Barcelona*, doing him very much honour otherwise, and therefore all the grandees, and other prime men honoured and invited him to dine with them;

HERRERA  
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**HERRERA** and the cardinal of Spain, *Don Peter Gonzales de Mendoza*, a virtuous and noble minded prince, was the first grandee, who going one day from court, took the admiral to dine with him. Their catholick majesties thought fit to acquaint pope *Alexander* the 6<sup>th</sup>, of the house of *Borja*, with their new discovery, that he might return thanks to GOD, for the goodness shewn to his church, and rejoice, for that in his days, an opportunity was offered of propagating the gospel. Their embassador was also ordered to inform him, that the said discovery had been made without in-croaching upon the crown of *Portugal*, the admiral having received strict commands from their highnesses, not to come within an hundred leagues of *la Mina*, or *Guinea*, or any other part belonging to the *Portugueses*, which he had punctually performed. And tho', in regard the admiral had taken possession of those new lands, and for many other reasons, several eminent civilians were of opinion, there was no need of the pope's confirmation, or grant for possessing of that new world justly; however their catholick majesties directed their said embassador, to entreat his holiness to make a deed of gift of the lands already discovered, and to be discovered to the crown of *Castile*, and *Leon*, and to expedite his bulls accordingly.

The pope rejoiced very much at this news, and glorified GOD, for that he had been pleased to shew the means to draw those people out of infidelity, and make them

partakers of his blessings by means of their catholick majesties, the industry of admiral *Columbus*, and the assistance of the *Spanish* nation; and all the court of *Rome* celebrated and admired so great an exploit. The pope granted to their majesties of *Castile* and *Leon*, and to their heirs and successors, the sovereign empire and dominion of the *Indies*, and their seas, with supreme and royal jurisdiction, imperial dignity, and superiority over all that hemisphere: to which, by the advice, consent, and approbation of the sacred college of cardinals, a bull was expedited, on the 2<sup>d</sup> of *May* this same year, with all the same privileges, franchises, and prerogatives granted to the king of *Portugal* for *India*, *Guinea*, and other parts of *Africk*. And by another bull of the 3<sup>d</sup> of *May* the same year he granted to them all the *Indies*, whether islands, or continent, already discovered, or to be discovered, for ever, drawing a line from the one pole to the other at an hundred leagues distance to the westward from the islands *Azores*, and those of *Cabo Verde*, and that whatsoever was, or should be discovered to the westward, or southward of that line, should appertain to the navigation and discovery of their majesties of *Castile* and *Leon*, provided it was not in the possession of any other christian prince, before Christmas-day in the same year; and that none should presume to sail into those parts, under penalties and ecclesiastical censures.

#### C H A P. XV.

*The Admiral takes leave of their Catholick Majesties to return to the Indies; and the King of Portugal pretends that what had been discovered belongs to him.*

**T**HE pope's bulls being brought, when the admiral had obtained all things for the voyage he was to undertake, a few days before he left *Barcelona*, their majesties ordered that the *Indians* should be baptized, having been before instructed in the catholick faith, they themselves desiring to be made Christians; and therefore their majesties were willing to offer up to GOD those first fruits of the Gentiles, the king, and the prince his son standing godfathers; the latter of which would have one of the *Indians* to remain in his service, who soon after died. For the better managing the conversion of those people, their highnesses ordered, that one *F. Boyl*, a *Catalonian* monk, of the order of *St. Benedict*, and other religious men, with the pope's authority, should go along with the admiral, giving strict charge that the *Indians* should be well used, and brought into the church by fair means, and that

the *Spaniards* who misused them should be severely punished. They gave the admiral very rich church stuff, for the service of GOD, and ordered him to expedite his departure, and as soon as possible to discover whether *Cuba*, which he had called *Juana*, was an island, or continent, and to behave himself discreetly towards the *Spaniards*, encouraging the good, and chastizing the wicked. He took leave of their majesties, and was attended that day from the palace to his lodgings by all the court, and the same when he departed *Barcelona*.

When he came to *Sevil*, he found the arch-deacon *John Rodriguez de Fonseca* had provided seventeen ships, great and small, furnished with abundance of victuals, ammunition, cannon, wheat, seeds, mares, horses, and tools to work the gold mines, and store of commodities to barter, and give as the admiral should think fit. The

Seventeen  
sail pro-  
vided for  
a second  
voyage.

fame of this strange discovery, and of gold, drew together 1500 men, and among them many gentlemen, all in the king's pay, for not above twenty went over upon their own account, and those were horsemen. There were many labouring men, to work at the gold mines, and handicrafts of several sorts. Their majesties by a new commission appointed the admiral captain general of the navy, and of the Indies, and *Antony de Torres*, brother to prince *John's* nurse, a man of prudence, and ability to bring it back. *Francis de Pennalosa*, the queen's servant, was appointed to command the forces in the field, and *Alonso de Vallejo* had the same post. *Bernard de Piza*, an alguazil of the court, equivalent to a sergeant at arms, went as controller of the Indies, and *James Marque* as inspector. The most noted persons that went over were the commendary *Gallegos*, *Sebastian de Campo*, both of *Galicia*, the commendary *Arroyo*, *Roderick Abarca*, *Micer Girao*, *John de Luxon*, *Peter Navarro*, *Peter Hernandez Coronel*, whom the admiral constituted head alguazil of the island *Hispaniola*; *Mosen Peter Margarrite*, a *Catalonian* gentleman, *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, alderman of *Baeza*, *Gorbolan*, *Lewis de Arriaga*, *Alonso Perez Martel*, *Francis de Zunniga*, *Alonso Ortiz*, *Francis de Villalobos*, *Perefan de Ribera*, *Melchior Maldonado*, and *Alonso Malaver*. Now also went over *Alonso de Ojeda*, servant to the duke of *Medina Celi*, a little man, but well shaped, of a good aspect, very strong, and active, who when queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth* was on the tower of the cathedral at *Sevil*, got upon the beam, which was out 20 foot beyond the said tower, measured the length of it with his feet, as nimbly, as if he had been walking along a room; at the end of the beam shook one leg in the air, and turning round, returned with the same agility to the tower, all men admiring he did not fall, and beat himself in pieces. These and all the rest that went aboard the fleet took a solemn oath to be obedient to their majesties, to his admiral, and to the justices, and to take care of the royal interest.

King *John* of *Portugal* was so highly concerned for having suffered this new empire to go from him, that not being able to conceal his trouble, he ordered preparations to be made for invading of those countries, upon pretence that they belonged to him; and on the other hand sent *Ruy de Sande* to their highnesses, who told them, shewing his credentials, how well he had treated the admiral, that he was pleased his project and voyage had been successful; and that he did not question, if there were any countries and islands

discovered which belong'd to him, that they would so behave themselves towards him, as he would do in the like case; and that being informed they designed to prosecute the discovery due west from the *Canary* islands, without turning to the southward, he desired they would direct the admiral to observe those orders, and he would enjoin his commanders, when they went out upon discovery, not to pass those bounds to the northward. Before *Ruy de Sande* came, a report had reached the court, that the king of *Portugal* would send his fleet the same way the *Spaniards* failed, and take possession of those lands. There was also advice brought, that *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, after escaping dreadful storms, was arrived with his caravel *Pinta* in *Galicia*. He died presently, and some say it was for grief of a reprimand he received, for not obeying the admiral, and leaving him; and because their catholic majesties would not see him, unless introduced by *Columbus*.

Upon the advice received from *Lisbon*, and the king of *Portugal's* intimation of his designs, their catholic majesties ordered *John Rodriguez de Fonseca* so to provide the fleet the admiral was to command, that in case the *Portugueses* should make any attempt, it might be either offensive or defensive, and to hasten its departure. They also sent *Lope de Herrera*, a retainer on their family, to *Lisbon*; to return that king thanks for his courtesy towards the admiral, and desire him not to suffer any of his subjects to go or send to those islands, or continents newly discovered, because they belonged to them; which would be agreeable to the brotherly affection there was between them, and troubles would be prevented, and the preaching of the catholic faith among those nations would not be obstructed. *Lope de Herrera* had also instructions to represent the extraordinary care their catholic majesties had taken, in charging the admiral not to touch at the gold mine, or *Guinea*, or any other part discovered by his predecessors. Besides this compliment, he had other private instructions, that in case he found that king had either already sent out his fleet, or designed to send it, he should not proceed as above, but deliver other credentials he carried, and require him to stop those proceedings, till publick proclamation thereof were made in his kingdom. When *Ruy de Sande* had delivered his embassy, as is said above, he desired leave to export some things the king of *Portugal* stood in need of for the expedition he designed to undertake against the *Moors* in *Africk*, where-with he disguised the report of the discovery he intended to the westward. He

HERRERA also demanded, that the *Spaniards* should be forbid going to fish at cape *Bojador*, till it should be amicably decided, whether they might lawfully do so, and their highnesses answered, It should be done.

*Lope de Herrera* being set out for *Portugal*, before *Ruy de Sande* reached the court of their catholick majesties, and king *John* being inform'd of the message he brought, he sent *Edward Galvan* to give notice of what *Ruy de Sande* had in commission, relating to *Columbus's* discovery, and without permitting *Lope de Herrera* to make use of his credentials, or requiring what he was directed, answered, that he would send no ships upon discovery in sixty days, because he intended to send embassadors to their highnesses upon that point. Whilst this was in agitation, he had complained against their catholick majesties at the court of *Rome*, saying, they interrupted the course

of his discoveries and advantages, and protested against the bulls granted, alledging many pretences of wrong, as that they broke into his limits, and there ought to be bounds assigned, to prevent the troubles that might ensue between the subjects of the two crowns. The pope answered, that to obviate all occasions of complaint, he had marked out what belonged to each, ordering the meridian to be drawn from pole to pole, as has been said; and again granted to the kings of *Spain* all that should be conquered in the islands towards the east, west, and south, not already possessed by any other prince; and another bull was expedited on the 26<sup>th</sup> of *September* the same year. However, this did not satisfy the *Portugueses*, who pretended they were wronged, and that the partition meridian ought to be drawn much farther westward.

#### C H A P. XVI.

##### *The Admiral's Instructions and Preparations; he sets out on his second Voyage.*

THE admiral being at *Sevil*, with his orders, declaring how far the liberty of his admiralship and government extended, which were as large as the pope's grant, and having left his sons *Don James* and *Don Ferdinand*, as pages to prince *John*, he applied himself to chuse the ablest pilots, and to review the men appointed for the service, in the presence of the controller *Soria*. All persons were prohibited carrying any goods to barter, and it was order'd, that all things belonging to their highnesses, as well as to private persons, should be entered at the custom-house both in *Spain* and the *Indies*, and whatsoever should be found not entered, to be confiscate. The admiral had directions, as soon as he arriv'd at *Hispaniola*, to muster his men, and so at other times as he thought fit, and to order their pay; and he had power to appoint *Alcaldes* and *Alguazils*, that is, magistrates in the islands and others parts, to try causes, both civil and criminal, from whom appeals might lie to himself; and when aldermen, common-council men, and other officers were to be appointed for the government of the people, or any town that was built, he should name three for every place, out of which their highnesses might chuse one; but for the first time he was allowed to chuse them himself. All proclamations made were to be in their highnesses names; as were all patents, injunctions, and orders, signed by the admiral, countersigned by the secretary, or clerk that drew them and sealed with their highnesses seal on the back. That as soon as he landed a custom-house should be built, to lay up

their majesties stores, to be kept by their officers, the admiral having the supreme command over them all, who was to carry on the trade, or the person by him appointed, with the assistance of their highnesses inspector and controller. That he should have the eighth part of all the profit, paying the eighth of all the goods carried over to barter, first deducting the tenth he was to have of all things, pursuant to his contract; and that he might send out ships to any other part, as he saw convenient.

Whilst the admiral continued at *Sevil* attending the dispatch of his affairs, he received a letter from their majesties, dated at *Barcelona* the fifth of *September*, directing, that before his departure he should cause to be drawn a sea chart, with the rumbs, and all other particulars for the voyage to the *West-Indies*, and pressing him to be gone speedily, promising him great matters, for as much as the importance of that discovery appeared daily to be of greater consequence; and as yet nothing was concerted with the king of *Portugal*, though it was hoped he would hearken to reason. The admiral caused abundance of plants to be shipp'd, as also wheat, barley, oats, rye, and all sorts of grain; cows, brick, lime, and other materials. The men being shipp'd, and all things in readiness, the fleet set sail from the bay of *Cadiz*, on wednesday the 25<sup>th</sup> of *September*, before sun-rising. He directed his course south-west, for the *Canary* islands, came up with *Gran Canaria* on wednesday the second, and on saturday the fifth



fifth of *October* to *Gomera*, where he staid two days, taking in wood, water and cattle; as calves, goats, sheep, and eight fows, at seventy maravedies each; from which all those there have been since in the *Indies* have multiplied. They also took aboard hens, other creatures, and garden seeds. There each pilot had his

instructions given him seal'd, directing the course he was to steer, till he came to the country of king *Guacanagari*, which they were not to open unless separated from him by strefs of weather, because he would not otherwise have that voyage commonly known, lest it should be discovered to the king of *Portugal*.

HERRERA



## C H A P. XVII.

*The Admiral prosecuting his Voyage, discovers other Islands.*

HE departed the island *Gomera* on monday the seventh of *October*, passed by that of *Hierro*, the last of the *Canaries*, steering more to the southward than he had done the first voyage, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> of the same month, when he believed he had sailed about four hundred and fifty leagues, saw a swallow come to the ships, and soon after met with heavy showers of rain, which he supposed to be occasioned by the nearness of some land; wherefore he ordered to slacken sail, and to look out sharp at night. On sunday the third of *November* all the fleet saw land, to their great satisfaction, and it proved an island, which he called *Dominica*, because discovered on sunday, in *Spanish* called *Domingo*. Presently they saw two more on the starboard side, and then many others; and they began to smell the herbs and flowers; and to see flocks of parrots, which always make a great noise as they fly. There seemed to be no convenient anchoring to the eastward, and therefore he passed on to the second island called by him *Marigalante*, that being the name of the ship he was in. He landed some men, and took possession before a notary and witnesses. Departing thence the next day, he found another island, and called it *Guadalupe*, sent the boats ashore, found no inhabitants in a small town there appeared on the coast, and here they took the first of those parrots they called *Guacamayas*, being as big as dunghil-cocks, of several colours. The natives were fled to the mountains, but in searching their houses, they found that piece of timber sailors call the stern post, which surpris'd them all, not knowing how it should come thither, unless drove by the weather from the *Canaries*, or from *Hispaniola*, if it were that belonging to the admiral's ship, lost there. Men were sent ashore again on tuesday, who took two youths, that by signs gave them to understand they belonged to the island of *Borriquen*, and that those of *Guadalupe* were *Caribbees*, and kept them to eat. The boats returned for some *Spaniards* that had staid behind, and found them with six women, that were

fled from the *Canibals*, which the admiral would not believe, and therefore gave them hawksbels, and set them ashore. The *Canibals* took away all that had been given them; and when the boats came again, the women, two boys, and a youth begged of the seamen to carry them aboard the ships. By these it was known that there was a continent not far off, and many islands, which they called by their names. Being asked for the island *Hispaniola*, in their language called *Ayti*, they pointed towards the place where it lay.

The admiral would have held on his way without stopping, but that they told him, the inspector *James Marque* was gone ashore with eight soldiers, at which he was offended; and because he had been long gone, and returned not, parties of men were sent to seek him; who could not find him, by reason of the thicknes of the woods, and therefore he resolved to wait a day for him. He sent men again ashore, who fired muskets, and sounded a trumpet, and he not returning, *Columbus*, who thought every day a year, resolved to leave them, yet bore patiently, for fear they should perish, and ordered the ships to take in wood and water; and then sent *Alonso de Ojeda*, who was captain of a caravel, with forty men to find him, and take a view of the country, who returned without any tidings of those men, and said he had seen much cotton, falcons, haggards, kites, herons, rooks, pigeons, turtles, ducks, nightingals and partridges; and that in travelling six leagues he had waded through twenty six rivers, many of which came up to a man's waste. On friday the eighth of *November*, the inspector returned with his men, and said he had lost himself in the mighty woods and thickets, and could not sooner find the way back. The admiral ordered him to be put under arrest, and went ashore, where in some houses that were near at hand, he found cotton, both spun and unspun, and a strange sort of looms they wove it in. There were abundance of men's heads hung up, and baskets full of human bones, the houses very good, and better stored with

*Dominica*  
island.

*Marigalante*.

*Guadalupe*

HERRERA with provisions than those in the islands discovered the first voyage.

Islands of  
Monfer-  
rate, San-  
ta Maria  
la Redon-  
da, Santa  
Maria el  
Antigua,  
St. Mar-  
tin, Santa  
Cruz.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of *November* he coasted along this same island of *Guadalupe*, towards the north-west, making towards *Hispaniola*, and discovered a very high island, which he called *Monferrate*, because it looked like the rocks of that place. Next he found a very round island, every way perpendicular, so that there seemed to be no getting up into it without ladders, and therefore he called it *Santa Maria la Redonda*, that is, *Round St. Mary*; to another he gave the name of *Santa Maria el Antigua*, *Antient St. Mary*, whose coast extended fifteen or twenty leagues. Many more islands appeared to the northward, very high, wooded, and green. He anchored at one of them, and named it *St. Martin*; and on the 14<sup>th</sup> of *November*, at *Santa Cruz*, or *Holy Cross*. There they took four women and two children; and the boat returning met a canoe with four *Indian* men and a woman, who stood upon their guard, and the woman shot arrows as well as the men, who wounded two soldiers, and the woman shot through a buckler. They boarded the canoe, which overfet, and one of the *Indians* discharged his bow very vigorously as he swam. Holding on their course, they

saw so many islands close together, that they seemed not to be numbered, the largest of which he called *St. Ursula*, and the rest the 11000 *Virgins*, and then came up with another great one called *Borriquen*, but he gave it the name of *St. John Baptist*. (it is now called *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*.) In a bay of it to the westward they took several sorts of fish, as scate, olaves, Pilchards. There were many good houses, tho' all of timber, and thatched, with a square to them and a way from it down to the sea, kept very clean and beaten; the walls of the houses made of canes wove together like wattles, with greens on them very curiously, as is used at *Valencia* in *Spain*. Near the sea was a sort of open gallery, or balcony, that would contain twelve persons, of the same sort of structure; but they saw no living creature, and supposed they were fled. On Friday the 22<sup>d</sup> of the same month, the admiral discovered the first land of the island *Hispaniola*, on the north side, departing the utmost point of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, which are fifteen leagues distant. We have here seen the first discovery of the *Caribbee* islands we design to describe, but shall proceed somewhat farther upon these first discoveries, before we come to treat of them.

11000  
*Virgins*,  
and *Puerto*  
*Rico*  
islands.

#### C H A P. XVIII.

*Of the Negotiations relating to the Portuguese Pretensions; the Admiral arrives in the Island Hispaniola.*

THOUGH the sixty days the king of *Portugal* had assigned were elapsed, their catholick majesties sent *Garcia de Herrera*, a gentleman of their family, to require them not to commit any innovation. Presently after they sent the protonotary *Don Peter de Ayala*, and *Garci Lopez de Carvajal*, brother to the cardinal *de Santa Cruz*, with instructions, to thank the king of *Portugal* for his good inclination to preserve the peace between them, and to remove all occasions that might disturb it; letting them know, that their intentions were the same, and that as to his pretension to that part of the ocean, by grant from the see apostolick, by possession, and by the articles of peace, they were willing to admit of all honourable means to continue the brotherly friendship there was between the two crowns; but that their highnesses were fully satisfied, that nothing in the ocean belonged to king *John*, but the islands of *Madera*, the *Azores*, those of *Cabo Verde*, and the rest he was then possessed of, with what was then discovered from the *Canary* islands, as far as *Guinea*, with the gold mines there, and all other commerce; which was all that belonged to him by the articles of peace,

where it was expressly mentioned; that they would not molest him in the trade, commerce, or country of *Guinea*, and its mines, or any other islands already discovered, or to be discovered, from the *Canary* islands forward towards *Guinea*; this being all he could say he had been possessed of and no more. And that it plainly appeared he had so understood it, when he heard their highnesses were sending *Don Christopher Columbus* upon discovery, and he was satisfied he should sail all over the ocean, provided he did not go beyond the *Canary* islands, towards *Guinea*, which was the place he used to send his fleets to; and that when *Don Christopher* returned, and went to wait upon him at *Valparayso*, he seemed to be well pleased with it.

Their catholick majesties so far justified their proceedings, that they offered, in case king *John* was not satisfied with these reasons, they would be content to refer it to the decision of persons nominated on both sides, and if they should not agree, an umpire should be immediately named, or power given to the arbitrators to name one; and if the king should think fit to have it debated out of their dominions, in the

Roman

Roman court, or in any other indifferent place, they would consent, and that any other method might be found to have it speedily determined equitably, their majesties never designing to invade the right of another. They therefore directed, that the remonstrance of *Lope de Herrera* should be reiterated, to the end there might none go out upon discovery towards those parts which belonged to their highnesses; but to those the *Portugueses* had before frequented; for should they proceed into other parts of the ocean, it would be intruding upon the rights of others; and therefore he should order proclamation to be made to that effect throughout his kingdoms, under severe penalties, since their highnesses were the first that had began to discover that way; and the king of *Portugal's* predecessors had no other right to hold that as their own, which they were then possessed of, but their being the first discoverers; and the kings of *Castile* and *Leon* had never any way obstructed those of *Portugal*, since they took that course; so that he ought to observe the same method as their predecessors had done to one another; the contrary whereof would be a positive infringing of the peace there was between them, no less than invading their kingdoms, or than as king *John* would resent it, should they go about to take away any thing he was possessed of at the gold mines, or in any other countries, or islands.

Portuguese  
embassadors  
in  
Spain.

When these ambassadors departed the court of their catholick majesties, *Peter Diaz*, one of the king of *Portugal's* judges, and *Ray de Pinna*, a gentleman of his household, were already come to it; and discoursing upon this affair, they proposed as a proper method, that the ocean should be divided betwixt the two crowns, by a straight line down from the *Canaries* to the westward, and that all the seas, islands, and countries from that western line to the northward should belong to the crown of *Castile* and *Leon*, excepting the islands the king of *Portugal* was then possessed of within those limits; and that all the remaining seas, islands, and countries to the southward of that line, should belong to the king of *Portugal*, excepting the *Canary* islands, which appertained to the crown of *Castile*. To which their catholick majesties answered, That it was no proper method, because nothing throughout all the ocean, but what has been mentioned, belonged to the king of *Portugal*, and so the affair remained undecided at that time, the king

of *Portugal* forbearing to send to make any discoveries in that part their catholick majesties pretended did belong to them; but the said king of *Portugal* still pressing that these differences might be adjusted, the same was afterwards done.

HERRERA

The admiral arriving on the island *Hispaniola*, as has been said above, made the first land on the north side, where he set ashore one of the *Indians* he brought out of *Spain*, that being the province of *Samana*, that he might tell the natives the mighty things he had seen in *Spain*, and induce them to enter into amity with the Christians. He readily undertook so to do, but was never more heard of, and it was believed he died. Going on to point *Angel*, some *Indians* went aboard in canoes with provisions, and other things to barter with the *Spaniards*. Anchoring at *Monte Christo*, a boat made to a river towards the land, and found two men dead, the one a youth, the other old, who had a rope made of *Spanish Esparto* about his neck, his arms stretched out, and his hands ty'd across to a stick; but they could not discern, whether they were Christians, or *Indians*, which made the admiral conceive much jealousy, and troubled him. The next day being the 26<sup>th</sup> of *November*, he sent more men several ways to hear what news there were of those at the town of the *Nativity*. Many *Indians* went to talk with the *Spaniards* in all security. They came up close to them, touched their doublet, and shirt, saying, *tubon, camisa*, that is, doublet, shirt, to shew they knew the *Spanish* names, which somewhat comforted the admiral, and the more for that the *Indians* were not afraid, imagining those he left in the new town were not dead. On wednesday the 27<sup>th</sup>, he came to an anchor at the mouth of the harbour of the *Nativity*. About midnight a canoe came up to the admiral, and said, *Almirante*, that is, admiral; the *Spaniards* bid them come aboard, for he was there; but they would not, till they saw and knew him. They gave him two well wrought vizor masks, and some gold they brought as a present from the *Cacique Guacanagari*. Being asked, concerning the Christians, they said some had died of sickness, and others were gone up the inland with their wives. The admiral guessed they were all dead, but was fain to connive, and sent back the *Indians* with a present of brass baubles, which they always put a great value on, and other toys for the *Cacique*.

The Admiral on Hispaniola

## C H A P. XIX.

*The Admiral lands, finds the Spaniards all killed, and goes to visit King Guacanagari.*

**HERRERA** **T**HE thursday following all the fleet enter'd the port; they saw the fort burnt, and thence concluded all the Christians were dead, which troubled them, and the more for that no *Indian* appeared. The admiral went ashore the next day very much concerned, finding no body to ask any question of. Some things belonging to the *Spaniards* lay about, which was a melancholy sight. *Columbus* went up the river with the boats, and ordered a well he had made in the fort to be cleans'd; but nothing was found in it, the *Indians* fled from their houses, so that there was no man to enquire of, tho' they found some of the Christians cloaths, and so he returned. They discovered seven or eight men buried near the fort, and others farther off, whom they knew to be Christians by their cloaths, and they seem'd not to have been dead above a month. Whilst they were thus seeking about, a brother of *Guacanagari's* came with some *Indians*, who spoke some little *Spanish*, and named all those who had been left in the fort; by whom, with the assistance of one the admiral brought back out of *Spain*, called *James Columbus*, they were informed of the disaster. They declared, that as soon as the admiral was gone, the *Spaniards* began to disagree among themselves, and disobey their commander, going out disorderly to seize what women and gold they had a mind to; that *Peter Gutierrez* and *Escovedo* killed one *Jacome*, and they with nine others went away with the women they had taken, and their goods to the lands of a *Cacique* called *Cannabo*, who was lord of the mines, and killed them all. That some days after *Cannabo* went to the fort with a great number of men, there being none then in it, but the commander *James de Arana*, and five more that stay'd with him to defend it, which he set fire to in the night, and that those who were in it flying to the sea, they were drowned, and the rest disperfed themselves throughout the island. That king *Guacanagari* going out to fight *Cannabo*, in defence of the Christians, was wounded, and not yet recover'd. All this agreed with the account some

*Spaniards* brought, who had been sent by the admiral to get information, and coming to *Guacanagari's* town, found him ill of the wounds he had received, which he us'd as his excuse for not waiting upon the admiral.

By what has been said, and several other accounts, it appeared that there had been divisions among those Christians, which were occasioned by the *Biscainers*; and that had they been united among themselves, and obeyed the admiral's commands, they would not have miscarry'd. *Guacanagari* The Admiral visits Guacanagari. sent to desire the admiral to go visit him, he not being able to go abroad by reason of his wounds. The admiral did so, and the *Cacique* with a melancholy countenance told him all that has been said, shewing him his wounds, and those of many of his men; which plainly appeared to be made by the weapons the *Indians* used, being darts pointed with fish bones. When the discourse was ended, he presented the admiral with eight hundred small stone beads, which they set a great value on, and call *cibas*, an hundred of gold, a crown of gold, and three little calabashes, or gourds, by them called *ybueras*, full of grains of gold, the whole weighing about two hundred pieces of eight. The admiral gave him several glass toys, knives, scissars, hawks-bells, pins, needles, and little looking glasses, which the *Cacique* thought a mighty treasure. He attended the admiral to his quarters, admiring the horses, and how the men managed them. There were several in the army, and among them *F. Boyle*, who advised, that *Guacanagari* should be secured, till he cleared himself better of the death of the Christians, who had been left in his charge; yet he thought it not convenient, since there was no remedy for what was past, and it was not proper at his first settling in the country to use severity, or proclaim war; besides that he designed first to gain fast footing, fortify himself, and plant colonies, and so examine the matter by degrees, and in case the *Cacique* were found guilty it would be seasonable at any time to punish him.

## C H A P. XX.

*The Difference with the King of Portugal adjusted; the Admiral builds the Town of Isabela in the Island Hispaniola.*

THE importunity of the *Portugueses* made their catholick majesties desirous to put an end to that controversy, to which purpose, when they were at *Tordesillas* there came thither as embassadors from that king *Ruy de Sousa*, lord of *Sagre*, and *Birenguel*, *Don John de Sousa* his son, head regulator of the weights and measures in *Portugal*, and the licentiate *Arias d' Amada*, judge of the household, all of king *John's* council. These joining with *Don Henry Enriquez*, his catholick majesty's lord high steward, *Don Gutierre de Cardenas*, chief commendary of *Leon*, and controller, and doctor *Roderick Maldonado*, all of the king's council; both sides being sufficiently empowered to settle and adjust this matter, by the points of the compass, or by way of latitude, or longitude, or as they should think fit: After many debates, and consulting of several cosmographers, admitted to the congress, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of *June* this same year 1493 they agreed, that the line of division should be drawn 370 leagues to the westward of that mentioned in the pope's bull, from the islands of *Cabo Verde*, and that all to the westward of this meridian should belong to the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, and all to the eastward to the kings of *Portugal*; so that it should be free for the kings of *Castile* to sail thro' the seas belonging to the king of *Portugal*, following their direct course. That whatsoever should be discovered before the 20<sup>th</sup> of the said month of *June*, within the first two hundred fifty leagues of the said three hundred seventy, should remain to the kings of *Portugal*, and whatsoever was within the other hundred and twenty to the kings of *Castile* for ever. That from that time forward neither side should send ships out of those said bounds to trade, or barter; and that within the term of ten months an equal number of ships, cosmographers, and seamen should be sent on both sides, to mark out the line and limits. These articles being engrossed before *Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo*, secretary to their catholick majesties, and *Stephen Baez*, secretary to the king of *Portugal*, were signed by the former at *Arevalo*, on the second of *July*, and by the king of *Portugal* at *Ebora*, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of *February*, the following year. Though their catholick majesties on the 7<sup>th</sup> of *May* that same year, ordered the cosmographers, and others who were to draw the line of separation to meet, and perform it, within the space of ten montas

in case it was required of them; it does not appear to have been performed, though it is certain their catholick majesties endeavoured it; but the *Portugueses*, who at this time had conquered little beyond the island of *St. Thomas*, under the equinoctial, that they might not be outdone by their neighbours, applied themselves so earnestly to their business, that they soon passed that cape so dreadful to the ancients, called of *Good Hope*, which juts out so far into the sea.

The admiral was now in the port of the *Nativity*, full of thought how he should behave himself to give a good beginning to what he had in hand; and thinking that province of *Marien* a very low country, and scarce of stone, and other materials for building, though it had good harbours and water; he resolv'd to turn back along the coast to the eastward, to find a convenient place to build a town. With this design he sailed out on saturday the seventh of *December*, with all his fleet, and anchored that evening near some small islands not far from *Monte Christo*, and the next day, being sunday, under the said mountain; and imagining that *Monte de Plata* was nearer to the province of *Cibao*, where he had been told the rich gold mines were, which he, as has been said, fancied to be *Cipango*, he was desirous to draw near to that part. The wind proved so contrary, after he left *Monte Christo*, that he suffered very much, because the men and horses were fatigued, and could not proceed to the port of *Gracia* or *Grace*, where *Martin Alonso Pinzon* had been, and is now called the river of *Martin Alonso*, being five or six leagues from *Puerto de Plata*, or port *Plate*; and was forced to turn back three leagues, to a place where a large river falls into the sea, forming a good port, tho' lying open to the northwest. He landed at an *Indian* town there, saw a delightful plain up the river, and observed that the said river might be drawn out into trenches to run through the town, and to place mills on, and other conveniences for building. He therefore resolv'd to erect a town there, and ordered the men and horses, both much spent, to be landed. In this place he began to plant a colony, being the first in the *West Indies*, which he would have called *Isabela*, in honour of queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth*, for whom he had extraordinary respect; and having found necessaries of

Embassadors of Spain and Portugal meet.

The difference adjusted.

HERRERA

Columbus seeks a better place to build a town.

**HERRERA** stone and lime, with all else he could wish, as also the land extraordinary fruitful, he applied himself very diligently to build the church, magazines, and his own house; divided the ground, and marked out the streets and squares. The publick buildings were of stone, the others of timber thatch'd, according to every man's ability.

The Spaniards fatigued, sicken.

The men being fatigued with a long voyage, as not used to the sea, and now toiled with the works, short allowance, and none liking the country bread, they began to fall sick apace, by reason of the change of air, though the country is of itself very healthy, and they died for want of conveniences, and because they all laboured alike. Nor did it less afflict them to be so remote from their native country, without hope of relief, or of the gold and immense wealth they had conceited they should immediately find. The admiral himself did not escape, for as his toil was great at sea, having the whole charge of the fleet, so it was nothing lessened ashore, being to dispose and order all things, that they might succeed as had been hoped from him, in an affair of that consequence; so that tho' he kept his bed, he pressed the building of the town, and was desirous that no time might be lost, or the provisions spent in vain, to discover the secrets of the country, and be thoroughly informed concerning his Ci-

pango, which he had so much mistaken, the *Indians* affirming that *Cibao* was near. He sent out *Ojeda* to discover all, with fifteen men, and in the mean while applied himself to send back twelve ships into *Castile*, keeping five of the biggest, two ships, and three caravels.

*Alonso de Ojeda* travelled eight or ten leagues through a country not inhabited, and being passed a mountain, came into the beautiful plain full of *Indian* towns, where he was well received and entertained. He came to *Cibao* in five or six days, though it be but fifteen or twenty leagues from the place where he left the admiral; but he could not travel any faster, by reason of the entertainment he received from the *Indians*, and the many rivers and brooks in those parts. The natives and *Indians* that went as guides, gather'd gold in the presence of *Ojeda*, and he returned with as much as he thought sufficed to shew what plenty there was of it, which proved very great, and gave the admiral extraordinary satisfaction, as it did afterwards to all the rest. With these samples, and what had been given him by king *Guacanagari*, all which he sent to their catholick majesties, together with a full relation of all he had discovered till that time, he dispatched the twelve ships, under the command of *Antony de Torres*, and thus ended the year 1493.

*Alonso de Ojeda* discovers up the inland.

## C H A P. XXI.

### Of the Uneasiness the Admiral had with his Men, and his March towards the Province of Cibao.

**T**HE ships being failed, and the admiral recovering of his sickness, he was informed, that some who repented their having undertaken that voyage, had chosen *Bernal de Pisa* for their chief, and contrived either to steal, or forcibly take away the five remaining ships, or some of them, to return to *Spain*. He ordered *Bernal de Pisa* to be secured, and sent with the proceedings against him in a ship to the king. Some of the other conspirators he caused to be punished, and tho' it was not with the severity their crime deserved, yet his enemies took occasion from thence to tax him with cruelty. For this reason, he caused the guns, ammunition, and other stores belonging to the four ships, to be put aboard the admiral, under the guard of such persons as he could confide in. This was the first mutinous attempt in the *West Indies*, and the original of all the opposition the admiral, and his successors met with in those parts as to their pretensions. As soon as *Bernal de*

Conspiracy of *Bernal de Pisa*

*Pisa* was arrested, an information drawn up in form against the admiral was found in the buoy of one of the ships, which he also resolved to send to their majesties. Having quelled this mutiny, he prepared to go with the best men he had, to visit the province of *Cibao*, and to carry with him labourers and tools to dig for gold, and materials to build a strong house, if it should be requisite. Accordingly he set out with colours flying, drums beating, trumpets sounding, and his forces drawn up, and so he enter'd all towns, to gain reputation among the *Indians*, who were amazed at it, and to see their horses. He departed the town of *Isabela* on the twelfth of *March*, leaving his brother *Don James Columbus*, a gentleman of a peaceable disposition, and regular behaviour, whom he had brought over with him to govern the new town. That day they marched three leagues, and lay at the foot of a craggy pass on the mountains; and the *Indian* ways being only narrow paths, he sent

Origin of commotions against the admiral.

He goes to the mines of *Cibao*.

Puerto de  
Hidalgos,  
and Vega  
Real.

sent before the pioneers under the conduct of some gentlemen to level the way, for which reason that was called *el Puerto de los Hidalgos*, that is, the gentlemen's pass. On thursday from the mountain, they discovered the great plain, which is one of the finest in the world, being eighty leagues in length, and between twenty and thirty over, and it appeared so beautiful, green, and delightful, that the men thought themselves in *Paradise*, for which reason the admiral called it *Vega Real*, or the *Royal Plain*. Coming down from the mountain, they cross'd the plain, which is there five leagues over, passing through several towns, where they were kindly received.

River of  
Cannas, or  
Oro, or  
Yaqui.

Coming to the great river, by the *Indians* called *Yaqui*, which is as wide as the *Ebro* at *Tortosa*, the admiral called it *Rio de las Cannas*, or river of canes, forgetting that the first voyage, when he was in the mouth of it, he had given it the name of *Rio del Oro*, or golden river, where it falls into the sea near *Monte Christo*. They all lay that night well pleased, on the bank of this river. The *Indians* they brought with them from the country about the town of *Isabela*, went into the houses of those towns they pass'd through, and took what they found, as if it had been in publick, the owners being very well pleased, and they went to the quarters of the Christians, and took what they liked, be-

HERRERA

Rio del  
Oro, or  
Nicayagua

Rio Verde.

lieving that had been the custom among them. Having crossed the river, the next day, in canoes and floats, and the horse at the ford, a league and a half from it they found another river, which they called *del Oro*, or of gold, because they found some grains in it; but the *Indians* called it *Nicayagua*, into which three other brooks fall. The first of them is *Buenicum*, which the *Spaniards* named *Rio Seeo*, or dry river; the second, *Coatenicu*; the third, *Cibu*, all which proved extraordinary rich in the finest gold, and the prime wealth of *Cibao*. Having pass'd this river, he came to a town, most of the inhabitants whereof fled, and those that remained, having set some canes across at their doors, thought themselves safe. The admiral seeing their simplicity gave orders that no wrong should be done them, which made them take courage and come out. He went on to another river, which for its delightfulness was called *Rio Verde*, or green river, the bottom and banks whereof were covered with smooth pebble-stones, almost round. On saturday the 15<sup>th</sup>, they pass'd by other towns, where they also thought it a sufficient defence to cross canes before their doors. Next they came to a pass, which they called of *Cibao*, because the province of *Cibao* commences on that side at the top of it.

C H A P. XXII.

*The Admiral continues his Progress, builds the Fort of St. Thomas, and returns to the Town of Isabela; great Sufferings of the Spaniards.*

Cibao pro-  
vince.

Pioneers were sent before to make way thro' the pass, and carriage horses returned from hence to *Isabela* for provisions, the men as yet not relishing those of the country. On the top of the pass they had again a delicate prospect of the plain, for above forty leagues on both sides. In fine, they entered *Cibao*, an uncooth province of high rocky mountains, called *Cibao*, from *Ciba*, a stone. It is full of abundance of rivers and brooks, and there is gold in all of them; but there are few green trees, the land being very barren, unless in the bottoms on the rivers. It abounds in tall spreading pine-trees, which bear no pine-apples, but so ordered by nature, that they look like the olive trees of *Axarafe* at *Sevil*. The province is every where healthy, the air temperate, the waters fine and pleasant. Little grains of gold were found in every brook, though sometimes large grains have been found. The *Indians* came out at every town to meet the admiral, with presents of provision, and grains of gold they had gathered

after they understood it pleased him. He was then eighteen leagues from *Isabela*, and discovered several gold mines, one of copper, one of azure, and another of amber; of which two there was but little: for which reason, and because the country is very craggy, so that the horses could not well travel it, he resolv'd to build a strong house for the security of the Christians, and that they might thence subdue the province. He made choice of a spot of ground on a hill, almost encompassed with a river called *Xanique*, which tho' it yields not much gold, is nearer many that have plenty. The fort was made of mud and timber, and a ditch was drawn where the river did not enclose it. The name of *St. Thomas's* fort was given it, because the men would not believe that island afforded gold, till they saw it.

In the foundation of this fort they found nests of straw, which looked as if they had been laid there few years since, and in them, instead of eggs, three or four round stones, as big as oranges. Don

Nests with  
stones in  
them.

HERRERA *Peter Margarite*, a *Catalonian* gentleman, was left governor of the fort, with fifty six men, and the admiral returned to the town of *Isabela*, where he arrived on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *March*, found the men much fatigued, many dead, and those who were in health, disconsolate, fearing every hour to follow them, and still the more sicken'd, as the provisions failed, and the allowances were shortned; and this was partly occasioned by a great quantity being spoiled, through the fault of the sea-captains; besides that, those which were landed in good condition could not keep long by reason of the heat and dampness of the country. The meal being near spent, it was requisite to make a mill for grinding of the corn, and the labouring people being sick, the better fort were obliged to work, which was most grievous to them, especially wanting food. This misfortune forced the admiral to use compulsion, that the people might not perish, rather than carry on the publick works, and this rendered him odious. Hence *F. Boyl* began to be incens'd against the admiral, charging him with cruelty; tho' others say his aversion proceeded from his not allowing him and his servants so largely as he desired. Thus necessaries grew hourly more scarce, not only among those that were in health, but among the sick; for sometimes five of them that were purged had but an egg apiece, and a pot of boiled *Spanish* pease; to which may be added the want of medicines; for though some were carried over, they did not a-

Distress of  
the Spaniards.

gree with all constitutions; and what was worse still, they had no body to help and attend them.

Many men well born, who had never undergone such hardships, seeing no hopes of redress, as being sick and starving, died impatiently, and almost in despair; which gave occasion, that after the town of *Isabela* was abandoned, it was reported there were dreadful noises heard in that place, so that none durst go that way.

Whilst the admiral was under this affliction, he received advice from fort *St. Thomas*, that the *Indians* abandoned their towns, and that the *Cacique* of a certain province, whose name was *Caonabo* made preparations to reduce the fort. He immediately sent thither seventy of the healthiest men, and the beasts of burden laden with provisions, and arms, and as many more of the other men as he could, leaving behind only the mechanicks, appointing *Alonso de Ojeda* for their captain, with orders to him to stay in the fort, and *Don Peter Margarite* to take the field with the strongest he could, to march about the country, and shew the *Indians* the strength of the *Spaniards*, that they might know they were to fear, and obey them; and this particularly about the *Vega Real*, or Royal Plain, where there was an innumerable multitude of natives, and many lords, or *Caciques*; as also that the *Spaniards* might use themselves to eat the country provisions, since the *Spanish* were near spent.

The Indians begin to rise.

#### C H A P. XXIII.

*Alonso de Ojeda marches to Fort St. Thomas, and the Admiral goes out to discover farther on the Coast of Cuba, and finds Jamaica.*

**A** *Lonso de Ojeda* departed the town of *Isabela*, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of *April*, with above four hundred men, and as soon as past the river *del Oro*, or of gold, seized the *Cacique* of a town, with his brother and nephew, and sent them to *Isabela*, and caused an *Indian's* ears to be cut off in the market place. This he did, because when three *Spaniards* were going from fort *St. Thomas* to *Isabela*, the *Cacique* gave them five *Indians* to carry their baggage over the river, who left the Christians in the middle of it, and returned with their equipage to the town, for which the *Cacique* was so far from punishing them, that he kept the baggage. Another *Cacique* of another town, seeing those above mentioned, carried away prisoners, went away with them, believing he might prevail upon the admiral in their behalf, on account of some good turns he had done the *Spaniards*: He, as soon as they came, ordered their

heads to be chopped off in the market place, a cryer proclaiming their offences; but for the sake of the other *Cacique* forgave them. Just then came an horseman from the fort, and said, the *Indians* of the prisoner *Cacique's* town had beset five *Spaniards*, to kill them, and that he with the help of his horse had rescued them, above four hundred of those people flying before him, whom he pursued, and wounded several with his spear.

The Indians afraid of a horse.

Thus the commotions that were feared in the island *Hispaniola* seemed to be pacified for the present, and the admiral resolved to set out upon discovery, as he had been directed by their catholick majesties, and his own inclination, averse to idleness, dictated. For the better government of the island he constituted a council, whereof his brother *Don James Columbus* was appointed president, the counsellors were *F. Boyle*, *Peter Fernandez Coronel*, the

A council to govern Hispaniola



the chief *Alguazil*, or officer of justice, *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, and *John de Luxan*. *Don Peter Margarite* with the forces he had, being above four hundred men, was ordered to march over all the island; and the admiral gave them all such instructions as he thought most convenient. Then leaving two ships in the harbour to serve upon any exigency, he sailed out to the westward, on thursday the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, with one great ship, and two caravels. He proceeded to *Monte Christo*, and the port of the *Nativity*, where he enquired for *Guacanagari*, but tho' they told him he would soon come, did not stay for him. Then he advanced to the island *Tortuga*, and the wind proving contrary returned to anchor in the river he called *Guadalquivir*. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of April he reached port *St. Nicholas*, whence he discovered the point of the island *Cuba*, which he named *Alpha* and *Omega*, but the *Indians* call it *Bayatiquiri*.

Columbus  
sails upon  
discovery.

Coasts a-  
long Cuba.

Puerto  
Grande.

Jamaica  
discover'd.

He cross'd the streight between *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*; which is eighteen leagues over from land to land, and beginning to coast along *Cuba*, on the south side discovered a large bay, which he called *Puerto Grande*, or great harbour, the mouth of it being a hundred fifty paces wide. He anchored there, and the *Indians* came in canoes bringing much fish. On sunday the 7<sup>th</sup> of May he proceeded farther, hourly discovering very notable harbours. He saw high mountains, rivers falling into the sea, and keeping close to the land, infinite numbers of *Indians* resorted to the ships in their canoes, carrying provisions gratis, as believing the *Spaniards* came from heaven, and the admiral always gave them toys with which they went away extremely satisfied, those *Indians* he had with him who had been in *Spain*, speaking kindly to them. He resolv'd to turn to the south-east, because he there discovered an island, which was *Jamaica*, and some believe it might be that the *Lucayo Indians* so often spoke of by the name of *Babeche*, or *Bobio*. Monday the 14<sup>th</sup> of May he came upon the coast of *Jamaica*, which he thought the beautifulest island of all he had yet seen, and infinite numbers of canoes came to the ships. The boats being sent to sound and find out a port, abundance of armed canoes came out to hinder the landing of the *Spaniards*. The admiral went off to another place, which he called *Puerto bueno*, or good port, where the same opposition was made, and therefore he sent a volley of arrows out of the cross-bows at them, wherewith six or seven being wounded, the rest came peaceably to the ships. The next friday he sailed along the coast to the westward, so near the shore,

that many canoes followed the ships, giving such things as they had, and receiving what the *Spaniards* gave them with great satisfaction. The wind being always contrary *Columbus* resolv'd to return to *Cuba*, to be satisfied whether it was an island or continent. This same day, being the 18<sup>th</sup> of May, an *Indian* youth came to the ships, desiring by signs they would take him along in them; and tho' his parents and kindred, with tears, intreated him not to go, they could not prevail; but he rather than see them weep, hid himself in the privatest parts of the ship.

HERRERA

That same day, the 18<sup>th</sup> of May, he came up on the point of *Cuba*, which he called *Cabo de Cruz*, or cape cross, and running along the coast with much rain, thunder and lightning; met many shoals, which perplexed him; and the farther he advanced, the more small islands he met with, some of them all sand, others full of trees. The nearer they lay to *Cuba*, the higher, greener, and more beautiful they appear'd, some being a league, some two, some three, and some four in compass. The first day he discovered them he saw many, the next many more; in short they were numberless, and there being no giving a name to every one, he called them, *el Jardin de la Reyna*, the Queen's Garden. There were channels between them, which the ships could pass through, and in some of them they found a sort of birds like red cranes, which are only to be seen in *Cuba* and these small islands, living only on the salt water, and something they find in it; and when any of them are kept in the house, they feed them with *cazabi*, which is the *Indian* bread, in a pan of salt and water. There were abundance of tortoises, as big as large bucklers. They saw cranes, like those in *Spain*, crows and several sorts of singing birds, and the islands exhaled sweet odours. They discovered a canoe full of fishermen, who stood still without any tokens of fear, expecting the approach of the Christians. They fished on, and took some fishes they call *reves*, the largest whereof are about the size of a pilchard, having a roughness on the belly, which when clung to any thing, they may be sooner torn in pieces than removed from the place. They ty'd these by the tail, with a small cord, two hundred fathom, more or less, in length, and the fish swimming along on the surface of the water, or near it, when it came where there were any tortoises in the sea, clung to their under shell, so that the men drawing the string took a tortoise, weighing an hundred weight, or more. In the same manner they take sharks, most fierce and ravenous creatures, that devour men. The fishing being over the *Indians* came aboard

Cape de  
Cruz in  
Cuba.

Jardin de  
la Reyna  
islands.

Reves,  
small fishes,  
catch  
tortoises.

**HERRERA** aboard the ships, the admiral ordered they should have toys given them, and was informed there were many more islands forward. He held on his way westward among the islands, with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning every evening, till the moon was up; and tho' all imaginable care was taken,

yet the ship often touched, and stuck, and caused much labour to get her off. He found an island larger than the rest, and called it *Santa Marta*, in which there was a town, abundance of fish, dumb dogs, great flocks of red cranes, parrots, and other birds; and the people fled for fear.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*The Admiral understands that Cuba is an island; how much he suffered during this Voyage, and what happened to him with an old Cacique.*

Coast of  
Cuba.

**T**HE admiral wanting water, resolved to leave the small islands, and draw near to *Cuba*. By reason of the thickness of the trees, there was no discovering, whether there were any towns, or not; but a sailor going ashore with a cross-bow, met thirty men armed with spears, and *mazanas*, which are the wooden swords they used. This seaman said, he saw one among them who had a white tunick, or garment down to his heels; but he could not be found, tho' sought after, for they all fled. Proceeding about ten leagues to the westward, they spied houses, whence some men came in canoes, bringing provisions, and calabashes full of water, for which the admiral returned toys. He desired they would permit him to take an *Indian* along to shew him the way, and some particulars; and tho' unwillingly, they consented. This man almost satisfied him that *Cuba* was an island, and that the king of it farther along the western coast, only talked to his peopled by signs, and was obeyed by them. Holding on their way, the ships came upon a bank of sand, which had one fathom water, and was two ships length over. Here they were in great anguish, being obliged with much difficulty to ply all their captains, to wind them over into a deeper channel. The sea was all covered with mighty tortoises. A flight of sea crows, like a cloud, passed over them, darkning the sun, coming from the sea, and alighting on *Cuba*. No less numbers of pigeons, sea-gulls, and other sorts of birds followed after them. The next day such multitudes of butter flies came to the ships, that they hid the light of the sun, and held till night, when the great rains carried them away. The *Indian* informing that the islands continued all along that way, so that the danger and toil would encrease, when at the same time provisions began to fail, the admiral thought fit to return to *Hispaniola*. To furnish himself with wood and water, he made to an island about thirty leagues in compass, which he called the *Evangelist*, and seemed to be about seven hundred leagues from *Dominica*, and is supposed to be that

Vast  
flights of  
birds and  
butterflies

they now call *Isla de Pinos*, or the Island of Pines, so that there was not much wanting to discover the farther point of *Cuba*, being but about thirty six leagues; so that he failed upon this discovery three hundred thirty three leagues. Computing his voyage by astronomical rules, from *Cadiz* to the westermost part of *Cuba* he found he had failed 75 degrees in longitude, which amount to five hours in the difference of time.

On friday the 13<sup>th</sup> of *June*, he turned to the southward, and taking through a channel he thought the best, found it unpassible, which discouraged the men, seeing so much danger, and considering they wanted provisions; but by the admiral's contrivance, and resolution, they got out the same way they came in, and returned to the *Evangelist's* island. He departed thence to the north-west, to view certain islands, which appeared a little above five leagues off, where they fell into a sea that was full of green and white spots, looking as if it were all shoals, though there were two fathoms of water. At seven leagues distance they came into a very white sea, which looked as if it had been condensed. Seven leagues farther they found another sea, as black as ink which was five fathom deep, and sailed thro' it till they came upon *Cuba*, the sailors being much amazed to see such changes in the sea; which is certainly concluded to proceed from the bottom's being of that colour, and not the water, as the *Portugueses* affirm of the Red-Sea; and such spots have been seen in the south and north seas. Among the windward islands there are other white spots, because the bottom is white, so that it proceeds from the transparency. He departed *Cuba* to the eastward, the wind scant, through channels full of shoals; and on the 30<sup>th</sup> of *June* the admiral's ship stuck aground, which when it could not be drawn off astern with anchors and cables, was forced away ahead, by the admiral's ingenuity. He proceeded, holding no regular course, but as the channels and shoals would permit, through a very white sea, and had great showers of rain every evening. He drew near to the land of *Cuba*

Several  
colours in  
the sea.

about

The admiral hears mas in Cuba.

about the place where he came on first to the eastward, where they smelt most fragrant odours, as of storax, proceeding from the wood the *Indians* burnt. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of *July*, he went ashore, to hear mas, and whilst it was saying, an old *Cacique* came to the place, who observed every thing the priest did, how reverently the Christians behaved themselves, the respect they paid to the admiral when the *pax* was given him, and supposing him to be the superior of all the rest, he presented him a sort of that country fruit, in a calabash, or gourd, called in that country *ybueras*, serving instead of porringers, and sat down by him on his hams, for so they do, when they have not their low chairs, and discoursed him as follows,

An old Cacique's speech to him.

“ You are come into these countries, which you never saw before, with a mighty power, and have struck a great terror. You must understand, that according to the notion we have here, there are two places in the other world, which souls go to; the one dark and dismal prepared for those who do ill; the other is pleasant and delightful, where they are to be entertained who promote peace among mortals. If therefore you believe you are to die, and

“ that every man shall be there rewarded, according to what he has deserved here, you will do no harm to those who do you none. What you have done here is good, for I take it to be a form of returning thanks to God. He said, he had been in *Hispaniola*, *Jamaica*, and the farther part of *Cuba*, and that the lord of that country was clad like a priest. HERRERA

All this the admiral understood by means of the interpreters, and was amazed at the old *Indian's* ingenious discourse, to which he answered, “ He was glad that himself and the natives of that country believed the immortality of the soul, that he was sent by his sovereigns their majesties of *Spain* to view those countries, and see whether there were any men in them that did wrong to others, as he understood the *Canibals* did, and to curb them, and endeavour they should all live in peace.” The old *Indian* shed tears hearing these last words, declaring he would go away to *Spain* with him, had he not a wife and children; and having received some toys from the admiral, knelt down, expressing much admiration, often asking, Whether it was heaven or earth where those men were born.

C H A P. XXV.


*The Admiral returns to Hispaniola, and finds his Brother Don Bartholomew Columbus there.*

The admiral distressed.

THE admiral leaving that place, where the old *Indian* discoursed him, the winds and storms of rain seem'd all to have conspired to fatigue him, and among the rest, so great a spout fell upon him, as almost laid his deck under water, so that it seem'd to be a special providence that they could strike their sails, and at the same time drop their sheet anchors. They took in so much water above the deck, that they could scarce discharge it with the pumps; nor was it the least part of their trouble, to be now reduced to no other allowance but a pound of rotten biscuit a man, and half a pint of wine, there being no other provisions, unless they took some fish. With these difficulties he came, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *July*, to cape *Cruz*, or *cross*, where he rested three days, because the *Indians* entertained him very lovingly, carrying him of their fruit and provisions. On tuesday the 22<sup>d</sup>, the winds being contrary, he returned towards the island of *Jamaica*, which he called *Santiago*. He ran along its coast to the westward, admiring its deliciousness, and the ports he found at almost every league's distance: abundance of *Indians* following

Jamaica, called Santiago.

in canoes, who freely gave their provisions, which the *Spaniards* thought better than those of the other islands; but he never missed every evening of heavy rains, which he said were occasioned by the many woods. He saw a very beautiful bay, with seven small islands, on the edge of the sea, one of which was extraordinary high land, and had abundance of towns. The admiral thought it very large, but afterwards it appeared to be *Jamaica* itself, being eighty leagues in length, and fifty in breadth. The weather growing calmer, he turned to the eastward, towards *Hispaniola*, and the utmost land of it, being a cape that stretches out towards *Jamaica*, which he called *Cabo de Ferol*, or cape Lighthouse; and on wednesday the 20<sup>th</sup> of *August* saw the westernmost cape of the island *Hispaniola*, which he named *St. Michael's*, and is now called cape *Tiburón*, being twenty five or thirty leagues from the easternmost point of *Jamaica*. On saturday the 23<sup>d</sup>, a *Cacique* came to the ships crying, *almirante*, *almirante*, that is, admiral, admiral, whence he inferred that must be the point of *Hispaniola*, for till then he knew it not. At the end of *August* he anchored at a small island,

HERPERA  
  
 Alto Velo  
 island.

island, which looks like a sail, because it is high, and called it *Alto Velo*, being twelve leagues from *la Beata*. The other two ships being out of sight, he caused some men to go up to the top of the island to discover them, and the seamen killed five seals that lay asleep on the sands, knock'd down many birds with staves, and took some with their hands, for that part not being inhabited, they fled not from them.

La Beata  
 island.

After six days, the other ships came up; they proceeded to the island *la Beata*, which is small, and thence coast it along *Hispaniola* to a river, on which lies a curious plain, very populous, now called *de Catalina*, that is *Catherine's*, from a lady it belonged to. The *Indians* came aboard in canoes, said the *Spaniards* of *Isabela* town had been there, and were all well. *Columbus* sail'd on eastward, and discovered a great town, towards which he sent the boats for water. The *Indians* came out armed, and their arrows were poisoned, threatening to bind the *Spaniards* with cords they shewed, and this was the province of *Higuey*, whose natives were the most warlike of any in *Hispaniola*, and used poison'd arrows; yet as soon as the boats came up, they laid down their arms, enquired for the admiral, and carried provisions. Sailing still on to the eastward, they saw a large fish, like a small whale, with a shell as large as that of a tortoise on the neck, and that is as big as a target. The head, which it held above water, was like a cask, or pipe, the tail like that of the tunny fish, very large, and two vast fins on the sides; by this fish and other tokens in the sky, the admiral guessed the weather would change, and therefore endeavoured to put into a small island, which the *Indians* call *Adamano*y, and the *Spaniards* *Saona*, between which and *Hispaniola* is a streight little above a league over, and the island is about two leagues in length. There he anchored, and the other two ships not being able to get in, run great danger. That night the admiral observed the eclipse of the moon, and declared the difference between that place and *Cadiz* was five hours and twenty three minutes; he stayed there eight days, and the other ships having joined him, they sailed away on the 24<sup>th</sup> of *September* and arrived at *Cabo de Ergario*, or *Cape Deceit*, in *Hispaniola*, which the admiral called of *St. Raphael*; then touched at the island *Mona*, ten leagues from *Hispaniola*, and eight from *St. John's*, itself six in compass, where most delicious melons grow, as big as a two gallon vessel.

Higuey  
 warlike  
 province  
 in *Hispaniola*.

Saona  
 island.

Mona  
 island.

Departing *Mona*, near *S. John de Puerto Rico*, he was seized by so violent a lethargy, that he quite lost his senses, so that it was concluded he could not live; for which reason the seamen made the best of their way, and all the ships arrived together at the port of *Isabela*, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *September*, without any more assurance of *Cuba's* being an island, than what the *Indian* had told them. Here the admiral understood that his brother *Don Bartholomew Columbus* was in the town, and that the *Indians* of the island were in arms against the Christians.

The admiral was wonderfully pleased with the arrival of his brother, of whom it may be acceptable to give an account, before we proceed, since he went to offer this discovery to the king of *England*. He was long on his way to that kingdom, and spent much time in learning the language, the manner of soliciting at court, and gaining admission to the ministry; so that after seven years spent, he agreed and articed with king *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup> then reigning, and returned towards *Spain*, to find out his brother, who having heard nothing of him in so long a time, concluded him dead. At *Paris* he was informed, he had made the discovery, and was already admiral, which was told him by king *Charles*, called the headstrong, who gave him 100 crowns towards his journey; and tho' he made haste, his brother was gone the second time, with the seventeen sail before mentioned, and received instructions left him by the admiral. He went to kiss their majesties hands, and to visit his nephews *Don James*, and *Don Ferdinand* at *Valladolid*, where the court then resided, and they were pages to prince *John*. Their catholick majesties did him much honour, and ordered him to go to the *Indies* with three ships, that carried provisions for the admiral. He arrived there in *April* this same year, and found his brother was gone to discover *Cuba*. The admiral thought his brother would be some ease and comfort to him, and gave him the title of *Adelantado*, being as much as lord lieutenant, which their catholick majesties were offended at, declaring it was not in the admiral's power to make him so, it belonging only to them to give that title; yet some years after they confirmed it. *Don Bartholomew* was a discreet man, and as skilful in sea affairs as his brother, somewhat harsh in his temper, very brave and blunt, which made some men hate him; he had other commendable qualities becoming a resolute and wise man.

Bartholomew Columbus, the admiral's brother.

CHAP. XXVI.

*The Indians grow weary of the Spaniards, and Alonso de Ojeda secures the Cacique Caonabo.*

TO return to the affairs of *Hispaniola*, the admiral having left the council to govern there, and *Don Peter Margarite* to command the 400 men abovementioned, to the intent aforesaid; he marched away with them to the *Vega Real*, or Royal Plain, 10 leagues from the town of *Isabela*, and quartered them in the towns, where they lived without any order, or discipline, undoing the *Indians*, for one of them would eat more in a day, than a native in a month. The council reproving *Don Peter Margarite* for not curbing the disorderly soldiers, he began to cavil with them, refusing to obey their commands, either in this particular, or in marching about the island, as the admiral had directed him; and now fearing to be punished for his offences, he resolved to embark on the three ships which brought *Don Bartholomew Columbus*, and return to *Spain*, and with him *F. Boyl* and some others of that party. Being come to court, they gave an account that there was no gold in the *West-Indies*, and that all the admiral said was a meer fraud and fiction. The soldiers being left without their commander, dispersed themselves about the country, living like men under no government; whereupon a *Cacique*, whose name was *Guatiguna*, and who had a large town on the banks of the great river, killed ten Christians there, and privately sent to set fire to a house, where some sick men lay; and six more were killed by the *Indians*, in several parts of the island, throughout all which the fame of their misbehaviour was spread: so that all the *Indians* generally hated them, tho' they had not seen them, and especially the four principal kings, or *Caciques*, who were *Guarinoex*, *Caonabo*, *Bebeckico*, and *Higuanama*, and all those that sided with, and were subject to them, being an infinite number, were desirous to drive the *Spaniards* out of the country. Only *Guacanagari* king of *Marien* made no commotion, but kept 100 *Spaniards* in his country, giving them such as he had, and entertaining them friendly.

Some days after the admiral's return, *Guacanagari* went to visit him, expressed much concern for his indisposition and troubles, said, he had no hand in the death of the Christians, but was their friend, and therefore all the natives bore him ill will, and particularly those who were in arms in the plain and other parts; then calling to mind the *Spaniards* left at first

in the town of the *Nativity*, he wept, because he had not been able to preserve them alive till the admiral's return; and he being resolved to take the field, to disperse those natives, and pacify the island, *Guacanagari* offered to attend him with his subjects; but before *Columbus* went out in person, he sent others to make war on *Guatiguna*, who had slain the ten Christians, that the punishment might not be delay'd, or he grow the bolder. The *Spaniards* killed many of his men, took many more, several of which were sent into *Spain*, and the *Cacique* fled. *Caonabo* was the most potent prince in the island, personally brave, and had three valiant brothers, being king of the province called *Maguana*, of whom the admiral made most account, and thinking it most convenient to reduce him by art, because it would be difficult to do it by force; he resolved to send *Alonso de Ojeda* a horseback, with only nine *Spaniards*, under colour of carrying him a present. The *Indians* valued latten above gold, and were much taken with it, and other metals carried out of *Spain*, as if they came from heaven; and when the bell of the church in the town of *Isabela* rang, and the inhabitants repaired to the said church, they thought it spoke, the fame thereof had reached *Caonabo*, who had often thoughts of begging it of the *Adelantado*, or lord lieutenant, that he might see the *Biscay Turey*, for they called latten *Turey*, signifying heaven, and they put such a value upon it and other metals, that they called it by the same name of *Turey*, and the *Spaniards* added of *Biscay*, whence it was called *Turey of Biscay*.

*Ojeda* being come into the province of *Maguana*, which was about sixty or seventy leagues from the town of *Isabela*, the *Indians* wondering to see him a horseback, as believing the horse and man to be all of a piece, told *Caonabo*, there were Christians come, sent by the admiral, whom they called *Guamiquini*, and brought a present, of that they called *Turey of Biscay*, which he much rejoiced at. *Ojeda* was admitted, kissed his hands, the rest doing the like, and shewed him the present, which was fetters and hand bolts so curiously polished that they looked like silver. He told him, the kings of *Spain* used to wear them, because they came from heaven, and put them on at the *Arcitos*, or balls, and it would be proper for him to go along with them to wash himself in

Disorders of Don Peter Margarite.

He and F. Boyl inform falsely in Spain.

Insurrection of Indians.

HERRERA

Guatiguna routed.

Value the Indians put upon European metals.

Caonabo treacherously taken by Ojeda.

**HERRERA** the river *Yaqui*, which was half a league distant, and there he should put them on, and return a horseback, and appear before his subjects like the king of *Spain*. He went away one day along with *Hojeda*, attended only by a few servants, to the river, little imagining that nine or ten men should attempt any thing against him, where his power was so great. There he washed and cooled himself, and being very eager to sit on the present, the *Indians* being ordered to stand off, tho' they always took care to keep far enough from the horses, he was set up behind *Ojeda*, and the fetters and hand bolts put on him, the *Cacique* taking great notice of what they did. *Ojeda* took two turns about with him to disguise his design, and at the third made off, with the *Spaniards* about his horse, till the *Indians* lost sight

Succesful villany is called virtue. *Seneca*.

of them. Then they drew their swords, and threatned to kill him if he stirred, whilst they bound him fast with ropes to *Ojeda*, and making the best of their way, came safe to the town of *Isabela*, and delivered him to the admiral; who kept him in his house fettered, and he never paid any respect to the admiral when he came in, but only to *Alonso de Ojeda*; and being asked, why he did so? answered, that the admiral durst not go to his house to seize him, as *Ojeda* had done. The admiral resolved to send him into *Spain*, and when he was aboard with other *Indians*, there arose such a storm that the ship was cast away, and he with the rest drowned. *Columbus* ordered there should be two caravels built with speed, that he might not be without shipping.

#### C H A P. XXVII.

*Their Catholick Majesties Letters to the Admiral; he routs a great Army of Indians, and imposes a Tribute on them.*

**T**HE return of *Antony de Torres* into *Spain*, with the twelve ships, was highly pleasing to their catholick majesties, which they signified to the admiral by his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, giving him their thanks for his toils, promising always to support him, expressing much concern for the affronts offer'd him, and ordering him to send away *Bernal de Pisa* in the next ships, and to put into his place such a one as he and *F. Boyl* should think fit. And their majesties desiring to give satisfaction to the admiral, and to promote the affairs of the *West-Indies*, ordered the dean *John Rodriguez de Fonseca*, to fit out immediately four ships, with such things as the admiral desired, and appointed *Antony de Torres* to return with them, to whom they gave letters for *Columbus* dated at *Segovia* the 16<sup>th</sup> of *August*, wherein they thanked him for the pains he took in their service, promising to shew him all favour, since he had performed all he undertook, as punctually as if he had known what he was to discover. That they had received the relation he sent them, yet they could with he would particularize how many islands he had discovered, what names they bore, and those he had given them, the distance there was between them, what every one afforded, how the seasons of the year answered in those parts, every month, and that some said there were two summers and two winters; that he should send them all the fowls he could take, and several sorts of birds; as they sent him all the things he had desired by his inventories; and that in order to receive frequent news from

What their majesties writ to *Columbus*.

him, they thought fit a caravel should be sent from *Spain* every month, and another return from thence, the controversy with *Portugal* being adjusted; and as for the government of the people there, their highnesses approved of what he had practised till then, and directed he should continue the same method, giving them all possible satisfaction, without encouragement to commit the least disorder. That as to the town he had founded, they had no objection to make against it, for had they been there present themselves, they would have taken his advice, therefore they referred all to him, and sent him a copy of the articles concluded with *Portugal*, that he might know and observe them; and as for the line of partition that was to be drawn, in regard it was a difficult matter, and of considerable trust, there highnesses desired, if it were possible, that the admiral should be present at, and fix it, with those the king of *Portugal* was to employ to that purpose; and in case he could not come himself, he should send his brother *Don Bartholomew*, or some other able persons with instructions and draughts, and his opinion of what was to be done, and this to be with all expedition, to be there in time, and not disappoint the king of *Portugal*.

The imprisonment of *Caonabo* much alarmed his brothers, who resolved to make the most vigorous war they were able upon the Christians; and the admiral, observing that great numbers of men began to rendezvous, and all the country had recourse to arms; took the field with 200 foot, 200 horse, The *Indians* rise in arms.

horse, and 20 mastiffs: the rest of the men being sick, and the dogs making great havoc among the naked *Indians*. He marched out on the 24th of *March* 1595, taking along with him his brother, the *Adelantado*, or lord lieutenant *Don Bartholomew*, and king *Guacanagari*, with his forces. They entered upon the *Vega Real*, or Royal Plain, and discovered the enemies army, in which king *Manicatex* had numerous forces, and the whole seemed to amount to 100000 men. The admiral's brother gave the first charge, and men, horses, and dogs acted so vigorously, that they were soon routed, great numbers slain, and the prisoners being no small number condemned to serve as slaves; many whereof were sent into *Spain*, in the four ships commanded by *Antony de Torres*. The admiral ranged about the island nine or ten months, severely punishing those he found guilty; and meeting with some opposition from *Caonabo's* brothers, who made their utmost efforts, till finding themselves too weak, both they and *Guarinoex*, who were the prime kings in the island, thought fit to submit to the admiral.

100000 of them routed.

First tribute paid by the *Indians*.

He perceiving that all the towns were now brought under their obedience to catholic majesties, ordered they should pay tribute, after this manner; that all the inhabitants of *Cibao*, the *Vega Real*, or Royal Plain, and others near the mines, from fourteen years of age upwards, should pay a little hawkshel full of gold every three months; all other persons a quarter of an hundred weight of cotton each, and only king *Manicatex* gave monthly half a gourd, or calabash full of gold, which was worth 150

pieces of eight. A new sort of copper, or brass medals was coined every time the tribute was paid, for every tributary *Indian* to wear one about his neck, that so they might know who had paid. At this same time *Guarinoex*, king of the Royal Plain, offered the admiral to sow corn fields for him from the town of *Isabela* to *Santo Domingo*, that is, from sea to sea, being full 55 leagues, which would suffice to maintain all the people in *Castile*, provided he would demand no gold of him, because his subjects knew not how to gather it; but the admiral being a single stranger, and as such not acceptable to their catholick majesties ministers, and wisely concluding that he must be supported by the treasure he sent over, pressed for gold: he was of himself a good Christian, and feared God, and therefore moderated the tribute, perceiving it could not be paid, which made some abandon their houses, and others range about from one province to another. These hardships, and the want of hopes that ever the Christians would leave the country, because there were no ships in the harbour, and they built stone and mud houses ashore, afflicted the *Indians*, who asked, whether they ever intended to return home; and having found by experience, that the *Spaniards* were much greater eaters than themselves, and thinking they only went thither to eat, and perceiving many of them were sick, and wanted provisions from *Spain*, several towns resolved to find some means to put a stop to these growing evils, contriving they should all either perish, or return into *Spain*.

HERRERA

CHAP. XXVIII.

*Their Catholick Majesties hearing some Misinformations against Columbus, send John Aguado to enquire into the Truth; he behaves himself insolently, and the Admiral resolving to return into Spain, erects several new Forts.*

The *Indians* design to starve the *Spaniards*,

THE best expedient the *Indians* could think of, to be rid of the *Spaniards*, was not to sow, that there might be no harvest, they themselves withdrawing into the mountains, where there is plenty of good roots to eat, that grow without planting, and vast numbers of *Utias*, like rabbits, with which they might shift. This contrivance availed them little, for tho' the *Spaniards* suffered to extremity, through hunger, and ranging after the *Indians*, yet they went not away, but many died, hunger obliging them to eat filthy and loathsome things; so that all the calamity fell upon the *Indians* themselves, through the inscrutable judgments of God; for they wandering about with their wives and children, pinched by hunger, without being

allowed to hunt, fish, or seek provisions, lying hid in the damp grounds along the rivers, and on the mountains, a violent distemper came among them, which, together with the wars, by the year 1496 carried off the third part of the people in the island.

and destroyed themselves.

*F. Boyl*, and *Don Peter Margarite* before mentioned, as they agreed to go away together, without leave, so they joined in speaking ill of the *Indies*, and discrediting that enterprize; because they did not find gold laid up in chests to lay hold on, or growing on the trees. They also gave an account that the admiral did not behave himself well, as not having been full four months in the island *Hispaniola*, after his second voyage, till he returned from his discovery

Informations against the admiral.

HERRERA discovery of *Cuba*; and there being other letters against him, from those who went in the four ships under *Antony de Torres*, for there never is want of malecontents; almost at the same time that the admiral was taking the field against the *Indians* of the Royal Vale, their majesties dispatched *John Aguado*, a native of *Sevil*, their page of the bedchamber, to go enquire into what was doing in the island *Hispaniola*, and under his command four ships with provisions, and other necessaries for the support of the people there.

*John Aguado* carried with him credentials, containing these words, *Gentlemen, yeomen, and other persons residing in the Indies by our command, we send you our page of the bedchamber John Aguado, who will discourse you in our name, we do command you to give full credit to him.* Madrid, April the 9<sup>th</sup>. He arrived at the town of *Isabela* about *October*, when the admiral was in the province of *Maguana*, carrying on the war against *Caonabo's* brothers; and there he let fall words, and behaved himself so as to signify his power and authority was great, meddling in the government, imprisoning some persons, and reproving the admiral's officers, without any respect to *Don Bartholomew Columbus*, who was left during his absence to govern at *Isabela*. *John Aguado* resolved to go after the admiral, taking horse and foot along with him, and they by the way gave out, that another admiral was come, who would kill the old one; and the natives being dissatisfied, because of the war and the gold tribute, they were much pleased with the news, and some of the *Caciques* met privately in the house of a king called *Manicaotex*, whose lands were near the river *Yagui*, where they agreed to complain against the admiral, and demand redress of the new commander. The admiral being informed, that *John Aguado* was coming to him, thought fit to return to the town of *Isabela*, where, in the presence of all the people, he received their highnesses letters with sound of trumpets, and all other solemnities. *John Aguado* did not fail immediately to shew his indiscretion, intermeddling with many things, without respect to the admiral, which gave an ill example to others, and made them not regard him, tho' the admiral honoured and entertained him generously, and bore with him very modestly. *John Aguado* said he had not received their majesties letters with the due respect, and required affidavit to be made of it some months after, requiring the notaries to come to his house to make it; but they insisted that he should send them in his vouchers, which he said, he could not trust in their

hands, and at last the affidavit was made very favourable for the admiral.

*John Aguado's* example being so prejudicial to the admiral, by reason of the threats he haughtily let fall, and the people being dissatisfied, on account of their sufferings and sickness; for they had nothing then to eat, but the allowance given them out of the king's stores, which was a porringer of wheat, every one was to grind in a hand-mill, and many eat it boiled, and a rasher of rusty bacon, or rotten cheese, and a few beans, or pease, without any wine; and they being all in the king's pay, the admiral commanded them to work at the fort, his own house, and other structures; these things made them like men in despair complain to *John Aguado*, and these were the sick men, for those who were in health rambling about the island fared better. These complaints *John Aguado* thought were sufficient for him to lay before their majesties. At this time the four ships which carried him over were cast away in the port, by those storms the *Indians* call *hurricanes*, so that he had no vessel to return in, but the admiral's two caravels; who observing his disrespectful behaviour, and that he bore him no good will, besides that he was lavish and saucy in his expressions, and being also informed of what *F. Boyl* and *Don Peter Margarite* had reported at court, where he had no other support but his own virtue, he resolved to appear in person before their majesties, to clear himself of so many calumnies, and at the same time acquaint them of what he had found in his discovery of *Cuba*, and what he thought fit to be done in relation to the partition of the ocean, between the two crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*. That all might be left behind the more secure, he thought fit first to leave other forts he had begun to erect, besides that of *St. Thomas*, in a good posture, for the defence of the country, and were those of *St. Mary Magdalen*, called the lower *Macorix*, in the Royal Plain, and lands of the *Cacique Guanazonel*, three or four leagues from the place where the town of *Santiago* now stands, the command whereof was given to *Lewis de Artiaga*, another called *St. Catherine* was committed to *Ferdinand Navarro*, native of *Logronno*; another on the banks of the river *Yagui*, towards *Cibao*, named *Esperanza*, or *Hope*; a fourth in *Guarinoex's* kingdom in the Royal Plain, called the *Conception*, commanded by *John de Ayala*, and after him by *Michael Ballester*. The *Caciques* finding themselves much burdened with the taxes, declared to the admiral, that there were good gold mines to the southward, advising him to send his

Four ships  
lost in the  
harbour.

Forts e-  
rected in  
*Hispaniola*

Christians



Christians to seek them, and the admiral being concerned to find much of it, to support his reputation, and this happening opportunely, when he was about returning to *Spain*, he sent *Francis de Garay*, and *Michael Diaz*, with some men, and the guides provided by the *Indians*. They went from the town of *Isabela* to the *Magdalen* fort, and thence to the *Conception*, all the way over the Royal Plain, then through a pass on the mountains, two leagues in length, had a view of another Plain, whose lord's name was *Bonao*, went on some leagues along the ridges of *Bonao's* hills,

came to a great river called *Hayra*, a very fertile place, where they were told there was much gold, and in all the brooks, which they found true; for digging in several places it proved so well, that one labourer could take up above three pieces of eight every day. These mines they called *St. Christopher's*, from a fort the admiral left orders to build; but they were afterwards called the old mines. At this time some inhabitants of *Sevil* were at the court of *Spain* asking leave to make new discoveries.

HERRERA

New rich mines.

## C H A P. XXIX.

I have been very particular in these two voyages of *Columbus*, and what was previous to them for the greater satisfaction of the reader, and to shew by what steps the discovery of *America*, and of those *Caribbee* islands first came on, and was afterwards improved. It would swell this volume too much to proceed in that manner, therefore that we may not break off abruptly the rest of that great man's actions shall be briefly run over, that we may return to our proper subject, the above-mentioned islands, and draw to a conclusion of this work.

*Columbus*, as has been said before, having left all things in the best posture he could, returned to *Spain*, very sick, and loaded with accusations; but their majesties considering his mighty services and extraordinary sufferings clear'd him in spite of all his adversaries, only advising him to be kind to the *Spaniards*; and having heard his relation of all the new discoveries, and the immense wealth of those countries, for proof whereof he brought a quantity of gold, sent him back honourably to *Sevil*, where eight ships were provided for his third voyage, two of which he sent before to his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who had then begun to build the city of *Santo Domingo*, capital of *Hispaniola*, on the south side of the island and at the mouth of the river *Ozama*. The admiral himself sailed with the other six from *San Lucar de Barrameda* on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *May*, 1497 and standing to the south west till he came under the line, had such dead calms and violent heat that the men thought they should all have perished; but the winds coming up he proceeded and on the first of *August* discovered the island by him called *la Trinidad*, or the *Trinity*, near that part of the continent now called *New Andalusia*, then ran along that coast trading with the natives for gold and pearls, giving names to all places of note, till

thinking his presence necessary at *Hispaniola*, he sailed back the same way to the island of the *Trinity*, found that he called *Margarita*, and arrived at the new town of *Santo Domingo*, in *Hispaniola*.

Several private adventurers fitted out ships in *Spain*, after this 3d voyage of *Columbus*, as particularly *Alonso de Ojeda*, in 1499, and with them went *Americus Vesputius*, who as has been said gave his name to *America*; but their discoveries do not belong to this place. To return to *Columbus*, at his return, the *Indians* all in arms, were several times defeated by the *Spaniards*, and particularly under the conduct of *Bartholomew Columbus*, who took fifteen *Caciques* and their general *Guarinoex*, all whom he released upon their promise that they would be subject to the king of *Spain*. Next some *Spaniards* mutinied and separated themselves from the rest, which proved more pernicious than all the natives were able to do. The discontented party sent complaints to the king of *Spain* against *Columbus* and his brother; his majesty sent over *Francis de Bovadilla*, knight of the order of *Calatrava*, who upon very slight informations put the admiral and his brother aboard two vessels, in irons, to be so carried over into *Spain*. As soon as arrived in *Spain*, their majesties ordered them to be set at liberty and to repair to them to *Granada*, where tho' they cleared themselves, the government of the *West-Indies* was taken from them, and they fed with fair promises. *Bovadilla* was afterwards cast away returning to *Spain*.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of *May* admiral *Columbus* sailed again from *Spain*, upon discovery with four caravels fitted out by the king and 170 men in them, and on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *June* arrived before *Santo Domingo*, in the island *Hispaniola*, where the then governor *Nicholas de Ovando* would not permit him to enter into the harbour; whereupon on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *July* he sailed to the westward, and

**HERRERA** and after struggling some time with the currents, in calms, had 60 days of violent storms, and then discovered the island *Guanaja*, northward of cape *Honduras*, in 19 degrees of north latitude. He sent his brother ashore, who met with a canoe, as long as a *Spanish* galley and 8 foot wide, covered with mats, and in it men, women and children, with abundance of commodities to barter; as long cotton cloths of several colours, short cotton shirts, or jerkins, without sleeves, curiously wrought; cloths of the same to cover their privities, wooden swords edged with flint, copper hatchets, horse bells of the same metal, broad flat plates of it, crucibles to melt copper, cacao nuts, bread made of *Indian* wheat, and drink of the same. *Columbus* exchanged some commodities and dismissed them, and having enquired for gold, and they pointing to the eastward, made him alter his course and steer that way. The first land he came to was *Casinas*, in the province of *Honduras*, where his brother landed and took possession, the natives coming down peaceably, wearing short cotton jackets and cloths of the same before their privy parts and bringing plenty of provisions. Sailing thence several days eastward against the wind, he came to a great point, and perceiving the shore there run to the southward, he called it *Cabo de Gracias a Dios*, or *Cape Thanks to God*, because the easterly winds would carry him

down the coast, along which he ran trading with the *Indians*, and touched at *Porto Belo*, *Nombre de Dios*, *Belen*, and *Veragua*, where he heard of gold mines, and sent his brother up the country, who returned to him with a considerable quantity of it, exchanged for inconsiderable toys.

On this encouragement he would have left his brother there, with 80 *Spaniards* and began to build houses, but the *Indians* opposing and his own men growing mutinous, he took them aboard again and sailed for *Hispaniola*. His caravels being shattered with storms and all worm eaten, could not reach that island, and he was obliged to run them ashore at *Jamaica*, shoring them up with piles, and building huts on the decks for his men, all below being full of water. There he lay near a year, suffering many hardships, till having sent over to *Hispaniola* in a canoe, he was at last transported to that island, and thence into *Spain*. This was his last voyage, after which he spent the small remainder of his life at *Valladolid* and died on the 8<sup>th</sup> of *May*, 1506, aged 64 years. His corps was carried to *Sevil*, as he had ordered in his will, and there honourably interred, in the church of the *Carthusians* called *de las Cuevas*, with a *Latin* epitaph suitable to his great actions. Thus much of *Columbus* and the first discovery of *America*, or the *West-Indies*, of which the *Caribbee* islands, we are next to speak of, are a part.

# A brief Description and historical Account of the *Caribbee* Islands in North America, and their present State.

**I**T may perhaps seem superfluous to some persons, that I here add this account of the *Caribbee* islands, in regard there has been much writ of them already, both in *French* and *English*; but I must desire any such first to read, before they pass their censure, for in comparing this with other relations they will find here are many things which other writers have not taken notice of, and which are of use and instruction. I shall not go about to prepossess the reader any farther, but leave him to the liberty of his own judgment.

By whom inhabited.

The *Caribbee* islands, by the *French* called *Antilles*, lye in a bow, from the coast of *Paria* to *St. John de Puerto Rico*, and are at present inhabited by four several nations. The first being the original natives, who are *Canibals* or man eaters, from whom the islands have their general name; the others are *French*, *English*, *Danes* and *Dutch*, who have settled on them since the year 1625. as shall be observ'd hereafter, and since then are grown very numerous. The *French* are possess'd of eight of them, viz. *Desada*, *Granada*, *Martinico*, *Guadalupe*, *Santa Lucia*, *Marigalante*, *St. Bartholomew* and *Santa Cruz*, besides part of *St. Martin* with the *Dutch*, as they had also part of *St. Christopher* with the *English*, which is now yielded up by the treaty of *Utrecht*. The *English* are masters of *Barbada*, *Monferrate*, *Redonda*, *Nieves*, *Antigua*, *Barbouda*, *Anguila*, and now all *St. Christopher*, as by the treaty abovemention'd. The *Dutch* have *Saba*, *St. Eustachius*, and part of *St. Martin* with the *French*, and had formerly *Tabago*, which they have abandon'd by reason of the wars. The *Danes* are settled on *St. Thomas*, next the east side of *St. John de Puerto Rico*. The *Caribbes*, or *Canibals* remain possess'd of the rest.

Product.

The air in these islands is somewhat hotter than in the great ones of *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, &c. The soil is not altogether so fruitful, tho' it produces plenty of *Indian* wheat, yuca, sugar, tobacco, indigo, cacao, mandioca, potatoes, ananas, accajou, lemons, citrons, oranges both four and of a sort between *Sevil* and *China*, of a very fragrant scent. Sugar, tobacco and indigo are so plentiful in some of these islands, that they are commonly used by way of barter for other necessaries, instead of money.

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The inhabitants eat a sort of very large lizards, whose flesh is delicious, as also tortoises of a prodigious bulk. HERRERA

They know nothing of ice, snow or hail, but there are frequent hurricanes and earthquakes, but for which they would be very delightful places, by reason of the perpetual verdure, and are healthy enough when people are once season'd to the climate; especially in *Barbadoes*, *Martinico*, *Guadalupe* and *St. Christopher*, the heats are not reckon'd to be much greater than in the southern parts of *France*.

There are no enclosed towns in these islands, except *Bridge-Town* in *Barbadoes*, and *Cul de Sac Royal* in *Martinico*; but there are some villages, or boroughs. However the planters generally build their houses about the country of timber, and cover them with palmito leaves, or barks of trees. The houses of some governors are built of stone or brick, like castles; and of late some factors and planters build after the same manner. Structures

There are several forts, redoubts and batteries on the coasts, generally fenc'd round with double palisadoes. Forts.

In most of the *French* islands they use water or horse-mills for their sugar; but in *Barbadoes* the *English* generally have wind-mills. Mills.

The *Indians*, whom the *Europeans* there call savages, live in large huts, whereof there are twenty or thirty together in some places, and these villages they call *Carbets*. Indian vil-  
lages. These natives are bloody and inhuman man eaters, and as such were dreaded by the inhabitants of the great islands of *Cuba*, *Hispaniola* and *Jamaica*, who were harmless people, and on whom they prey'd, coming over in their *piraguas* or great canoes and carrying off many of them to devour. The *Spaniards* having such a vast extent of land to subdue, as is from the north of *Mexico* to the south of *Chili*, never had leisure to think of these inconsiderable islands, at which they only touch'd sometimes for fresh water, and set ashore on them some swine, which in process of time multiply'd prodigiously. Besides, these *Indians* being, as has been said, *Canibals* or man eaters, all such as they could take of them they sold as slaves.

About the latter end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the *English* and *French* began to shew

8 A

them.

HERRERA themselves in those seas, which encourag'd some of their countrymen to think of making settlements there. Some *English* and *French* pyrates first of all took up their dwellings in the island *Martinico*, which was without any authority, or form of government. In the year 1625. two adventurers, the one a *Frenchman* call'd *d'Enambuc*, of the family of *Vaude-roques*, in *Normandy*, the other *Mr. Warner*, an *Englishman*, arriv'd on the same day, upon the same design, and without knowing of each other, at the island of *St. Christopher*, and both settled there. *D'Enambuc* had been before this at *Martinico*, where those outlaws abovemention'd had promis'd, if he would return to them with necessaries for a colony from *France*, they would join and submit to him, as their commander. He propos'd his design to the cardinal *de Richelieu*, representing so many advantages from his project, that in 1626. many persons of worth formed a company of the isles of *America*, under the king of *France's* authority.

In 1627. the *English* possess'd themselves of the island the *Spaniards* call *Nieves*, and the others corruptly *Nevis*. In 1632. when they had a little recovered themselves from the blow given them by *Don Frederick de Toledo*, with the *Spanish* fleet, they sent colonies into *Montserrat*, *Antigua* and *Barbada*, and from *St. Christopher* to that of *Barbada*, now corruptly *Barbadoes*, which is since grown one of the most flourishing colonies in the world for its extent.

The *French* encourag'd by this example, tho' but weakly assist'd by the company abovemention'd to have been form'd in *France*, in 1626. for carrying of colonies into *America*, resolve to enlarge their possessions in *America*. With this intent the sieurs *l'Olive* and *du Plessis* sail'd from *Normandy*, carrying a good number of men, and peopled *Guadalupe*, afterwards stretching out to the little islands of *Saintes*, and that of *Marigalante*.

*Du Parquet*, who was in *St. Christopher* and had intended to make himself master of *Guadalupe*, being thus prevented, resolv'd to people *Martinico*, which he perform'd with so much prudence and conduct, and govern'd his people with such prudence and equity, that it became the most flourishing of all the *French* colonies in the *Caribbee* islands, and reduc'd those of *Granada* and *Santa Lucia*.

The *French* and *English* could not settle in these islands without much opposition from the *Indians*, and wars which lasted several years; till the few *Indians* that surviv'd were oblig'd to withdraw themselves into *Dominica*, *St. Vincent*, *Bequia*, and other islands, excepting some few who vo-

luntarily were content to remain in *Martinico* and *Granada*: Those who retir'd and their posterity watching all opportunities to annoy the *English*, of whom they have slaughter'd and eaten great numbers.

In the year 1635. *Vanree*, a *Dutchman*, *Dutch* company and company settled a colony in the island of *St. Eustachius* and part of that of *St. Martin*; and *Lampsen* of *Middleburg*, another in that of *Tabago*, by the *Dutch* call'd *Walcheren*.

The bailly of *Pointy*, a *French* knight of *Malta*, some years after, laid the foundation of a *French* colony in the island of *St. Bartholomew*, and the other part of that of *St. Martin* which the *Dutch* had not, dividing it betwixt them; and in 1650. began to settle that of *Santa Cruz*, which has been hitherto maintain'd with much difficulty; but now gives hopes of answering all expectation, since the *French West-India* company has been careful to supply it plentifully with all necessaries, so that it yields considerable returns of its product.

After the *French* had ravaged the *English* settlements at *St. Christopher* in 1666. the *English* that remained settled themselves in the island *Anguila*.

The *Danes* have also settled a colony of their nation in the little island of *St. Thomas*, one of those call'd the *Virgins* near *St. John de Puerto Rico*; but this being such a small spot of ground, can scarce afford its inhabitants a comfortable maintenance, besides that they are but sordidly supply'd from *Denmark*; and therefore not likely to become very considerable. However, as it lies so near the *Spanish* islands, the *Danes* have had there a good underhand trade with that and other *European* nations, especially since the late elector of *Brandenburg* was allow'd a storehouse there in the fort, for the use of his *African* company, which has sent thither a considerable number of slaves yearly, from *Guinea*, and several sorts of goods from *Europe*, *M. Barbot de la Porte*, a relation of mine, being then chief agent there for the *Brandenburg African* company.

The ebbing and flowing of the sea is very inconsiderable about these islands, but greater at those which are nearest the continent, and consequently more visible at *Granada* than at *Martinico*, and more at this last than at *St. Christopher*; for at this the difference between high and low water is not above a foot, whereas it is two foot at *Martinico*.

It is to be observed, that in all the *French* islands the leeward side is call'd *basseterre*, and the windward side *cabesterre*. The hills in general are named *mornes*, with each its particular distinctive name. The little rivers they call *ravines*. Another remark

mark is, that wheresoever there are such *mornes* or hills to the leeward, there sometimes come from them on a sudden such fierce gusts of wind, that it behoves all sailors who pass by any thing near, to keep a watchful eye upon their sails, for they may very well overset a ship, and immediately follows a dead calm. This the *French* call *pezant* or *rapal*.

Having given this short account of the first establishments of the *Europeans* in the *Caribbee* islands, I shall now proceed to other particulars which are useful to such as resort to that part of the world, being their true position and extent, and the distance between them, beginning with those which lie nearest to the continent, and proceeding regularly along to the most distant; adding a geographical and historical account of the wars and other transactions of moment which have happened there since they have been possess'd by *Europeans*.

**T A B A G A**, by the Dutch call'd **W A L C H E R E N**, and by the French **T A B A C**.

In the year 1678. this island was taken from the *Dutch* by marshal *d'Estrees*, after two of the sharpest engagements that have been known; and is now abandon'd, and only resorted to by birds. It is about twenty eight leagues in compass, the land on the east side low, and lies in 11 degrees 15 minutes north latitude to windward of all the other islands, that is the most easterly of them.

*Tabago* is encompassed with rocks and shoals, which render the access to it very difficult, and has no havens for ships of above a hundred tons. The Country is very marshy, and therefore the air unwholesome, and there is but little fresh water in it. The incursions of the *Indians*, as well from the island of *St. Vincent*, as from the continent always, made it a place of little safety, and may hinder its being possess'd by *Europeans* hereafter. The *Zealanders*, after the peace of *Breda*, were at a great expence to repair all the habitations the *English* had destroy'd, when they took the island from them, and the *French* of the island of *Granada* a year after drove out the *English*; but not being able to keep their ground, they abandon'd it, carrying away the best moveables and some cannon, having burnt the little fort and houses. However they still claim the property of the island, as yielded up to *France* by the treaty of *Nimeguen*; but the *English* pretend to the same right.

The soil is very proper for tobacco, *Indian* wheat, indigo, several sorts of grain and *American* fruits.

**G R A N A D A**

HERRERA  


Is forty leagues distant from the continent, and lies in 11 degrees 50 minutes of north latitude and about thirty leagues to leeward of *Tabago*, being about twenty five or twenty eight leagues in compass; a very hilly country, every where watered with brooks and rivulets. The hills are not very high, pretty easy of ascent, and generally fruitful in most parts. It has a very good harbour against all sorts of weather; and contains twenty stout men of war, having every where five fathom water; besides another advantage it enjoys, which is that this island is quite free from hurricanes, which rage so violently in the other *Caribbee* islands. The *French* colony there begins to increase, and is like to turn to good account.

Formerly the *French* at *Granada* drove a trade with the *Indians* on the opposite continent, by means of some of the natives of *Dominica*, whom they kept several years in that service and who brought them from the said continent some cochineal, balsam of *Tolou*, capachu oil, parrots, and other rarities of the country. It has been observed, that the *Caribbees* of *Dominica* and those of *St. Vincent* and *Santa Lucia* scarce understand one another's language, nor much of those other *Canibals* on the continent over against them, whence it is supposed that they have little communication among themselves.

**G R A N A D I L L A**

Lies north by east of *Granada*, with several small islands about it; betwixt which there is scarce any passage, but for sloops and barks, and even those must be well acquainted with the channels. Their nearness and the rocks and shoals about them break the force of the current, which there sets with the wind, and it is adviseable in sailing by them to keep to the windward.

**B E K I A**

Lies betwixt *Granadilla* on the south and *St. Vincent* on the north, having a desert anonymous island on the north-east of it, much of the same bigness and beyond that again the Isle of Birds, not half so big, but so call'd from the vast multitude of sea birds resorting to it. The compass of *Bekia* is about twelve leagues, having a very good harbour, but little fresh water, and is inhabited by a few *Caribbees*.

**St. V I N C E N T**

Is most of it one high round mountain ten or twelve leagues in compass, lying on the

**HERRERA** the same parallel with *Granadilla*, in 13 degrees 20 minutes north latitude, distant thirty two leagues from *Granada*. On the lee side of it is a very fine port, which the *English* some years since would have made themselves masters of; but the *Indians*, who are wholly possessed of the island, prevented their making a descent, with showers of poisoned arrows, and the assistance of the Blacks, who then revenged themselves for all the ill usage they had received from the *English*.

Those Blacks being about twelve or fifteen hundred, living on the coast of *St. Vincent* are fled thither from the neighbouring islands, and especially from *Barbadoes*, whence they made their escape with a fair wind in their masters canoes. The other side is peopled by two or three thousand *Indians*, who trade with those about the river *Oronoque*, on the continent, going over in their piraguas or large canoes, as they do to any other islands in the gulf of *Mexico*; and what is strangest, they seldom miscarry by foul weather, but are commonly aware of hurricanes a considerable time before they come. These two sorts of inhabitants being so numerous, take care to till their lands, that they may afford them sufficient provisions, which makes it look like a very fine country in sailing by, at about half a league distance. It abounds in fruit, fowl, goats and swine.

### BARBADOES,

So commonly called by the *English*, but more properly *Barbada*, being the name given it by the *Spaniards*, who were the first discoverers lyes in 13 degrees 20 minutes north latitude, and is between twenty and thirty leagues in compass, twenty five leagues distant eastward from *Santa Lucia*, and somewhat more from *Martinico*. The *English* have been possessed of it since the year 1627, and so well improved the soil, that it is become the most wealthy colony they have in *America*, being extraordinary populous, and having a very great trade, not only to *Great Britain*, but to *North America*. It is said to contain 10000 Whites able to bear arms, beside 40000 Blacks employed about the plantations of sugar, cotton, indigo, ginger and other fruits, which make the wealth of the inhabitants, many of whom are very rich, and live very decently. There are abundance of fine houses built with brick and stone, well furnished, and a considerable number of well furnished shops, especially in *Bridge Town*, otherwise called *St. Michael's*, which is the capital, the residence of the governor, the magistracy, the garison, and several eminent merchants

Bridge  
Town.

and factors. The great resort from all parts of *England* and *North America* makes it abound with all necessaries and conveniences for life. The town is reckoned to contain about 1500 houses, and is built in the form of a crescent, or half-moon, with good fortifications at both ends to defend the road, where a considerable number of ships rides all the year about.

There are three other towns in the island, viz. *Charles Town*, *James Town* and *Little Bristol*, each of them containing above two hundred houses, besides many fine ones all about the country. All this, together with the roundness of the island, the evenness of the land, which is pretty high, without hills or mountains, the great variety of trees, the curious hedges and the many wind-mills, affords a delightful prospect in sailing along the shore, as we did in our passage from *Cayenne*. There are also several forts on the coast, for its greater security.

This is observable, that there are no rivers, and yet there is no want of fresh water, which is every where to be had without digging very deep. There is a sufficient stock of cattel and poultry. A prodigious quantity of sugar is yearly brought from thence, and better than that of the *French* islands near to it. Some is refined there, of which there are two sorts, and three of the moscovado. Sugar.

The multitude of black slaves kept in the island has several times brought the *English* inhabitants into danger of being massacred; those wretches having several times conspired against their masters, and particularly a few years ago, when their design was discovered but a few days before it was to have been put in execution; several of the ringleaders were put to most cruel deaths, and some hundreds made their escape to the island of *St. Vincent*, as has been before observed, where they continue to this day among the *Indian* inhabitants. Since then, such order has been taken, that we have not heard of any mutiny.

The island is divided into eleven parishes, and has fourteen churches and chapels, being again subdivided into many plantations, some great and some small, the whole continent of it being reckoned about 126000 acres, naturally fortified with rocks and shoals on the north and north-east, where ships can only anchor at two or three places; but for the south-east and westerly part, it is all a long road, where ships may ride, especially in four principal places or bays. The chief of them is called *Carlisle* bay, in the south-west part of the island, about the middle of it, a very good road, where five hundred ships of any burden may be safe, except from south and west

west winds, which very seldom blow in those parts, being generally east, inclining either to north or south, and therefore the east part of the island is called the windward, and the west the leeward part. There also lies *St. Michael's*, or *Bridge Town*, with the two forts at the points above-mentioned. The chiefest of them is called *Charles Fort*, standing on *Needbam's* point, lying out in the sea, to the windward of the bay and town, so that an enemy keeping out of command of it, cannot do the town or shipping any harm. The fort is strong, built with lime and stone, and has seventeen great guns, with room for more, sufficiently garisoned and commanded by a captain.

Forts.

The platform joins to the windward part of the town, made for fifteen guns, and the other fort is at the leeward part capable of fifteen great guns.

The second road and town is called *Charles Town*, standing on *Oyfton Bay*, about two leagues west from *Bridge Town*, and has also two forts and a platform; the forts one to the windward and the other to the leeward, and the platform in the middle. Tho' this town be not much resorted to by shipping, there are in it several ware-houses for trade.

Charles Town.

The third is *James Town*, formerly called the *Holl*, about two leagues to the leeward of *Bridge Town*, and has only one platform, but is otherwise well fortified with breast-works. Few ships come to it, but it has a trade with the inhabitants of the adjacent parts.

The fourth being *Little-Bristol*, or *Spight's Bay*, is about four leagues to leeward of *Bridge Town*, and has two forts. Many ships resort to it, especially from the city of *Bristol*, and it is the second place of trade in the island to *Bridge Town*.

Little-Bristol.

The island is inhabited by *English*, *Scots* and *Irish*, and some few *Dutch* and *French*, as traders and planters, besides some few *Jews*, and a multitude of *Blacks* and *Mulattoes*.

All accounts are adjusted in *Moscovado* sugars, by which all other commodities are regulated; and the same is done in all the other *English* and *French* Caribbee islands. The potatoes of *Barbadoes* are generally reputed the best of all those islands.

### SANTA LUCIA

Lies N. by E. of *S. Vincent*, that is, of the point, called *les Pitons*, which is formed by two very high steep mounts like sugar loaves, standing on the western part of the island, whence a very strong current sets to the westward, and ought carefully to be avoided, when sailing thence for

*Martinico*. This island is in 14 degrees of north latitude, and about twenty leagues in compass, high, and divided into plains and mountains covered with wood; are reckoned good, but scarce habitable, by reason of a multitude of serpents, of the same sort and as venomous as those in *Martinico*. However, there are two or three *Indian* carbets in it, and some *Frenchmen*, who carry tortoises from thence to *Martinico*. On the shore grow abundance of *mansanilla* trees, not tall, but the wood of them fine, the leaves like those of the pear tree, the fruit a sort of small apples, whence the *Spaniards* gave them the name; of so fine a colour and pleasant scent, as will easily invite such as are unacquainted to eat them; but containing a mortal poison, against which no antidote has any force. The very leaf of it causes an ulcer, where it touches the flesh, and the dew on it frets off the skin; nay the very shadow of the tree is pernicious, and will cause a man to swell, if he sleeps under it.

HERRERA

Mansanilla.

Besides tortoises, it supplies *Martinico* with many wild swine and fowl, the former whereof is excellent food, and easily taken, there being great plenty. Several ships touch there for wood.

The passage between the two most westerly points of *Santa Lucia* and *Martinico* is about eight leagues, but to the middle of the latter, which is the *Cul de Sac*, is about ten leagues.

### MARTINICO.

By the *Indians* called *Madanina*, is a large island, about fifty five leagues in compass, eighteen in length, and the breadth very unequal in several places, lying in 14 degrees 50 minutes north latitude; high land, especially in the middle, where stands the great high mountain called *Peleé*, the top whereof rises above the clouds, and therefore there is always a gathering of clouds about it, whence above forty rivulets spread themselves all about the island, some of them navigable a considerable way up the land. It has the convenience of three ports, where above a hundred ships may lade every year, viz. the *Cul de Sac* *Royal*, the borough of *St. Peter*, by many called *Basse Ville*, or *le Mouillage*, and the *Cul de Sac de la Trinite*, of which ports more hereafter.

Ports.

The island lies between that of *Dominica* on the north and *Santa Lucia* on the south. Its principal capes are those called *des Tourmentes*, facing the north-east; *des Salines*, at S. S. E, and *Solomon's*, at S. S. W, and betwixt the two latter the diamond rock.

Capes.

All *Martinico* is hilly, and the middle part so mountainous that it is not habitable.

HERRERA  
Product.

bitable. However all the rest is very fertile in sugars, which are now refin'd there; cotton, indigo, cassia, rocou, cinnamon, cocoa, mandioca, potatoes, ranonas, plantanes, ananas, accajou, apples, lemons, oranges, and many other sorts of fruits and plants. The sugar, tho' very plentiful, is brown. There is also a fine sort of wood called *gayac*, of which they make pullies and other things for ships. The lemon tree is no other than a large thick bush, very thorny, and grows every where wild; the fruit very small, but yielding much juice, of which they press out great quantities to send abroad in casks.

Cattel.

These and other fruits, transported thither from *France*, thrive there very well; and sheep, oxen and horses multiply apace.

Cocoa.

The cocoa-nuts grow no where but in moist places, and such as are but little exposed to the sun. The tree is small, and the fruit grows in a long cod, which when ripe they gather and dry in the sun; the said cod is a rind like that of the pomegranate, and contains about twenty five or thirty of those nuts, of which chocolate is made.

Along the banks of the river of *St. Peter's* town, of late years has been observed a quantity of rushes, growing pretty thick and round, about three feet high; the leaves whereof are long, narrow and sharp pointed. The boughs of these bushes being broke into many short pieces, there runs out of each little stick two, three or four drops of a white, glutinous sap, or liquor, much like that of unripe figs, which has been found a sovereign medicine against all sorts of intermitting fevers, taking two spoonfuls of it at a time, and excellent against the country cholicks. Some suppose it to be the white balsam so much commended by chemists. The people there gather it in small vials, and it is much valued in *France*.

Balsam.

Its advantageous situation, and great number of substantial merchants and planters, give this island a great share of trade at *Bordeaux*, *Rochelle*, *Nantes*, *Dieppe*, *Marseilles*, and other sea port towns of *France*, which send thither yearly great quantities of all sorts of commodities, as wine, brandy, meal, corn, salt-meat, cloth, linen, silks, haberdashery of all sorts, hats, shoes, paper, laces and household goods, as also all things requisite for rigging and fitting out of ships, barks and boats; whence in return they bring away sugars, brown and refined; cotton, rocou, cassia, indigo, cocoa, *gayac* wood, and other product of the island; and during the war they had many adventurers in privateering, who during the last wars took abundance of very rich ships, as well *Dutch* as *English*, inso-

Trade.

much, that several of the inhabitants have got considerable estates by that means, and the planters in the mean time have made a very good hand of their sugars and other commodities of their growth, the value whereof has been much enhanc'd by the wars and other casualties. Thus many families there now make a very splendid appearance, being a very civil and affable people; and *France* may be known there by the fineness of the people, the women being as handsome as any in *Europe*, well fashion'd and genteel, thro' the great number of well-bred persons resorting thither from *France* and other parts, this being the rendezvous for the officers of men of war, and of the garrison, and the residence of the general, the governor, the intendants, the magistrates, and of the sovereign court of judicature, on which depend the islands of *Santo Domingo*, *Guadalupe*, *Marigalante*, *Saintes*, *Santa Crux* and *Santa Lucia*. Here are also the agents of the *French African* company, and those of many substantial merchants and factors in *France*.

Wealth  
and polite-  
ness.

In my time I knew there some planters, who had above four hundred black slaves of their own, each of them to work in their plantations.

The *Basseville* being the residence of all the most fashionable people, is a pretty large and popular town, otherwise called *St. Peter*, consisting chiefly of one winding street, an *English* mile in length, all in ascents and descents, lying along the beach, and in several places crossed by many curious rows of orange trees, towards that part of the town called *le Mouillage*, that is, the anchoring place, because the ships usually ride before it, about a musket shot from the shore, in about thirty five fathoms water; besides the river which crosses the middle of the town, and has excellent water, over which is a little bridge, and at the end of it the governor's house. This river comes down from a great valley that is behind the town, in which are many plantations, affording a very pleasant prospect. At one end of the town is the monastery of the *Jesuits*, curiously built; and at the other, towards the *Mouillage*, in the midst of the orange tree walk, which is eight hundred paces in length, with double rows of orange and lemon trees, and the finest perhaps in the world, were it not for the continual fear a man is there in of some snakes lurking about; and in the middle of this walk is the convent of the *Dominicans*. There is also a small nunnery of *Urselins*; beside an hospital in the care of those they call the brethren of the charity. Most of the houses in the town are built with timber, though there are some of stone, all of them very handsome,







- 1 The Part of the Town call'd la Gallere
- 2 Lyme Deel
- 3 The Market place
- 4 Landing place
- 5 The Cathedral (Tourno)
- 6 The Fort St. Peter
- 7 The Tower and Bridge St. Peter
- 8 The Mountain la Pillee

The Prospect of the Town and Fort St. Peter in the Isld. Martinico  
 one of the French Caribbees of America drawn from the Road call'd le Mouillage, the  
 Fort St. Peter being at NNE.

- 9 The Intendants house
- 10 The Convent of the Hospitallers' Nuns
- 11 The Part of the Town call'd les Petours
- 12 The Fine long Orange tree Wall
- 13 A Large Savanah
- 14 The White Fryers Convent
- 15 The Part of the Town call'd le Mouillage
- 16 The Plantation of Marquisse Matinechon

handsome, which together with the plow'd lands between the town and the mountain, ascending gradually for a great distance up the land, renders the prospect of that part of *Martinico* so very delightful by the view of the said hills and the great variety of woods, trees and greens, that I thought it well worth presenting the reader with a draught thereof, as it appeared to me from aboard a ship, riding in the road, the cut here inserted representing it to the life.

PLATE  
35.  
*St. Peter's*  
fort.

The fort of *St. Peter*, which in my time stood at the mouth of the river, to obstruct any descent that way, and hinder boats and sloops from running up the fresh water river, has been since ruin'd by hurricanes. It was formerly erected by the *Sieur du Parquet*, and was as ill contriv'd to repulse an enemy from without, as to oppose any attempt from within, not commanding the road, nor hindring the approach of ships to the coast; it was of no use against an enemy, beside that it was commanded by a higher ground overlooking it, within musket shot, so that the defendants lay wholly exposed, for which reason it could not hold out twelve hours, if attacked on the land side, and therefore it has not been thought fit to be since rebuilt. There are still two batteries, one at each end of the town, with other fortifications raised there since the *Englishs*, in 1693, with a fleet of sixty sail, attempted to make a descent at the point *du Prescheur*, a little above the town, but were repulsed with considerable loss by the inhabitants, who were seasonably joined and sustained by the count *de Blenac*, their general, who march'd thither with two hundred men, from *Fort Royal* in one night, the distance being six leagues.

*Cul de Sac*  
*Royal.*

*Cul de Sac Royal* is a large bay on the south side of the island, at the bottom whereof stands a pretty town, containing near three hundred families, where the general resides, and the courts of justice are kept. The streets are strait, and the houses regular, most built with timber. The *Capuchins* have a fine monastery there.

*Fort Royal.*

*Fort Royal* commands the town, being very advantageously seated on a large, long and high peninsula. It is no way accessible on the sea side, but along the rows of rocks which encompass it. There is no other avenue to the town but by a long and very narrow causeway, flank'd by a half moon and two bastions, lin'd with good stone work, and defended by a wet ditch. There are eighteen and twenty four pounders mounted every way on it, and six companies of mariners in garison. There is also a good magazine of powder, and a cistern, both of them bomb proof, so that the fort is now in a good condition and may with-

stand a considerable army; and even before it was brought to this perfection, admiral *de Ruyter*, in the year 1674, attack'd it in vain with three thousand men, under count *Horn*, and was forced to draw off with great precipitation, leaving nine hundred of his soldiers dead on the spot. I here insert the cut of this fort so strong by art and nature, as it was in the year 1679. The trees which then stood on the rising ground in the center of the fort, have been since cut down, and the fortifications considerably improv'd.

HERRERA  


PLATE  
34.

I have added a plan of the harbour called *Cul de Sac*, which is the best careening place throughout the *Caribbee* islands; the entrance into it is well secured by the cannon of the batteries in the fortrefs, and by several rocks and shoals, so ranged that there is no other passage for great ships, but within pistol-shot of the water-battery. This harbour can contain fifty tall ships, and is the common refuge of *French* ships in the time of hurricanes; the water in it being always still, because it is surrounded almost on all sides with high hills. About the middle, or the latter end of *July*, the general orders all commanders to carry their ships in thither for shelter. The royal magazine stands almost opposite to the fort, on the other side of the river.

*Cul de Sac*  
harbour.

*Cul de Sac de la Trinite*, standing on the other side of the island, is a much smaller harbour, and less frequented than those before spoken of.

*Cul de Sac*  
*de la Tri-*  
*nite.*

*Cul de Sac Maria*, at the *Cabesterre* and several other small places along the coast, serve only for barks and boats to take in their lading of sugar and other goods of the product of the island, and so to bring it about to the ships lying at *Basseville*, *le Prescheur*, or *Cul de Sac Royal*, which is very troublesome, because it must first be carried from the shore to the barks in canoes, and the sea on that windward side is always very rough.

The *Diamond Point*, in the south part of the island, has its name from a large, high, round rock, lying out at sea, about a mile from the point, because perhaps at a great distance it look'd like a diamond. It gives shelter to a vast number of sea-fowl of several sorts, which increase prodigiously, it being forbid to kill them. However, in the year 1671, five persons going from *Martinico* to this rock to catch those birds, for above a quarter of an hour had a full view of a fish resembling human shape, or a mermaid, within pistol-shot of the skirts of the rock, which they all attested upon oath, before the clerk of the council of the island; and several people at *Martinico* asserted it to me as a certain truth. This might to be the same sort of fish I mentioned

*Diamond*  
*Point.*

**HERRERA** mentioned in the supplement, so common in the river *Zaire*, of the kingdom of *Congo*.

**Inhabitants.** It is computed that there are now above three thousand Whites able to bear arms in *Martinico*, and above fifteen thousand black slaves.

**Air.** The high-lands make the air unwholesome, and few ships go thither, whose crews do not feel the effects of it; some dying in a few hours, without any sickness appearing. Besides they are much tormented with ants, gnats and *chiques*; this last is a sort of worm, which cuts into the heels and soles of the feet, and are the more troublesome in that they are scarce to be got out, if they have had time to lay their eggs there. I have seen some Whites, but much more the Blacks, so pestered with that almost imperceptible sort of vermin, that their feet have been so ulcerated and swell'd, as not to be able to go or stand, and others brought in danger of their lives, a gangrene following the ulceration.

**Snakes.** Another great annoyance is from the snakes, which are so common, that they crawl into the houses, and sometimes into the very beds. There are several sorts of them, and their sting is very dangerous, but of late years the Blacks have discover'd some simples which cure it immediately. Among them is a weed that runs up the trees like our ivy, there called *liane*. One morning as I was sitting with the marquis de *Maintenon*, in his hall, a large snake crept into his kitchen, and was killed there, which he told me he would cause to be dressed by his cook, throwing away the head and entrails, and eat it as a delicate dish. It is very dangerous walking about the woody parts of the island, on account of those creatures, or so much as in the beautiful orange-walk by the *Mouillage*, or anchoring-place, of whose beauty I have spoken before.

**Clergy.** As to spirituals, there are both secular and regular clergy. The *Jesuits* and the *Dominicans* have their houses, where the former commonly keep four priests, and the latter two. The parishes are served by seculars. There is also a monastery of *Capuchin* friars at *Fort Royal*, and one of nuns at *St. Peter de la Basseterre*.

**Justice.** As for judicial affairs, the general and his twelve counsellors decide all matters civil and criminal, throughout the *French Caribbee* islands, an appeal lying from the councils of all the others to that of *Martinico*, as also from that of *Santo Domingo*.

This island is much hotter than that of *Guadalupe*, not only because of its lying more to the southward, but by reason it is also more mountainous and woody, and

the ground dryer and more gravelly, which also makes it more fruitful in tobacco and mandioca. The sea affords abundance of tortoises, caouannes and machorans, or cat-fishes, especially of those represented in the cut; besides other sorts of fish, as tre-**PLATE** zahar, beque, &c. Some of the macho-**19, 20.** rans are unwholesome and dangerous to eat, which is thought to proceed from their feeding on the poisonous *Manzanilla* apples, which drop into the creeks. There are also several sorts of sea-fowl, and among them those two sorts represented in the cut, **PLATE** called *fregats* and *paille en cul*; the former **16.** of them is by the *English* call'd a man **Fowl.** *of war*, from their swift flight and large spreading wings; the other has its name signifying a straw in the britch, from one long single and pointed feather, which is all the tail it has, and at a distance looks like a straw stuck in its rump. The men of war naturally fly several leagues out at sea, and are a mark for ships to know when they are near the island; but the *paille en cul* commonly plies about the shore.

This island is not so subject to hurricanes as the others, and is the general rendezvous of all ships coming from *France*, as lying more to the windward than the rest, and therefore they can sail thence to the several islands they are bound to.

*Martinico* was at first inhabited by some *French* and *English*, who resorted to it, as well as to others, on several accounts, being generally such as fled thither for shelter for their pyracies. They lived there some time at peace with the savages, but after the settlements made by *d'Enambus* and *Warner* before-mentioned, on the island of *St. Christopher*, they resolved to massacre those intruding guests, and the design being discovered, the slaughter fell upon themselves.

The old *French African* company, with the king's leave, sold this island, *Santa Lucia*, *Granada* and *Granadilla*, in the year 1650, for 60000 livres, to the then governor for the king, being a knight of *Malta*, for himself and partners. The new *West India* company bought the same again of that gentleman's heirs in 1665. the two first for 120000 livres, and the others for 100000 livres of another gentleman, who had bought them of the before-mentioned governor, and appointed governors of their nomination in the same, that very year: but at present all the governors are appointed by the king of *France*, who claims the propriety of *Martinico*, and all other *French Caribbee* islands, where he has erected forts, and keeps good garisons, and they yield him a large annual income by the tolls and customs imposed on all goods of their product and manufacture.

Every

Every ship that loads there being obliged to give sufficient security to the king's agent there, under a great penalty, that she will deliver the said lading at no other ports in *Europe* but those of *France*; and upon a due certificate returned from thence, that it was performed accordingly, the bonds are cancelled, and the securities discharged; and the subjects of *France* and of these islands are allowed to employ any foreign bottom, especially since the last war, *Swedes*, *Danes* or *Dutch*, for their commerce too and fro, which saves abundance of men to the *French* nation, that are otherwise employed by the government. And it were to be wish'd our act of parliament in *England*, for encouragement of shipping and navigation, which perhaps was necessary at the time it was passed, had been long ago repealed, according to the opinion of some able merchants of *Great Britain*, which they prove would have spared many thousands of our *Englishmen's* lives, during this present long and expensive war, to carry on our trade to the *East* and *West Indies*, which takes up the best of our mariners employed in those long and hazardous voyages; one third part, if not more, never returns home, either by desertion or mortality, whilst our fleets are often at a stand, for want of hands enough to fit them out timely on emergent occasions. Beside that it ruins abundance of private adventurers and merchants, who to get men enough to serve in their vessels, are obliged to allow indifferent sailors very extravagant wages, which has undone several good merchants in progress of time, when voyages have proved long and tedious through any unforeseen accidents, and their goods come to a bad market.

It will not be amiss in this place to give some account of the behaviour of the *French* towards their slaves in the *Caribbee* islands, to illustrate what I have before said in the description of *Guinea*, of the particular care that nation takes of their spiritual as well as temporal welfare, and at the same time to make out what I said in the same place of the neglect of Protestants in that respect.

Choice of  
slaves. As soon as the slave ships arrive at the *French* islands, the planters and other inhabitants flock aboard to buy as many as they have occasion for. The price being agreed on, they search every slave limb by limb, to see whether they are found and strong, and it is diverting enough to see the examining even of those parts which are not to be named. This done, every buyer carries away his own slaves, and immediately provides for their nourishment, cloathing and health, which is done with extraordinary care. The new slaves sel-

V O L V .

dom missing in their master's houses of HERRERA meeting with some others, who are of their own country and language; those have commonly a particular charge given them to look after their new fellow-servants. Next the *Jesuits*, who apply themselves to the conversion of those poor wretches, make use of the old slaves to infuse the principles of Christianity into the minds of the new ones. This is not done without much labour and difficulty, in which they are so zealous, that some of them often suffer in their own health, through the pains they take in that pious work.

Care of  
their con-  
version.

When these poor people have been often instructed, by the means of interpreters, they are baptised with much solemnity, and soon after their masters take care to marry them to their minds, giving them their choice, either at home or aboard the ships that come in; and in this last case, the master buys the woman his man slave likes best, allowing them full liberty to match to their own liking; infomuch, that it is an established law in the *French* islands, that when one person's male slave has a mind to marry another inhabitant's woman slave, and she approves of it, one of the two owners is obliged to dispose of his slave to the other, by sale, exchange, or otherwise, that they may cohabit in the same house. Of marry-  
ing them.

This care of marrying and settling them together in a family, allowing them some little parcels of ground to till and make gardens, endears them to their masters, and makes them add to their ordinary labour, and to produce many things of use to the inhabitants in general, and to themselves in particular, to add to the conveniency of life and cloathing. Thus we see among the planters and masters of sugar-mills, two or three generations of families of slaves, who are very fond of one another, observing as much paternal affection and filial duty as any among us; and living as contentedly in their bondage, as the peasants in *Europe*. The masters, on their part, are very careful not to separate those families, and to allow the parents the satisfaction of educating their children.

It is pleasant to see their little huts, or cottages standing about their master's sugar works, like little villages, each cabin separated from another by a little garden belonging to it and appropriated to the use of the slaves inhabiting it. These villages are under the inspection of a *French* overseer, called there *Commandeur des Negres*, or Commander of the Blacks, who is to take care they observe good order among themselves, to set them to work as the master has occasion, and to chastise those that are faulty; the punishment being more

Govern-  
ment.

**HERRERA** or less, according to the offence, but always severe, they being naturally disorderly and slothful. The greatest punishment I once saw inflicted on a slave, who had several times run away from his master's house, was chopping off both his feet on a block in the publick market-place at *la Basseterre* of *Guadalupe*.

**Instructi-**  
**on.** The *Jesuits* do not only apply themselves to convert the new comers; but go daily into the gardens and grounds, where they are at work, and having procured half an hour's relaxation from their labour, catechise them, enquire into their wants and intercede with their masters to grant them what is most necessary. They also take care on sundays and holy days to assemble them in publick places, where they keep their little markets, that they may hear mass, which is celebrated on purpose, and therefore at *Martinico* called *la Messe des Negres*, or the Mass of the Blacks. In the afternoon they are again obliged to come to be instructed, and nothing is omitted that may confirm them in the belief and exercise of religion.

**Good**  
**usage.** In short, it is impossible to express the joy and satisfaction those poor slaves conceive to see themselves somewhat tolerably dressed on sundays and festivals, assisting at the same mass with their masters, equally well treated by the priests, when they go to confession, admitted without distinction to communion, to see their fellow slaves, when they die, decently buried, and in fine, to perceive that religion makes no difference between them and their masters, which the *Jesuits* make good use of to work upon their heavy capacities, inso-much, that it is not possible to express more zeal for the precepts and ceremonies of religion than those slaves generally do, and they value themselves much more among the *French* than those do who live among the *Dutch* and *English*; the former admitting them indifferently with themselves to communion and all other service of the church, and the latter excluding them from the religious equality, which keeps them always dejected and brutal. This may be said to be the reason there never happens any such desertion of slaves from the *French* islands, as we have often heard among the *English*, especially at *Barbadoes*, as was mentioned in the description of that island.

**Poisonous**  
**fish.** To conclude with *Martinico*, I think proper to warn travellers to be very cautious of eating two sorts of fish, at this or any other of the *Caribbee* islands, viz. The catfish, above spoken of, and that which the *French* commonly call *bequene*. These two sorts before they come to be well known, did much harm, such as did eat them be-

ing generally afflicted with painful swelling, or else seized with vomiting and racking colicks, supposed to proceed from those fishes feeding on the poisonous *manzanilla* apples, which fall into the sea, as has been hinted before. It has been also found by experience of late years, that the teeth of those fishes which have fed on the *manzanillas* are black, and therefore they always look into their mouths and such are always thrown away; but those whose teeth are white are eaten, as not being infected with that poison, and very good food. The wood of the *manzanilla* tree is proper to make tables, chairs and other household goods.

The large and delicious oranges this island produces, in great plenty, deserve to be taken notice of. Most of them grow between the town of *St. Peter* and the hill called *la Montagne*, the road to it, ascending for three miles, being all along set on both sides very thick with those fine orange trees, intermixed with lemon trees, growing wild, always green the whole year about, with the blossom and both green and ripe fruit hanging at the same time. The curious green of the leaves, the milk white leaves and the lively red of infinite numbers of oranges, make a delightful mixture to the eye, and the fragrancy of the blossoms perfuming the air ravishes the scent, in riding along that shady lane, especially in the morning early before the heat of the sun comes upon it. The horses often tread on those excellent oranges, which fall from the trees.

Another diverting object is the vast number of those very little birds, by the *French* called *colibris*, but by the *English* humming birds, flying about from tree to tree. They have a charming fine plumage, and are thought to feed on the dew that lies on the orange and lemon flowers. Another opinion concerning them is, that they fix themselves on the boughs about *October* and there sleep without waking till *April* following, which I cannot assert. The common sort of women and girls hang them in their ears for pendants.

## DOMINICA.

Another of the *Caribbee* islands, is eight leagues distant from *Martinico*, between point and point. *Columbus* gave it the name because he discovered it on a Sunday. It lies in 15 degrees 40 min. north latitude, N. by W. and N. N. W. from *Martinico* and has *Guadalupe* N. by W. of it. The whole compass of it is about eighteen or twenty leagues, and in it are very large high mountains, which occasion the great calms ships frequently meet with under it, those that

that ply to the northward islands being obliged to coast as near the shore as conveniently may be, to prevent a more tedious passage, if carried out to sea by the N. E. winds which generally blow there.

This island is inhabited by none but native savages or *Indians*, and it was assigned them, together with *St. Vincent* and *Bebia*, to retire to from the other *Caribbee* islands, in 1660. It has not much ground proper for plantations, but a great bay in the western part of it, affords a good safe road.

The *Indians* inhabiting this island constantly trade with the *French*, *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*, where I have seen many *piraguas* full of them, and they have so great a kindness for the *French*, that when they are at war with the *English*, those savages will kill and eat the latter, because they are enemies to their good friends the *French*, who cannot prevail with them to give the others quarter.

The *Jesuits*, and other religious men settled in the *French* islands, do from time to time go over to those *Indian* islands, to instruct those people in the principles of Christianity, which they hear with great attention, but do not profit much, being naturally tenacious of their ancient superstition.

Their language is the same as that of the *Galibis* in *Guiana*, whence it is believed these islands were first peopled, and therefore it will be needless to say any thing of their manners, wars, &c. being much the same, as described in speaking of those people in *Guiana*. But these natives of *Dominica* are reputed the most warlike of any of the *Caribbee* islands.

The land crabs of *Dominica* are much esteemed in the *French* islands for their sweetness and excellent meat, and there is great plenty of them about all the woods, which cover the greatest part of the island. The natives carry abundance of them to market in the neighbouring *French* islands, and sell them cheap enough, for several toys of very small value, as they do also ananas, figs, parrots and monkeys. The ananas there are esteemed the best of all the islands.

#### LOS SANTOS, by the French LES SAINTES:

That is *the Saints*, are several little islands lying five leagues north of *Dominica*, and three leagues south of *Guadalupe*, to whose government they are subject. They are no way considerable, on any other account than that they form by their situation an indifferent good harbour, to shelter ships in bad weather, some of the largest

being inhabited by a few poor people, <sup>HERRERA</sup> fishermen and mariners, but their product is inconsiderable. These islands have been famous since the remarkable expedition of *M. du Lion* their governor, in August 1666, who after several attacks made 500 *English* soldiers and officers prisoners there, as has been mentioned before.

#### MARIGALANTE

Had its name from the ship *Columbus* was in, when he discovered it, at his second voyage to *America*. It lies in 16 degrees 20 minutes of north latitude, N. N. E. and N. E. by N. of *Dominica*, and E. of *Guadalupe*, has no mountains, but raises itself in a heap in the middle, and thence descends every way towards the sea, which makes it look at a distance like a flat.

There are few springs and brooks, but many standing pools of fresh water, which are of great use to the inhabitants. The soil is good, especially for sugar canes, which is the reason the number of inhabitants daily increases; but it has no manner of port, so that the ships trading there ride in open roads. The whole compass of it is about 18 leagues, the distance from *Dominica* 8, and from *Guadalupe* 6 or 7. The *French* have had it ever since the year 1648. *Jacob Binks*, admiral of *Zealand*, took it from them on the first of June 1677, but the *French* soon recovered it, and have since erected a fort there for its security. The colony, which is indifferently large, is under a *French* governor. The late marques *de Maintenon*, mentioned by me in the description of *Martinico*, was one governor of it. The *Carmelite* friars attend the spiritual functions.

#### LA DESSEADA

Is another *French* island and colony, 6 leagues east of *Guadalupe*, tho' not very large, fertile and well cultivated by the *French* inhabitants, producing sugar and all sorts of *American* fruits. *Christopher Columbus* gave this island the name of *la Desseada*, or the Desired, or wish'd for, at his second voyage, it being the first of those islands he discovered.

#### GUADALUPE

Is a *French* island in 16 degrees 10 minutes north latitude, and 315 deg. 40 minutes longitude, about 70 leagues in compass, is divided into two islands, almost of an equal bigness, by a channel, or small arm of the sea, called *The Salt River*,

**HERRERA** *ver*, which overflows an isthmus of about 5 leagues in length, from end to end, so that barks may pass up, when the tide is in.

The greatest of these two parts of the island is that which the *French* call *la Grande Terre*, being about 50 leagues in compass. This is the true *Guadalupe*, so named by the *Spaniards*, when they discovered it, because its mountains resemble those of *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, in the province of *Estremadura* in *Spain*. Its *Indian* name is *Karukera*, or *Carucueira*. The *French* corrupting the *Spanish* name call it *Guadeloupe*.

Whether the *French* have found the soil barren, or for what other reason I know not, but it is thinly inhabited, there being scarce an hundred families in it. Most of it is taken up with high inaccessible mountains, excepting only on the side of *Cabesterre*, besides that it wants fresh water.

The other part of the island, which lies to the S. W. is about 40 leagues in compass, and subdivided into two parts, or territories. The middle is taken up with high mountains, on some of which are boiling hot springs, and wholesome mineral waters. Among the other mountains is one called *la Souffriere*, or the Sulphureous, which casts out thick smoke sometimes mixed with flames, at the mouth or opening there is on the top. The *Blacks* gather some small quantity of brimstone thereabouts, which they sell for a small matter to sailors, but it is very foul and full of dross, which were easily remedied, if they knew how to refine it.

The soil is fertile in sugar, which is better than that at *Martinico*, but not so fine as that of *St. Christopher*, also *roccou*, or anotto, tobacco, indigo, yuca, cotton, cassia, cacao. Fruit and fowl are very plentiful, especially turkeys, much cheaper than at any other of the *Caribbee* islands. There is a sort of birds about the sulphureous mountain, which they call *diabolins*, very large and as good as chickens. They live altogether upon fish and fetch them up out of their craw to feed their young. The *Blacks* commonly catch them, but are themselves sometimes so pierced by the sharp cold air of that mountain, that they languish and have much difficulty to surmount it.

In the two *Cul de fais*, or inlets of the sea, which separate *la Grande Terre* from the other part of the island more peculiarly called *Guadalupe*, they take tortoises, manaties and all sorts of common fish.

The town, called *la Basseterre*, lies on the west side of this part of *Guadalupe*, where we usually come to an anchor, tho'

the ground is very rocky, and it is a very indifferent open road for ships, which ride there about a musket shot from the beach, or little more. It is the most considerable town of the island, pretty large, seated on a rising ground and along the reach, somewhat straggling, leaving a large place of arms in the middle, at the east end whereof stands the governor's house. The houses, which as has been said stand scattering, are most built of stone, only some few of timber. At the north end of the town is a large sugar-bake-house, all of free stone, where much work was done, when I was there, and near it runs a small river athwart the town, coming down from the sulphureous cavity above spoken of. About the middle is a battery of eight pieces of cannon, which commands all the road, and is called the *Iron Gate*. At the south end of the town, on the bank of a rapid torrent, stands a little fort, mounted with eight pieces of cannon and lined with good stone work. There are chapels of *Jesuits*, *Dominicans*, and *Carmelites*, besides two or three parish churches served by the secular clergy. The *Jesuits* and *Dominicans* have considerable settlements. There are also some *Irish* families about *la Basseterre*, and elsewhere in the island.

The other town of *Guadalupe* is called *le Bailly*, standing two or three *English* miles from *la Basseterre*, where in my time was a sugar-bake-house. This town is inconsiderable, as having no great number of houses, but there is a chapel at some distance for the private use of a considerable planter, and the landing place is pretty easy, being a smooth flat gravelly ground, not of large black pebbles, as is usual at most places where the wind perpetually beats upon the shore; the sea rowling up those stones, and at such places it is difficult to land without being wet, and much sugar is damaged or lost in shipping off, which often retards the dispatch of trading ships.

The *English* made a descent at *la Basseterre*, in 1691, burnt the town, destroy'd the battery that stood in the middle of it, and only the fort beforementioned was made good by the inhabitants, till Mr. *D'Uragny*, then general of the islands, came with three or four men of war and some merchant ships, fitted up in haste to raise the siege: when the *English* reembarked with precipitation; leaving near 200 of their men in the woods, to the mercy of the *French*.

The inhabitants of the side of *Guadalupe* have the advantage, on occasion of an invasion, from enemies, to secure their best goods, furniture, cattle and even their persons in the mountains, where among the woods

Burning  
mountain.

Basseterre  
town.



woods they have prepared a sufficient quantity of clear ground to subsist for a time: the avenues of which on all sides are so well secured by the thickness of the wood and the many trees lying ready cut to fill it up, that it is inaccessible, much in the same manner as it was formerly practised at *Santa Cruz*, as I shall hereafter observe.

There is a little *Cul de Sac*, or inlet which affords a pretty safe harbour, in the worst weather, to ships retiring into it.

I have taken notice before that the island is subject to frequent *hurricanes*, and that about the year 1656, it felt three of those raging tempests, in the space of 15 months, the last of which was extraordinary as was there particularly mentioned; however the air at *Guadalupe* is far less unwholesome, than at *Martinico*: the inhabitants whereof send their sick people thither for change of air, and many soon find benefit by it. The country all round the town is grubbed up and open, in the shape of an amphitheatre from the foot of the hills down to the beach, and contains several good plantations of sugar and other private houses; a fresh breeze blowing all day till sun set. Fish, fowls, poultry and fruits of the climate are much cheaper there than at any of the *French* islands, as being very plentiful, and consequently the inhabitants live more comfortably, there being several planters who keep very good houses; and I may freely say the late *Chevalier Hinselin's* table was as plentiful and sumptuous, as any nobleman's table in *England*; having always twelve coverts and three courses, each of three and sometimes four dishes, and as good and nice a cook as can be imagined. The publick eating houses, are also very well served; and good cheer at half a crown a day, dinner and supper with good claret.

This island with *Marigalante*, the *Desseada* and *Saintes*, were sold for 61500 livres, to a private person, by the directors of the first *American* company, with the king of *France's* approbation. One of the directors, who was brother-in-law to the purchaser of these islands, went half in that purchase; but the former happening to die, and the latter being at variance with the nephews of the deceased, the king of *France* being informed of their differences, ordered the contracts of acquisition to be brought to the council, as also those of all the other purchasers of the islands made by the company, to be reimbursed their money. The heirs of the first acquirer yielded up their half share of *Guadalupe*, *Marigalante* and *Desseada* to the new company, for 120000 livres, which were not paid till the year 1668. But the other having declined to sell his half

share of *Guadalupe*, the new company nevertheless took from him the government he had obtained of it, and set up a governor of their own in the year 1665.

Formerly they had in this island five or six small forts, at present there are but three, and five or six churches and chapels, or parishes. There are several good plantations about the island, which yield a good quantity of sugar, indigo, cotton, &c. yearly; enriching several of the planters, who as they grow wealthy, make remittances to *France*; and at last retire thither with their families, which hinders the advancement of the colony, and yet it is pretty considerable. At the first settling of it, which was about the year 1635, the chief product of the country was tobacco, and sometime after it was much increased, by the breaking up of the *Dutch* colony of *Arrecife* in *Brazil*; by whose assistance they fell to cultivating of sugar canes, which has turned to much better account than tobacco did before.

The *Spanish* histories make mention of two *Spanish* missionaries, who passing to the *Philippines* to preach the gospel, were martyred in *Guadalupe* in 1603, and the following year six others, who were to have gone to *China* and *Japan*, by the way of *Acapulco*.

The woods are full of small land-crabs, as also of very small lizards, very troublesome to the inhabitants, entering their houses in the night time and even into their beds. I found one night by the moonshine a crab stuck fast with both claws to my sheets, which weighed above a pound and a half. But what is yet a much greater annoyance, is an incredible multitude of large ants, crawling in multitudes about the houses, which obliges the inhabitants to contrive convenient cupboards to preserve their provisions from them. The rats do much mischief to the sugar canes and other plants, as well in *Martinico* as the other islands. The snakes are not so venomous or troublesome as there.

The inhabitants are subsisted partly by provisions of their own growth, and partly by others from *Europe*, as at *Martinico*: sugar, cotton and indigo being there, as well as in all the other islands, the staple commodities to deal with ships by way of exchange.

I have before given a short account of the wreck of the lord *Willoughby's* fleet, betwixt *Marigalante* and *Saintes*, by a fierce hurricane, about the beginning of *August*, 1666, after the loss of *St. Christopher's*, which I shall mention in another place. A little *English* ship, having escaped the fury of that hurricane, soon after put into the port of *Antigua*, and informed lieutenant

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**HERRERA** general *Willoughby* of the disaster befallen his uncle's fleet, and of the four vessels that were drove upon *Saintes*; whereupon he resolved to pass over thither immediately, to reinforce or bring off the *English* there; and to hear farther concerning the fate of the rest of the fleet. To this effect, he fitted out seven small vessels, putting aboard them what forces he could gather, and embarked for *Saintes*; steering his course to the leeward of *Guadalupe*. Four *French* ships that lay in the road of that island, spying him off at sea, took some soldiers aboard and falling in with that little *English* squadron the next day totally defeated it: taking four of the vessels, with 230 men in them; but lieutenant general *Willoughby* seeing his ships taken and dispersed, made his escape in a bark.

#### M O N S E R R A T E,

Is an *English* island, consisting of one very large mountain, and resembling the famous mountain of the same name in the province of *Catalonia* in *Spain*, about a league distant from *Manresa*, and nine from *Barcelona*, much resorted to on account of the devotion pay'd to our Lady there, in a monastery of *Benedictine* monks, standing in the middle of the mountain: and from that resemblance the island was so called.

It is about eight leagues in compass, almost round, in 17 degrees of north latitude, N. N. W. from *Guadalupe*, and distant from it eight or nine leagues. It is observable, that in the tract of sea between those two islands, the current sets swiftly to the westward for the most part, only some odd days it turns back to windward, the reason for which extraordinary motions no man has been yet able to find out. This is one of the most extraordinary things to be taken notice of about those islands.

*Monferrate* has no port or harbour, and but a very bad road for ships; nor does it afford any great quantity of sugar, or other commodities for trade.

In the year 1667, the *French* general *de la Barre*, with 26 ships and 2500 men, took this island and ransacked it, after a vigorous resistance made by 900 inhabitants. The *French* sent away 300 *English*, fit to bear arms to *Jamaica*, and permitted 500 *Irish*, who were there and with their wives and children made 2000 souls to remain, taking an oath of fidelity to the king of *France*. The general carried off from thence sixteen pieces of cannon, a great number of slaves, and abundance of horses and cattle, which he distributed among his men. He also destroyed about forty sugar mills and houses, and burnt several

warehouses full of valuable commodities. All this was done in six days. The *French* had with them some *Caribbee Indians*, with whose help they drove some hundred *English* from a very high and almost inaccessible hill, which is the last refuge of the people in all those islands, when beaten from their forts and intrenchments. The *Indians* are the properest for such enterprizes, being bred in the woods, and used to climb the mountains like wild beasts.

The south east point of *Monferrate* is very sound and deep all about, so that ships may sail by within pistol shot. The fort is on the west side of the island. The *French* landed in a little bay about a musket shot to the windward of the fort. The island was restored to the *English* by the treaty of peace concluded at *Breda*, July 31, 1667.

#### S A N T A M A R I A R E D O N D A,

So named by admiral *Columbus*, when he first discovered it, in the year 1493, in memory of the church so called at *Rome*, is a little *English* island, lying N. N. W. of *Monferrate*, being only a little round mount, as it appeared to me in sailing by it at a distance, and therefore *Columbus* gave it the name. It is very rocky, overspread with weeds, and therefore of no considerable product, nor well peopled, and most of the inhabitants are *Irish*. It abounds in a sort of sea fowl, by the *French* called *Foux*, that is Fools, because they were formerly so stupid as to suffer themselves to be taken by hand, on the yards and masts of ships at sea, and some of them still continue so very tame, as I have observed in the account of the navigation from *Guinea* to *America*, where the figure of the bird is annexed.

#### N I E V E S,

By the *English*, to whom it belongs, corruptly called *Nevis*, is a great high mountain of an easy ascent every way; so that it has all round about three miles of improveable land, which the inhabitants industriously cultivate for sugar and other *American* productions, being very fertile. It lies N. N. W. of *Monferrate*, about 7 leagues distant, and the same number of leagues in compass, but has no other port than a good road, on the side next *St. Christopher*. The colony was first settled there in the year 1628, some of the inhabitants being *Irish*. It is in 17 degrees, 20 minutes of north latitude, well peopled, and has a good trade with *England* and *New England*, for sugar, rum, ginger and other *American* commodities, in exchange for which it receives all sorts of provisions,

provisions, cloathing and other necessaries. The sugar it affords is indifferent good.

The coast being easy of access, it has been often invaded by the *French*, and therefore there are forts and batteries erected in several parts, to prevent the like attempts. In *May*, 1666, the *French* having conquered the *English* part of the island of *St. Christopher*, of which I shall speak in its place, and received a supply of ammunition and some forces, by four large ships, the *French* company had furnished at *Rochel*, and being joined by a little squadron of *Zealand*, under the command of *Creiffen*, they resolved in a council of war to seek out the fleet commanded by the lord *Willoughby*, which was then before *Nieves*, expecting Sir *John Harmont* with a reinforcement of ships, and men from *England*. To this purpose they laboured day and night at *Martinico*, and having embarked 600 men, set sail the 15<sup>th</sup> of the aforesaid month. The 16<sup>th</sup> they came to *Guadalupe*, where 600 men more were put aboard, with *Monf. du Lion*, the governor and *Chevalier Hinselin*, his lieutenant. The 18<sup>th</sup> at night they left *Guadalupe*, being thirteen *French* and four *Zealand* ships, with two fireships. The 20<sup>th</sup> at break of day, this fleet being between *Redonda* and *Nieves*, spied the *English* guard ship, which being an excellent sailer, got clear of them and retired under the fort of *Nieves*, giving notice to the *English* fleet, by continual firing, of the approach of the *French*, who were advancing to get about the W. S. W. part of the island and found the *English* standing out full sail from under that point and consisting of 17 ships, the admiral whereof carried 52 guns, the vice and rear admirals, 48, the other 12 from 28 to 36 and 2 fireships. General *de la Barre* was aboard the *Lilly* of 40 guns, as admiral; the vice and rear admiral 32 each, the other *French* ships from 18 to 32 each; besides a flyboat, a galliot and several barks, laden with all sorts of provisions, to throw into *St. Christopher's*, during the engagement, which was done accordingly. The *French* admiral, having given the signal of battle, the *English* made a line from the point of *Nevis* westward, in order to cut off the passage to *St. Christopher*. The *French* formed their line shorter than their enemies to cut through their fleet, and by that means put one half to the leeward, betwixt *St. Christopher's* and their own second division. The *English* admiral made his signals, after which, part of his fleet ranged *Nevis* nearer, to keep the wind and fall the easier on the first division of the *French*, when engaged, which obliged general *de la Barre* to alter his first order of battle, to prevent the enemies design; and instead of sailing up

directly to them, he caused his ships to fill, ranging as near as he could the *Cayes*, or shoals of *Nevis*, thus keeping the advantage of the wind. In this manner the two fleets engaged for some hours, both admirals being for a time in great danger; but at length, the *French* forced one of the *English* frigats aground and blew up another, a shot having fallen into its powder room. They both kept a sort of running fight far into the bay of *Nevis*, continually cannonading each other, till the *English* tacking on a sudden, stood to the southward: whereas before their heads were to S. E. as if they would all have run aground under their forts, and at the *Cayes* of the west point of *Nevis*. The *French* and *Zealanders* tacked at the same time; but fearing to be aground, came not up so near the shore as the *English*, who ran into three fathom water: both fleets endeavouring to gain the wind, but still within shot of one another; but the *English* being the best sailers, the *French* perceived it was impossible to get the wind of them: and therefore the night drawing on they made for the island of *St. Christopher*, having gained their point, which was to supply that island with men and provisions: the flyboat, galliot and barks being safely arrived there, and the whole *French* fleet anchored at ten at night in *St. Christopher's* road. The fight lasted from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon. Above 600 shot were made at the *French* admiral, of which 50 reached his ship, which killed and wounded several men, not one man being killed in all the rest of the squadron, and only sixteen wounded. The *English*, besides the two ships lost, as was said above, owned they had eighty men killed or wounded. The *French* give out, that had it not been for the ill working of two of their ships at the beginning of the engagement, they would certainly have gained the wind upon their enemies, and having cut off their retreat towards *Nevis*, their fleet had been quite destroyed, and *Nevis* taken without any opposition.

#### ANTIGUA.

This island was by *Christopher Columbus*, the first discoverer, called *Santa Maria la Antigua*, in honour of a church of the same name in *Sevil*; the *English* to whom it belongs calling it only by the last word. It is about 20 leagues in compass, stretching out east and west, in 17 degrees, 20 minutes north latitude, and about 10 leagues to the eastward of *Nevis*. The length of it is 7 leagues, the breadth very unequal, the access to it is very difficult, because

Fight betwixt *English* and *French*.

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because of the many rocks and shoals about it, but has several good harbours against all weather, among which is that of *St. John of Pope's Head*. The colony there is pretty considerable, tho' much incommoded by want of fresh water, there being no springs, and only two small rivulets. The inhabitants take care to save all the rain water they can and sell it to one another upon occasion. A factor's wife of that island told me, she had sold much rain water at nine pence the pail. They also gather water in holes they make in the earth, or ponds, for the use of their cattle. However the ground is very fertile, divided into plains, hillocks, and small mountains, and producing abundance of indifferent good sugar, indigo, tobacco, ginger, cotton, and other commodities of the product of *America*, which afford them a brisk trade with the dominions of *Great-Britain* both in *Europe* and north *America*, especially with *Boston*, from which places it receives in return all sorts of provisions, apparel and other necessaries.

Among the inhabitants are several *Irish* families, descended from some of those the usurper *Oliver Cromwell* sent over from that kingdom to the *British* colonies, making slaves of many thousands of those unfortunate people.

Taken by  
the French

In the year 1666. the *French* general *de la Barre* invaded *Antigua*. He enter'd the port of the seven isles with his squadron, sounding all the way, and turn'd it up by direction of some deserters, making himself master of two forts, whereof that on the left hand had six pieces of cannon, and the other in the middle of the harbour seven, all eight and twelve pounders. He anchor'd within pistol shot of them, and with his cannon ruin'd their batteries, whereupon they were abandon'd by the *English*. Next he attack'd a large house built with freestone, standing about five miles up the country, in which colonel *Carding* the governor had intrench'd himself with his garrison, which made a vigorous resistance, but in the end most of them fled, and the governour and about twenty officers were made prisoners of war. The next day the *French* attack'd another parcel of the *English* at another strong house, and after some opposition enter'd the house by force, putting to the sword most of those that were in it; only colonel *Quests* and about twenty five others remaining prisoners. Then they ruin'd all the batteries and took away the guns. The whole island submitted upon articles, one of which imported, that whereas the island *Barbuda*, distant from this ten leagues north by east, being dependent on *Antigua*, the one half of it should remain in propriety to such inhabitants as would take

an oath of fidelity to the king of *France*.

*Antigua* was restored to the *English* by the treaty of peace concluded at *Breda*, the 31<sup>th</sup> of July 1667.

## B A R B U D A,

An *English* island, as well as *Antigua* and *Barbadoes*; lies somewhat out of the chain of *Caribbee* islands, about ten leagues north by east from *Antigua*, and depends on its government, being in 18 degrees of north latitude. It is flat and level, but wants fresh water, and was almost abandon'd during the wars between the *English* and *French* in 1666. but has been since peopled from *Antigua*. The access to it is dangerous, being all beset with banks and shoals, especially on the east side, which makes all those avoid it who sail about those parts.

## St. C H R I S T O P H E R,

So call'd by *Christopher Columbus*, the first discoverer of it, in the year 1493. from his own name, lies about three leagues north-west from *Nevis*, in 17 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and 314 degrees 53 minutes longitude from the meridian of *Ferro* or *Hierro*, stretching out from north-west to south-east about nine leagues in length, the breadth unequal, but all together makes about twenty or twenty five leagues in compass.

The native *Caribbee Indians* call'd it *Liamaigna*. It has been for many years divided between the *French* and *English*, the former possessing the two ends of it, at north-west and south-east, the latter the middle part between them, whereof only about one league in breadth and four along the coast are inhabited. This intermixture of quarters was occasion'd by the *French* and *English* arriving there on the same day, in the year 1625. to settle colonies of their several nations, as has been mention'd before. The middle part of the island is not habitable by reason of the steep mountains, with dreadful precipices, separating the other parts from each other, and in those mountains are hot springs and mines of sulphur and alom.

The form of the island is almost oval, if we take from it that which is there call'd *les salines*, or the salt-pits, being a tract of land, about a cannon shot in breadth, and a league and a half in length, jutting out towards *Nevis*. The oval part is cut in two in length by the aforesaid ridge of high mountains of difficult access, taking up but little ground in breadth. From the shore to the place where these mountains begin to be impassable for carts, the ground rises gently for the space of three

three quarters of a league in the broadest, and half a league in the narrowest part. That space is divided by several rivulets form'd by the waters falling from the mountains, and contains the dwellings of those who have settled on the island. The *French*, as has been said, possess the two points, and the *English* the middle parts. The *French* quarter of the south-east end is called *la Basseterre*, where is the best road; the other at the north north-west end *la Cabesterre*. These quarters have no communication without passing through the *English* quarters, who being under the same inconveniency on their side, because of the mountains separating them, have made a foot road over the hills, not passable for horsemen without extraordinary difficulty and danger.

The principal quarter of the *English*, call'd the *good road*, looking west south-west, being the usual residence of the governor and the only anchoring place they have, is also the place where they generally assemble their auxilliary forces from the other adjacent *English* colonies in time of war. The river *Cayonne* parts the *French* from the *English* territories; the descent of it on the *French* side is pretty easy, and the ascent on the *English* side more difficult. Besides the *Cayonne* last mentioned, the most considerable river in the island is that of *Pentecost*, the others scarce worth taking notice of.

The air is more temperate here than in *Martinico* or *Guadalupe*, but the ground not more fertile. At the first settling it yielded a good quantity of tobacco and ginger, but they have now left off planting those two sorts, and now employ all the ground in sugar, mandioca, potatoes, and other sorts of fruit and roots for the support of life. The sugar is better than at *Guadalupe*, tho' that is also better than at *Martinico*.

There are three good ports, but the island is much more subject to hurricanes than the others, and they sometimes make mighty havock in it, which does not however obstruct its being well peopled by *French* and *English*, some of both nations being very wealthy, and living in plenty; as do also the inferior sort of inhabitants in proportion to the richer, there being in the island a good number of genteel, fashionable people, and driving a considerable trade to *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, and several ports of *New-England*, and other *English* colonies of north *America*; which in exchange for its sugars, indigo, and other product, supply it with all sorts of eatables, liquors, cloathing, &c. It would have been far more rich and beautiful, had it not been so often invaded and ransack'd

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during the wars that have happened since it began to make a figure, betwixt the two nations that possess it in common.

I will here give the reader a brief account of the war in that island between the *English* and the *French*, in the year 1666.

The Lord *Willoughby*, *English* general at *Barbadoes*, had no sooner information that the war was declar'd between *France* and *England*, but forgetting all thoughts of neutrality he had flatter'd the *French* with, he wholly apply'd himself to make all advantages of the weakness they had reduc'd themselves to, by too much relying on his word, and suppos'd it would not be difficult for him to drive the *French* out of the half of *St. Christopher's* they possess'd jointly with his nation. He sent away to colonel *Watts*, governor of the *English* part, to be inform'd by him of the state of the *French* and *English* in that island, and of the number of forces requisite to carry on his design. *Watts* being of a covetous temper and poor, thought this an opportunity to enrich himself with the spoils of the *French*, concluded it an easy matter to subdue them, and sent word to that lord, that he could never miss in this project, and that he had occasion for no other forces but what he might draw from *Nevis*, and *St. Eustachius*; which last had been of late taken from the *Dutch*, and where three hundred *English*, most of them *Buccaneers*, had been planted; and, that whilst his lordship provided for his project he would dispose all things for the execution and success of that enterprize.

As soon as *Watts* had return'd this answer to the lord *Willoughby*, he resolv'd himself to surprize the *French* before his general sent him any forces from *Barbadoes*, fearing he would employ some other to execute this design, and thereby deprive him of the booty, with which he hoped to enrich himself. Following his first thought, he entertain'd the *French* of the island of *St. Christopher*, especially the commander *de Sales* their governor, with great hopes of neutrality; whilst to compass his projects, he advised *Russel* governor of *Nevis*, what number of forces he should want from that island, and sent word to colonel *Morgan*, then commanding the new *English* inhabitants in *St. Eustachius*, to hold himself in a readiness to come over to him with his best men. He was somewhat thwarted in the execution of his enterprize which he had communicated to several of the chief of the *English*, some of whom would not consent to break thus with the *French*; which oblig'd him to write to colonel *Remes*, commanding in the north quarter of the island, to secure those who should be against his design. Whilst he was thus contriving in *St. Christopher's*

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Wars between the French and English.

**HERRERA** *Christopher's*, the lord *Willoughby* caused the drum to be beaten in *Barbadoes*, and having there lifted seven or eight hundred men, appointed his nephew lieutenant general *Henry Willoughby*, to command in the enterprize of *St. Christopher's*, and ordered vessels to be got ready for transportation.

At the same time the governors of *Nevis* and *St. Eustachius*, pursuant to their advice from *Watts*, had ship'd off and sent the best men of their respective islands into that of *St. Christopher*.

The *French* governor *de Sales* being informed of these transactions of the *English*, by a *Frenchman* who had been at *Nevis* some weeks before, and acquainted him he had much trouble to come out of that island, where the *French* were already treated as enemies; and that there was no other discourse, than of the preparations made to invade the *French* quarters in *St. Christopher*; for which effect the lord *Willoughby*, their captain-general, made levies at *Barbadoes*, took the alarm, and resolv'd to prevent them, notwithstanding the fresh assurances *Watts* had lately given him when he sent him the printed copy of the declaration of war by the king of *England* against *France*, that he was resolv'd to observe the neutrality settled betwixt the two nations, as it had been practis'd during *Cromwell's* usurpation, when no manner of hostilities had been committed in those islands on either side; the lord *Willoughby* himself having also shew'd a great inclination to entertain that neutrality in *America* which he had renewed with him, and promis'd that whatever rupture should happen between *France* and *England*, they should not make war in that island, without first having respectively informed each other of the resolution they should take, pursuant to what should be transacted in *Europe*.

To this effect, *de Sales* having confer'd with the *seigneur de St. Laurent*, who was his lieutenant, he ordered about seven hundred of the best forces of the quarter of the island he was in, to keep themselves in a readiness; and on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *April* was informed that nine floops had been seen passing by in the night loaden with soldiers from *Nevis* to *St. Christopher's*, who were landed there at *Palm Tree* point, one of the *English* quarters; and immediately he received another advice, that the day before two hundred and fifty *English* *buccaneers*, with colonel *Morgan* at the head of them, from the island of *St. Eustachius*, with some soldiers from *Barbadoes*, were also arrived at the *English* quarter called *la Grande Rade*.

*De Sales* being convinced by all these preparations of the *English*, that the loss

of his island was unavoidable, and that he had no hopes of saving it, but by preventing them: that he might do what he had resolv'd with the more right and justice, he sent his aid-major with an officer to colonel *Watts* the *English* governor, to know of him on what design he gather'd so many forces, contrary to the agreements made between the two nations: the answer was, that he had sent to him to declare war, and that he allow'd but three days to prepare himself.

This answer did not only determine the *commandeur de Sales* to attack the *English*, but to do it so speedily that he might surprize them before they had given their orders, either for an attack upon him or for their own defence. To this purpose he dispatch'd an express to the *seigneur de Poiney*, commanding in the quarter of the point *de Sable* and *Cabesterre*, to inform him, that on the night between the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>d</sup> he would attack the enemy on their north quarter, next *Cayonne*, and that he should do the same then on the side of *la Cabesterre*, that the *French* forces of the two distant separate quarters might join; but the express could not pass.

This order so given, he judg'd it necessary to deceive the enemy by a stratagem, and therefore, on the 21<sup>st</sup> he caus'd all the forces of *la Basseterre* to assemble on the height of the river *Pentecoste* in the southern quarter, where he drew them up in battel, in the sight of the enemy; and just at night, having caus'd several fires to be lighted, and left in that place about a hundred of his weakest men, with a number of Blacks, and most of his drums, to cover his design and amuse the enemy in that place, he march'd towards *Cayonne* with all his forces, being about six hundred and fifty soldiers, and fifty volunteers.

I shall not mention all the particulars of the disposition he made of his forces, and of his attacks; but think it sufficient to say, that the first engagement was at the river *Cayonne*, which separates the *French* from the *English* quarters, as has been observed, which is near a church, 1200 paces higher up the land; after which they penetrated into the *English* quarter, and the Blacks set fire to all the sugar-canes, houses and sugar-works of the *English*. Next they pass'd the deep rivulet of *Nicholston* without any opposition, and having gain'd the upper end of the rivulet in the plain, that lyes betwixt it and the five *combles*, they halted to breathe a little, having already suffer'd very much by the heat and the smoak. After a little rest, they march'd along a road, hemm'd in on one side with a great ditch and a hedge, and on the other with shrubs and canes very close and thick,

thick, which leads to the place of arms before the aforefaid church of the five *combles*, and by it found an ambuscade in the ditch and shrubs, lying at the entry of that place, which stopp'd them awhile, till being reinforced, they charged the *English* musqueteers so warmly, that they retired to the place of arms, where they were sustained by the fire of two companies of *English* that had not yet engaged, posted within and without the church. There the *commandeur de Sales* was killed by a shot in the head, and some other officers wounded: his death disorder'd the *French* forces, but the *chevalier de St. Laurent* coming up and heading them afoot, with sword in hand, overthrew the *English*, and pursued them to the end of the rivulet. The road being then free for the joining of the forces of *la Cabesterre*, they marched directly that way, and found the *French* of that part of the island of the *Lance a Louvet* having been attack'd by the *English*, led by colonel *Remes*, had so vigorously repulsed them, that they were forced to retire towards the mountains, after eighty of their men had been killed on the spot. The runaways, as well of the north quarter as of this place, gaining a passage across the mountains, which leads to their quarter of *la grande Rade*, got away to their governor *Watts*, who was astonish'd to hear of the progress the *French* had made, and resolv'd to take revenge. To that effect he sent orders to the *English* of the two frontiers of the *Palm Tree Point*, and that of *de Sable*, to hold themselves ready to assault the *French*; and being arriv'd with their body on the banks of the little rivulet of the *Sandy Point*, which divides them from the *French*, found their men there skirmishing with them in a savanna or pasture ground, on which stands the house of *L'Esperance*, captain of that quarter, and caus'd them to march by the heights, and thence sending their detachments, they attack'd the advanced guard of the *French*, posted in a little savanna at the head of those huts, sustained by three hundred men under *de Poiney*, and drove them from that post, retiring to the first houses there; but being assist'd by the two small battalions of *Poiney's*, they charged the *English*, and repulsed them beyond the post they had just taken of the *French*. Here *de Poiney* was mortally wounded.

The *English* being there sustained by fresh forces, renew'd the charge very furiously, and retook the houses; but were soon beaten from them by the *French*, who had the advantage of the ground, and could make two discharges for one, because the *English* were above them.

The *English* governors, *Watts* and *Mor-*

*gan*, seeing their forces repulsed from those posts, resolv'd to make a general attack with all their troops, being about 1200 men. Accordingly *Watts* put himself on the right, and *Morgan* on the left, filling up all the front of the rising ground of the huts and savanna's of the *sieur L'Esperance*; moving thence orderly to all the places where they judged they might be attack'd in front, in order to face and charge the enemy every way; but the *French* perceiving by this disposition of the enemy, that they should infallibly be forced from thence if they did not advance some small forces before them, to sustain the first brunt; they slid fifty fuzileers along a defile which the *English* had not observed, on the left of their first attack, and behind some trees standing along the great road, causing them to file off by ten at a time, with orders not to fire till within pistol-shot, and then to retire to their body if they were press'd. This was executed so exactly, and the *English* received their first volley so fully, that *Watts* their chief, with three of his captains, fell down dead, and colonel *Morgan* mortally wounded, which stopp'd the motion of the *English* troops, and gave time to the *French* to make a second discharge; and to the two small battalions to come out of their posts, and charge the enemy with so much success, that being dismay'd by the loss of their chiefs, they betook themselves to flight, and were pursued by the *French* a great way up into their territories.

About ten at night an *English* trumpeter came to demand the body of their governor, but it was rather to observe the posture of the *French*; for though they had obtain'd the permission of taking him away, they did not do it.

The next morning when the officers were making the disposition to attack the *English* quarter of the great road, where they had formed a body of two thousand men; an officer came from them, desiring to speak to the *chevalier de St. Laurent*, who then commanded the *French* in chief upon the death of the *commandeur de Sales*, and propos'd to him an accommodation, which oblig'd *de St. Laurent* to assemble his officers, who knowing their forces wanted powder, were of opinion to propose to the *English* seven articles; the first of which import'd, that they should immediately deliver up their forts, cannons, arms and ammunition; the third, that the inhabitants, who should take an oath of fidelity to *France*, should live and enjoy their estates; the sixth, that they should have liberty of conscience, but no publick exercise of the *Protestant* religion; and not be allowed any arms, nor so much as swords.

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St. Christopher taken by the French.

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The officer was sent back with these conditions, and the *English* allowed only four hours to accept of them, which they did, and signed them within the time; and hostages were deliver'd for the execution of that shameful capitulation, pursuant to which, the *French* were made masters of the *English* forts and arms. Many of the *English* withdrew from the island, and the *French* allowed but a few of those that were fit to carry arms to retire into *Nieves*, *Monferrate* and *Antigua*; the most were sent to *Jamaica*, *Carolina*, *Virginia*, *Bermudas*, the *Azores*, and some to *England*.

Whilst this was transacting at *St. Christopher's*, lieutenant general *Willoughby* was on his passage with eight ships from *Barbadoes* to *Nevis*; and betwixt the great land of *Guadalupe* and *Antigua*, met a *French* bark going from *Marigalante* to *St. Christopher's*, which he soon took, and was strangely surpris'd, when asking the *French* crew, What news; they told him they had heard of none since the conquest their nation had made of the parts of *St. Christopher's* belonging to the crown of *England*; only that the *seigneur de Chambray*, agent general of the *French West India* company, was gone over to that island with three large ships, to carry away the *English* to other parts. This account made him resolve to throw the forces he brought from *Barbadoes*, into *Antigua* and *Nevis*, to defend those islands against the attacks of the *French*; and as to himself, to expect at *Antigua* fresh orders from the lord *Willoughby*, his uncle.

The eight hundred men this lieutenant general was bringing from *Barbadoes*, were in their passage to be reinforc'd by about five hundred more from *Antigua*, and all to be join'd to those prepar'd in *St. Christopher's* by Colonel *Watts*, in order with that number of forces, which were to exceed five thousand men, to undertake the attack of the *French* quarters at *St. Christopher's* with the greater success; but they who design'd to take, were taken themselves.

In *June* following, the lord *Willoughby* having projected not only to recover the *English* quarters in the island of *St. Christopher*, but even to dispossess the *French* of theirs, came before it with his fleet, aboard which were three thousand men of regular troops and militia, detach'd from *Barbadoes*, *Antigua* and *Nevis*, commanded by his nephew *Henry Willoughby* and lieutenant colonel *Stapleton*. The fleet pass'd by the fort at point *Palm Tree* at break of day, and made such expedition, that before the chevalier *de St. Laurent*, who then commanded in the island, could oppose it; the *English* boats landed above six hundred

men on the beach at the river *Pelan*, a quarter of a league above the *English* fort, tho' the place was not very convenient for making a descent; for notwithstanding it was easy enough to land on the beach, yet the entrance into the river was defended by a little steep cliff, about twelve feet high, enclosed with small thorny bushes, accessible only by a little narrow foot path, which a single man had enough to do to scramble up between the bushes, with two rivulets full of rocks at the two ends, very difficult to pass. The *English*, instead of gaining that height, drew up in order of battel on the beach, and by that means gave time to the chevalier *de St. Laurent*, with about twenty five horse to place themselves before that little foot path, and to repulse the detachments sent from the beach to gain the height, notwithstanding the fire of the main body that was on the beach, and that from the men of war and barks, riding within pistol-shot of the shore.

The *English* being repuls'd from that road, extended themselves to the right and left to advance among the rocks and stones in the mouth of the river *Pelan*; but the *French* forces by that time increasing there, charg'd them in front and flank, whilst several boats continually landed more men to sustain the former; so that there was a continual skirmishing for several hours, and many men killed, the particulars whereof being tedious; but in conclusion, the *English* were so press'd, that they reimbarc'd, after having canonaded a long time from their ships, leaving eight hundred of their best men, either killed or drowned, among whom was the lord *Belmont* and several officers, besides five hundred and fifty prisoners, of which number was colonel *Stapleton*, who commanded the descent, colonel *Bonely* and colonel *Colter*, and twenty other officers. The *English* fleet returned to *Nevis*.

Defeated.

By the peace of *Breda*, concluded *July 31, 1667*. their quarters in the island of *St. Christopher* were restored to the *English*, who in a few years put their colony into a good condition again; but were again driven out of it by the *French* in 1690, and restored by the peace of *Ryswick* in 1697, when they once more re-establish'd all things, but were since expell'd again during the last war; but by the peace, concluded at *Utrecht* in 1712, *France* has yielded up the whole island to the *English*.

Besides the frequent calamities of war, the island is more subject to hurricanes and earthquakes than any other of the *Caribbees*, as has been hinted before; but for which it would be a very pleasant and advantageous place.

*English*  
attempt  
on *St.*  
*Christo-*  
*pher*.



The *Commandeur de Souvre*, with the king's permission, bought the propriety of the islands of *St. Christopher*, *Santa Cruz*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Bartholomew* of the *French American* company, for the sum of 40000 crowns. The king ratified the treaty in 1653, and yielded up all the right to them to the order of *Malta*, they only paying an acknowledgment of a gold crown, worth 3000 livres, to every king at his accession to the crown of *France*, and the great master was obliged to send no other persons governors of those islands, but *French* knights.

The new *West India* company redeem'd the said islands from the knights of *Malta*, for the sum of 500000 livres in 1665, sending over thither the *Sieur de Chambray*, their agent-general, to take possession of them in their name, who settled their governors in them, that same year; notwithstanding the *Commandeur de Sales*, governor of those islands for the knights of *Malta*, made some opposition. The inhabitants were also somewhat uneasy at this change, and the prohibition of commerce with the *Dutch* was as little agreeable to them, as to those of *Guadalupe* and *Martinico*. These discontents were heightened by the apprehension of a rupture between *France* and *England*, when they should be exposed to all the mischiefs of war; whereas if they had continued subject to the knights of *Malta*, they would have been out of all danger, as being neutrals.

### St. EUSTACHIUS,

Is about nine leagues in compass, lies in 17 degrees 40 minutes north latitude; three leagues N. W. from *St. Christopher*, and to the southward looks like a high mountain, but stretches out to the northward in an indifferent good country. It is possessed by a *Dutch* colony, as has been observed before, since the year 1635. The chief product is cotton, besides some sugar plantations. It has no harbour, but a good road. The land is mountainous and wants water.

The *English* from *Jamaica*, took it from the *Dutch* in 1665, and having sent them away, re-peopled it for the most part with *buccaneers*, under the command of colonel *Morgan*, who was killed the next year at *St. Christopher*, as was said above.

The *French* having, as is there also related, possessed themselves of *St. Christopher* in 1666, invaded *St. Eustachius*, together with the *Dutch*; and being landed with little or no opposition from the new *English* possessors, who retired to their fort, advanced under their commanders

the *Sieur Dorvilliers* of the *French*, and *Vanderburg* of the *Dutch* to storm that work; but the *English* sent out colonel *Sedborough* to capitulate, and they were allowed to depart the island without any arms; only to carry off their equipage to *Jamaica*, without landing on any of the *English* *Caribbee* islands, which was executed accordingly; and to prevent their retiring to any of the neighbouring islands, the ship lent to carry them off had no main top-mast. The confederate forces took possession of the said fort, in which they found sixteen pieces of cannon mounted, a brass mortar, twelve bombs, a hundred and fifty muskets, some ammunition, and a considerable number of Blacks. The island being at that time of war look'd upon by general *de la Barre*, as very serviceable to shelter the little ships, that should have occasion to go to *St. Christopher* by the side of the *Cabesterre*; and that it would be a great annoyance to the *French* there, if the *English* should be masters of it again and keep some small frigats there, to hinder the resort to *St. Christopher* without being exposed, as they must be at *Nevis*; he resolv'd to keep a good garison of *French* in *St. Eustachius*, to secure the fort, which, tho' but of earth, is one of the best in the *Caribbee* islands; and to leave in it a governor of resolution and experience. The *Sieur de Rose* was pitch'd upon for that employment, with eighty men of regular troops; and all the slaves the *English* had left, who were employ'd at repairing and improving of the works. Afterwards, by the treaty of *Breda*, the island returned to its first possessors.

In 1689, the *French* took it again from the *Dutch*, but restored it by the peace of *Ryswick*, in 1697.

### St. BARTHOLOMEW,

So call'd from *Bartholomew*, brother to *Christopher Columbus*, which last discover'd it in the year 1493, is ten leagues in compass, lyes in 18 degrees north latitude, eight leagues N. N. E. from *St. Christopher*, and belongs to the *French* since the year 1648. The colony is not considerable, having but a few inhabitants, because it wants fresh water and the soil is none of the best. However it abounds in fowl, as hens, turkeys and ducks, and also in sheep and goats, which the inhabitants trade with to *St. Christopher*. It also produces plenty of *mandioca*, whereof the *cassabi*, or ordinary bread of those islands is made.

This *mandioca* is a bush, full of crooked knots, and seldom grows quite six foot high.

high. There are six or seven forts of it, the violet colour is the best. It is reduced to a sort of meal, as has been said elsewhere, and they bake it in large flat cakes.

This island produces plenty of tobacco, and has a pretty good harbour for vessels under a hundred ton burthen.

### St. MARTIN,

Belongs to the *French* ever since the year 1645, is in the same longitude as the former, in 18 degrees 25 minutes latitude; its compass about twenty five leagues, distant from *St. Christopher* nine leagues north, and is seated between *St. Bartholomew* on the south, and *Anguila* on the north.

It is inhabited by *French* and *Dutch*; one *Vanree*, a *Hollander*, having enter'd upon it, as well as the *French* in 1635, and each nation has its separate quarter. Before the wars in 1666, it abounded in cattle and had some sugar mills; but having been almost abandon'd, it will not be easily restor'd, as well on account of its unwholesome air, as of the distempers thought to be occasion'd by the badness of the water, which is also scarce, and taken out of a lake there is in it; besides that the land is barren. It lyes also too much to leeward, which renders the commerce with the windward islands the more difficult. Nor has it any harbour; and the south shore, being the passage from it to that of *S. Bartholomew*, is very rocky and dangerous.

### ANGUILA,

Is a long flat island, north of *St. Martin*, in 18 degrees 30 minutes north latitude; eight leagues long, and but of a small breadth, whence the name of *Anguila* is deriv'd, signifying an eel in *Spanish*. It is inhabited by *English*, several families having retired thither after the *French* had conquered their quarters in *St. Christopher* in the year 1666. Their chief product is tobacco, which has not enrich'd them, but they continue generally poor. The access to the island is very dangerous, and many ships have been lost about it, nor has it any harbour to shelter them.

### SABA,

Is a small island, consisting of one great mountain, lying N. W. from *St. Eustachius*, in 17 degrees 50 minutes north latitude, inhabited by the *Dutch*; but is a colony of small value and thinly inhabited, though there are now some *English* on it, as well as *Dutch*. It is not so large as *St. Eustachius*.

### SANTA CRUZ,

By the *Indians* called *Ay Ay*; is about thirty leagues in compass, in 17 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, forty leagues to the westward of *St. Christopher*, consisting altogether of small hills; of good access even for carts, and proper to produce all things of *American* growth. The soil in some places is nitrous, for which reason the water is not every where fit to drink, as tasting of that mineral, which defect is supplied by cisterns for the use of mankind, the cattle drinking that of the wells, which serves also for other common uses. It has been observed, that the deeper they dig the wells, the sweeter the water is. That of several rivulets is also very good, and serves those places through which they pass. The island being no higher in the middle than in other parts, as most of the *Caribbees* are, several of the little rivers stagnate towards their mouths, for want of a descent. They abound in fish, but the water sometimes standing still there, occasions infectious vapours and exhalations, which render the place unhealthy, as I shall again observe.

This island, ever since the year 1650, has belonged to the *French*, who have there a little colony. The air was reckoned bad for many years, but it has been observed to grow more wholesome as the woods are cut down, and the inhabitants live pretty well in it, and have good provisions, which makes the number of people increase; and it is like to become a considerable colony, there being several sugar-mills on it already. The soil produces plenty of tobacco, sugar and indigo, and there is good pasture ground for feeding horses, cows and sheep. In the year 1680, it was reckoned to contain 800 inhabitants. It formerly belonged to the knights of *Malta*, as was observed before, but now to the new *French West India*, or *American* company. The *Dominicans* have the charge of spiritual affairs: The king appoints a governor.

There are three ports in it, the best in all the *Caribbee* islands, especially one of them, which is a very safe harbour, but somewhat difficult to get in, having two very narrow channels among the rocks, not above six fathom broad, and the one fifteen, the other sixteen foot water. Within those narrow channels the depth increases to four and five fathom, all within the port very close to the shore, the ships commonly lying so near a small island there is within it, that they make use of the trees growing on it, to bring them down on a side and careen.

There

There is a little fort, mounted with cannon; besides which the inhabitants have a safe retreat, in case of being attacked by too great a power, which they provided in the midst of the woods, in the year 1666, when they apprehended being attacked by the *English*; the place being big enough to breed and maintain cattle, with other conveniences for themselves, their families and effects. That natural fortress is secured on all sides either by the thickness of the trees standing, or by many others cut down and lay'd athwart to stop up the avenues, so that 20 men who were well acquainted with the place, may keep off 500 in those parts which are easiest of access.

Those woods are full of queests and ring-doves, very good to eat, besides abundance of land crabs. They also swarm with gnats, chikas and other troublesome insects, which much annoy the inhabitants at certain times of the year. The crabs are of such a nature, that if trod on, or otherwise crushed, they fill the air with a loathsome stink: besides they spoil all the fresh water of the wells or brooks they resort to, in incredible multitudes, at a certain time of the year, when they go down from the inland hills to the sea side to spawn; after which they return again several miles up the country, crowded so close that they take up half a league in breadth, crawling over one another. The gnats cause violent pain and swelling knots where they sting, and it is difficult to sleep quiet for them in the house, and impossible to avoid them in the woods.

### The VIRGINS,

Are several small islands in 18 degrees 50 minutes north latitude, lying in a cluster, north of *Santa Cruz*, of several sizes, their soil barren, and therefore very thinly inhabited by *Danes*, who live there very poorly. The nearest of them to *Santa Cruz* is 10 leagues distant, and the most westerly of them, within a few leagues of the great *Spanish* island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*. This is the chiefest of them all, where the *Danes* and *Prussians* have a tolerable settlement, to carry on an underhand trade of slaves from *Guinea* and some *European* commodities, with the other *Caribbee* islands, and with the *Spaniards*, as I have observed before.

### ANEGADA,

Is a desert island, in 19 degrees north latitude, about twelve leagues to the northward of the *Virgins*, very difficult of access, by reason of the shoals lying about

it, and therefore carefully avoided by all ships coming from the windward islands to proceed to *Europe*, many ships having been formerly lost there. It is about as big as the island of *St. Bartholomew*, or perhaps somewhat larger. There is no account of its soil or product.

### SOMBRERO,

Is a little island lying betwixt the last spoken of and *Anguila*, serving for a landmark to get out safe from among the *Caribbee* islands.

The great islands of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, *Hispaniola* and *Cuba* belonging to the *Spaniards*, and *Jamaica* to the *English* are not of the number of the *Caribbees*, and therefore nothing shall be said of them.

### BERMUDAS.

These islands are not of those we have above spoken, but very remote, yet in regard they lie in the way for ships returning from *Guinea* and the *Caribbee* islands, and are often resorted to upon accidents, stress of weather, or want of provisions, it may not be improper to say something of them.

They are in 32 degrees, 25 minutes north latitude, and 270 degrees longitude from the meridian of *London*, about 300 leagues distant from *Carolina*, which is the nearest continent. Their first discoverer was *John Bermudo*, a native of *Galicia* in *Spain*, whose name they retain, about the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1552, the king of *Spain* had resolved to send thither a colony of his subjects, because it is a place convenient for the ships returning to *Spain*, through the channel of *Babama*, and accordingly granted great privileges to *Ferdinand Camelo* a *Portuguese*, but that design took no effect.

In 1593, *Barbotiere* a *French* captain was shipwrecked on them, through the oversight of his pilot, twenty six of his men got ashore, among whom was *Henry May*, who afterwards published an account of that shipwreck. In 1609, Sir *George Somner* an *Englishman* was drove thither by the violence of the winds, and some of his men returning into *England*, so much commended the islands, then called *Somner's* islands, from Sir *George Sommers*, that in the year 1612, a society of *English* gentlemen and merchants, having obtained a grant from king *James* the first, sent over sixty men to begin a colony, under the direction of *Richard More*, who built eight forts in several places.

*More* was succeeded in the government, anno 1616, by *Daniel Tucker*, who set his

men

men to cultivate the ground, to plant trees and tobacco. In 1619 *Butler* succeeded *Tucker*, having carried over above 500 inhabitants, and found as many there. He divided those islands into parcels, which were soon peopled, for in 1623, there were above 3000 *English* inhabitants.

There is but one large island, four or five smaller, and several little ones: all of them surrounded with rocks, shoals and sands, which render the access extraordinary difficult, and are their greatest security, there being only two clear channels, with good fortifications to secure them. The rocks may be seen at low water, but not at flood, when the water rises about five foot. *May*, in his description of these islands says, the biggest is about fifteen *English* miles long, and six or seven in breadth; all over stocked with trees and plants of several sorts. The cedars there are very beautiful, with which the inhabitants build houses and vessels, the timber being the best in the world.

The sea affords tortoisés of a prodigious bulk. The prickly pears grow all the year about, and there are red and white mulberries, and silk worms. There are also abundance of a sort of palm trees bearing a fruit like acorns, which serve to feed swine, whereof there are great numbers. The sea also yields some good pearls and ambergreese. *Indian* corn comes twice a year, a single grain producing a pound weight each time. The first sowing is in *March*, and the harvest in *July*; the second sowing in *August*, which is reaped in *December*. There are abundance of whales all round the islands, of divers sorts and other sea monsters, which play about the shores from *January* till *May*, and are a profitable fishery.

The air is clear, temperate, moist and moderately hot, which renders the soil fit to produce any plants or seeds, and tho' the trees lose their leaves, they are always green. Fresh water is somewhat scarce, for which reason the *English* have dug many wells, which supply them.

The worst of those islands is that they are very subject to horrid storms of thunder and lightning, except in the months of *April* and *May*, when the weather is very delightful. It is observable that few ships pass by the islands without meeting some tempest, tho' at 70 or 80 leagues distance. Notwithstanding which boisterous weather, in the year 1616, five men, in an open boat of about 3 tons burden, ventured to sail thence to *Ireland*, at the most tempestuous time of the year, and arrived there safe, after a passage of seven weeks, and escaping infinite dangers.

The arms of *Bermudas* are, a ship splitting against a rock in the sea, to denote how those islands were made known to the *English*, by *Barbotiere* and Sir *George Sommers* being shipwrecked on them, as has been mentioned.

*The End of the Account of the Caribbee Islands.*

I have thought fit to subjoin the following discourse, taken out of the reflections upon the constitution and management of the trade to *Africk*, through the whole course and progress thereof; from the beginning of the last *Century*, to this time; as it was offered in print, to the *House of Commons*, by the *Royal-African-Company*, anno, 1709.

## An Account of the Rise and Progress of our Trade to *Africa*, preceding the Year 1697.

**A**BOUT the latter end of queen *Elizabeth's*, and in the beginning of her successor king *James's* reign, some *London* adventurers made several attempts separately, for carrying on a Trade to the coast of *Africk*, call'd *Guinea*; yet all that can be found any of them ever gain'd thereby, was merely a bare discovery, and dear bought experience, that probably an advantageous trade might have been carried on thither, provided they had had a stock and power sufficient for that end, and had known how to preserve their men from the dangerous influence and effects of the pestilential air of that strange climate; and from the barbarous cruelties of the treacherous natives: but these adventurers wanting proper means for the aforesaid purposes, and meeting with some severe rebukes upon that account, did by degrees lay aside all thoughts of making any farther attempt that way.

Whereupon king *James* in the 16th year of his reign, granted a charter under the great seal of *England*, to Sir *Robert Rich*, and other citizens of *London* therein mentioned, together with such other persons as they should think fit, to assume and incorporate into one body politick, for raising a joint stock, to carry on a Trade to *Africk*; and that exclusive to all his majesty's other subjects, under no less penalty than the forfeiture of both ship and cargo, to the use of those joint adventurers for their encouragement.

But scarce had that infant company of joint adventurers made the experiment of two or three several voyages, when some other private merchants envying their fellow citizens apparent view of success, would also needs try their fortunes, by interloping clandestinely upon the same coast; upon discovery whereof some disputes arose between them and the company, which proceeding soon after to an open rupture, the company insisted upon the privileges of their charter; the others on their natural right: and both parties at last growing weary of such debates, as well as of their mutual losses, withdrew the shattered remains of their several and respective stocks; by which means that trade was again wholly neglected for some years.

V O L. V.

In the mean time some other *European* nations, but more especially the *Dutch*, still pursuing their design of fixing and securing to themselves the trade of *Africk*, by cultivating a friendship with the natives, building of forts, and settling of factories on the coasts of *Guinea*, and by supplanting the *Portuguezes*, who were settled long before them: Some of our most intelligent merchants represented the same to king *Charles I.* as also the consequences which they thought might naturally attend the supine neglect of that trade. Whereupon his majesty did, in the seventh year of his reign, grant a new charter under the great seal of *England*, to *Humphrey Slaney*, *Nicholas Crisp* and company, with such ample privileges, exclusions, prohibitions and penalties, as in the former charter were contain'd: which last charter was, in the year 1651, confirm'd and exemplify'd to *Rowland Wilson* and company, by the governing power at that time.

But considering the many convulsive fits and distractions which in those days embroil'd and confounded the government both of church and state throughout this island, we need not wonder that our trade to *Africk* fell at the same time into very great disorders; for the unrestrain'd liberty which interlopers assum'd for trading as they pleas'd, without any regard to the rights of the company, set them and the company together by the ears; and then the *Dutch* and *Danish* companies laying hold of the opportunity which our domestick commotions and divisions did administer to their advantage, they increased the number of their forts, factories and ships of war on the coast of *Africk*; by which they not only encouraged, advanced and defended their own trade and navigation, but also wholly obstructed that of their neighbours; inso-much, that besides demolishing the forts, and quite ruining the stock of that company, they took the ships and goods of other private *English* traders to the value of about 300000 *l.* as appear'd by their Petitions to the parliament, after the restoration of king *Charles II.*

How far these losses were any ways consider'd or repair'd by that parliament, I know not; but upon a representation

made soon after to king Charles II. that the *British* plantations in *America* were by degrees advancing to such a condition as necessarily required a greater yearly supply of servants and labourers, than could be well spared from hence, without the danger of depopulating his majesty's native dominions; his majesty did, for the supplying of those plantations with Blacks, publicly invite all his subjects to subscribe to a new joint stock, for recovering and carrying on the trade to *Africk*; and the then design'd subscription being compleated accordingly, his majesty did, in the year 1662, grant a new charter to the subscribers of that joint stock, by the name of the *Company of Royal Adventurers of England* for carrying on a trade to *Africk*; with the same exclusions, prohibitions, penalties, forfeitures and immunities, which were contain'd in the several charters formerly mention'd\*.

But scarce had that new company put themselves into a condition of trading, when a war breaking out with the states of *Holland* in the year 1664, the *Dutch*, who seldom or never neglected the taking hold of any opportunity for engrossing to themselves as much as they could of either that or any other beneficial trade, did, in the very beginning of the war, send orders to their admiral *de Ruyter*, lying then at *Gibraltar* with a squadron of thirteen men of war, to sail for the coast of *Guinea*, and to set upon the *English* there; which he so effectually perform'd, that in the year 1665, he not only destroy'd most of their factories, took *Cormentyn Castle*, *Tocoravy Fort*, and the other places on that coast, but likewise seized on several ships and goods belonging to the *English* company, insomuch that their loss thereby was computed at above 20000 *l.* by which means that company's stock was so much reduced, that they were quite discourag'd, as well as disabled, from making any farther considerable efforts for retrieving and carrying on that trade to any purpose, without some new help.

Whereupon his majesty considering, that the said trade was in imminent danger of being wholly lost to the nation, and conceiving, that the establishing a new company, and a new stock, upon surrender of the former company's charter, would be the most effectual means for recovering and carrying on that trade, did, in the year 1671, publicly invite all his subjects residing in foreign plantations, as well as here at home, to subscribe what sums they pleased towards carrying on the aforesaid trade; and thereupon many of the nobility, gentry and merchants having, in the

compass of nine months, subscribed and compleated their design'd stock; his majesty granted a new charter in the year 1672, to those new subscribers, distinguished by the denomination of the *Royal African Company of England*; with the same exclusions and privileges which the former company had: it being previously stipulated, that out of this last stock, satisfaction should be given to the former company, for the estimated value of the remains of such castles, forts and settlements, as were then in their possession on the coast of *Africk*: which was done accordingly.

The trade of *Guinea* being thus settled again, and carried on by the uniform influence, direction and management of a society of persons, who had the countenance and protection of the government at that time; they introduced and encouraged the making of several sorts of woollen, and other goods, proper for the trade of *Guinea*, not formerly manufactur'd in *England*, and reduc'd the making thereof to a staple and settled goodness; they exported yearly above seventy thousand pounds worth of the said woollen, and other manufactures; and gave far better prices for the same, than what usually is now given for the like; they furnish'd the western plantations with frequent supplies of considerable numbers of slaves, at very moderate rates; and in so encouraging a manner, that they sometimes trusted the planters to the value of a hundred thousand pounds and upwards, till they could conveniently pay the same; they imported beside, *elephant-teeth*, *red-wood*, and other goods, fit for being manufactur'd at home; such quantities of *gold-dust* from the coast of *Africk*, that they frequently coin'd thirty, forty, or fifty thousand guineas at a time, with the elephant on them, for a mark of distinction; and in effect they managed matters so, as that, for several years successively, that trade did not only produce an annual dividend of certain profits to all the particular adventurers in the joint stock, beside an increase of their capital; but also several other publick and national advantages to the whole kingdom, and the *British* plantations in general.

But some time after the late revolution, several private traders, then properly called *interlopers*, assuming again a liberty of trading separately to *Africk*, without any regard to the company's charter, few or none of them had any other consideration in view, than barely the ready disposal of all such cargoes as they carried along with them, no matter to whom or which way, and

\* Note, The *African Company's* Patent contains from the *Straight's* mouth, to the *Cape of Good-hope*.

and the speedy procuring of Blacks, or any other commodities which they could get on that coast, whether by purchase or otherwise, so as not to stay long there: for accomplishing of which design they stuck at nothing; but were too frequently guilty of such sinister practices, as proved not only very injurious to the private interest of the company, but likewise disgraceful and pernicious to the *British* interest in general among the natives; insomuch that the company's agents were frequently oblig'd to vindicate the company, by making the natives sensible, that they were none of the company's ships or servants. And as the impunity of such practices did encourage the authors to persevere for some time in such like courses; so others taking their views and measures from the seeming success of the former, without any regard to the consequences of trading in that manner, join'd in an out-cry against the privileges of the company, as a monopoly inconsistent with the liberty of the subject, and not establish'd by act of parliament; and that therefore they would exercise their natural right of trading to *Africk*, as well as the company.

Thus they went on for some time; and to give the more colourable title to such their proceedings, they never fail'd to magnify and improve any accidental loss or misfortune which happened to the company, during the late war; as if that had been the natural effect of trading by a joint stock; insomuch, that whosoever could contrive the most effectual methods for lessening the company's credit and interest, either at home or abroad, whether by detraction or otherwise, was among them accounted the bravest adventurer.

Nor were the agents of other nations, particularly those of the *Dutch West-India Company*, ever wanting in cherishing, upon all occasions, the authors and fomenters of any divisions in the *British* interest on the coast of *Guinea*; but endeavoured with all their art and skill, to make such improvements thereof, as they thought might best serve their ends with the natives upon that coast.

Whereupon, after long forbearance, the company at last address'd the parliament by petition for relief: but some others, at the same time, alledging very confidently, that if the trade to *Africk* were laid open to all such persons as had a mind to trade thither, the same would not only be more agreeable to the natural liberty of the subject, but also, that thereby several new discoveries would be made, many places then unknown traded to, much greater quantities of the *English* manufactures exported of course; and that the plantations

would be furnish'd with slaves in greater numbers, and at cheaper rates, than could be expected from the company alone. By which alluring suggestions, and plausible pretences, the parliament was, in the year 1697, induced to make an experiment, by giving permission to all persons whatsoever, as well as the company, to trade to *Africk*, for the term and space of thirteen years; they paying to the company a duty of *ten per cent.* towards defraying the charges of their forts and castles, for the defence and preservation of that trade to the nation.

The *company* in the following chapter gives an account of the progress of the trade to *Africk*, since the year 1697, and a view of the state thereof, which I shall briefly abstract.

The novelty of laying the trade to *Africk* open by act of parliament, says the company, induced many to trade thither, who soon repented it. *Page 8.*

Several particular abuses are represented as committed by the separate traders. *Ibid.*

The *Dutch Company's* agent cajole the private traders, and instigate the *natives* against the *Royal African Company*. *Page 9.*

The *Royal African Company* raise and advance 180000 *l.* of additional stock. *Ibid.*

The *natives* advance the price of slaves, and beat down the prices of our *British* manufactures; the merchant imposes these slaves on the planters at exorbitant rates; and the planters must advance the prices of sugars, &c. *Page 10.*

In the year 1707, the *Royal African Company* petition'd the queen to recommend their case to the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, who prepar'd a report thereupon. *Page 11.*

That report was laid aside; but copies of it being spread abroad, sinister uses, says the *company*, were made thereof. *Ibid.*

The *third* chapter contains a detection of the false notion inculcated by the separate traders; with a continuation of the state of the *African* trade.

The *fourth*, Some considerations on the nature and uncommon circumstances of the *African* trade.

The *fifth* chapter has some arguments, shewing that the constitution of the *Turkey* company pleaded by separate traders, or any other regulated open trade, cannot be suited to the nature and circumstances of the trade to *Africk*.

The *sixth* brings several arguments to prove that the trade to *Africk* cannot be preserv'd and carry'd on effectually by any other method than that of a considerable joint stock, with exclusive privileges.

The *seventh* lays down some popular objections against settling and carrying on the

the trade to *Africk* by an exclusive joint stock, fairly stated and answer'd.

The *eighth* contains some reasons humbly offer'd for committing the management of the *African* trade, to the *Royal African Company*; as having an equitable claim to it preferable to that of any other pretender.

At the conclusion of these reflections, *p. 27.* the *company* brings in an estimate of the charge of building the *thirteen* forts, castles and factories, they have actually erected, and maintain on the coast of north and south *Guinea*, viz. *James Fort* in *Gambia*, and *Sherbrow Fort* in north *Guinea*, *Dickie's Cove*, *Succundee*, *Commodo*, *Cape Corso Castle*, *Fort Royal Annisham*, *Annamaboe*, *Agga*, *Winnibab*, *Accrà*, and *Wbidab*, in south, or *Guinea-propria*, with the number of men, and the time requisite for building of them.

The *company* adds, that as to materials for building, there are to be had in *Guinea* oyster shells to make lime, tho' bought of the *natives* at great rates; as also timber and planks: But out of *Europe* is carry'd lead, tarras, iron-work, provision, stores, and all other necessaries; as also artificers of all sorts, with working tools, &c. The continual charge whereof, with that of transport ships, and the needful recruits of men to supply the places with such considerable numbers as commonly die there, by reason of the contagiousness of the climate, together with the expence of great guns, small arms, ammunition, &c. must needs amount to very great sums of money, far exceeding the 150000 *l.* at which the *company* very moderately, as is there said, estimated their present forts and settlements, as the foundation of a new subscription; provided the wisdom of the parliament think fit now to settle the trade to *Africk*, upon the foot of a constitution suitable to the nature and circum-

stances thereof. It says farther, In making an estimate of the charges of those forts, regard must be had to the having about 600 officers and soldiers for manning them, 200 artificers of all sorts, besides labourers, for keeping them in repair, and four or five vessels constantly on the coast, subservient to the aforesaid ends.

All this concludes with some general reflections on the damages accrued to the *company*, by the present war with *France*; as likewise by means of separate traders abroad, under the denomination of *pirates*, *buccaneers*, *interlopers*, and such like: the under-hand dealings of the other *European* nations settled at the coast of *Guinea*, but more especially the *Dutch*, and the craftiness of the *native Blacks*. And finally, the *company* saith, that from the foregoing accidents and occurrences, opportunity and importunity have made many rogues and thieves in their service for twelve years past; several of their servants having been tempted to prove treacherous to the trust repos'd in them, being seduc'd and debauch'd by temptation and example, with an assurance of impunity, without regard to rules of *Christianity*, or morality, every one doing what seemeth good in his own eyes; not only transporting their persons, but also such of the *company's* effects as they call'd their own, and altering the property thereof in such manner, that the *company* can scarcely ever expect to get any fair or tolerable account of them, and commonly picking groundless quarrels with the *company*, as a pretence for not adjusting or clearing with them: so that indeed the *company* concludes they can have no hopes of ever raising their head again, since their stock is actually sold and bought daily at three *per cent.* nor the trade of flourishing, but by some uniform management, under the happy influence and protection of the queen and parliament.



A RELATION of  
A J O U R N E Y  
T O  
C O N S T A N T I N O P L E ;

Giving an Account of divers Occurrences ; how far the King of *Sweden's* Commission was executed there ; as also of the State of the *Turkish* Monarchy at that time, being a Report made to the most Potent Prince,

CHARLES GUSTAVUS

King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS.

B Y

His faithful Servant and Subject NICHOLAS ROLAMB, Baron of *Bystad*, Lord of *Lanna*, *Broo*, *Biorkwiik*, *Beatalund* and *Traan-nos*, his Majesty's Trusty Senator, Counsellor, and President of his Court of Justice of *Gotbia* at *Jonkioping*, formerly Envoy Extraordinary to the *Ottoman Porte*.

Translated from the Copy printed in *Swedish* at S T O C K H O L M.

T H E

# Author's P R E F A C E.

**T**HE reputation and esteem which your Majesty's hereditary kingdom of Sweden hath obtain'd, by the long war in Germany, and by the conquests made in it, have stirred up the envy of the chiefest Princes in Europe, so that they have let slip no opportunity to disturb its rest and peaceable state, and to trouble it both from within and without with many difficulties; but chiefly they were jealous of seeing the government of Sweden in your Majesty's hands, whose valour they had before felt in Germany to their sorrow; and now again must look upon your Majesty's victorious arms in the kingdom of Poland with anger and envy. They also have raised against your Majesty the house of Austria, the Pope, and other new enemies; and not only meddled with the affairs of Poland, but also endeavoured to inspire all neighbouring Princes, even the Ottoman Porte, with wrong notions of your Majesty's actions, which was the more easy for them to do, because the report of your Majesty's great progresses in Poland were already suspected by the Ottoman Porte, on account of its bordering on that country, and therefore fearing your Majesty's too great power. To prevent these and other inconveniencies, and to make an end of the differences with Poland, for the glory of your Majesty and your dominions, as also for the security of the protestant religion (since your Majesty was obliged to enter into alliances with foreign Princes that were in its interest, especially with the Prince of Transylvania, and with the Cofaks, to remove all the mistrust the Ottoman Porte might have of your Majesty's success in Poland, to the end that that potent oriental empire might not obstruct the foresaid Princes, or, as it appeared to be design'd, might not carry any forces into Poland, and so take an advantage against the Christians, by weakening their power there) your Majesty sent an embassy\* to the Ottoman Porte; and having been pleased to make use of my person in this business, my duty requires to give a full account, as well of what happen'd upon my journey to and from a place so far distant, as how the affairs were executed, and in what condition I found the Ottoman empire. All which is most humbly presented to your Majesty in the following lines.

\* N. B. The occasion of this embassy, with several other circumstances relating to the history of the negotiation itself, may be seen more at large in *Puffendorf de rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sueviæ Rege gestis*, lib. iii. sect. 71. and l. iv. sect. 23.

A RELATION of  
A J O U R N E Y  
T O  
C O N S T A N T I N O P L E, &c.

**W**HEREAS your majesty in the month of *September* 1656, being near *Frauenburg* in *Prussia*, dispatched me with your gracious commands, that I should wait at *Stetin* for your majesty's further orders; likewise for the answer of *Mr. Kley*, your majesty's resident at the *Roman* emperor's court, concerning the passport your majesty had desired for me of the said emperor, I was obliged to tarry at *Stetin* for these and other reasons best known to your majesty, till the 22<sup>d</sup> of *February* 1657. Then I set out with the *Berlin* post at eight a clock in the evening; and because my stay at *Stetin* had occasioned a general report, that your majesty was sending me to the *Porte*; and yet it being very necessary for me to travel *incognito*, if I would pass through the emperor's dominions, they using their utmost endeavours to know when I would set out, and which way I would take, since not long before, a gentleman of the electoral court at *Dresden*, had shewn to one of your majesty's officers, *viz.* lieutenant colonel *Taub*, a letter dated at *Stetin*, in which my person and stature were described, and the time of my departure named: I gave out eight days before my setting out, that your majesty had sent for me to come to *Prussia*, in order to send me that way through *Poland*; so no body, even my own servants, knew no better, than that I went to *Prussia*, except the government of *Pomerania*, of whom I took a passport as a student, with which I could pass through the cities in *Germany*. From *Berlin* I went with the *Leipzig* post through *Wittenberg*, where I met with two *Swedish* students, that were at table with me where I lodg'd, but wearing a black perriwig, I was unknown to them. At *Leipzig* I stayed one day to receive the money I had ordered to be remitted me from *Hamburg* hither for my journey: here I also provided myself with a passport of the commandant of the garrison, to whom I gave myself out to be a student, that had studied a while at *Leipzig*, and was now resolved to see other places in *Germany*. This passport was afterwards of great use to me in *Bobemia* and *Austria*. It was very troublesome at this time to travel, the roads being so very deep, that often the waggons stuck in the clay, and we were obliged to draw them out with a great deal of pains, which continued till we reach'd *Vienna*. Although my right way was to go to *Dresden*, yet I would not venture to pass through that place, by reason of the strict inquiry made there, and the information they already had of my coming, but went within somewhat less than a mile of it, to a town called *Serkowitz*; from whence I sent my servant to *Dresden*, to *Mr. Steen Bielcke*, and acquainted him of my arrival, who in the morning came to me; and after a short conference with him, I pursued my journey, turning on the left hand about the city, to a ferry call'd *Loschewitz*, where I passed over the river *Elbe*, and should have gone the direct road to *Pirna*. But the commandant of *Dresden* having also command there, and for fear of being discovered, I turned on my right hand to a market town call'd *Dohna*; afterwards I follow'd the direct road to *Praag*, *Igelaw* and *Vienna*. In *Bobemia* and *Moravia* I was in some danger of being attack'd by highwaymen, that keep in the forests, and in their language are called *Petrofsky*: besides these, the soldiers that were quarter'd thereabouts, robbed the travellers in the country, and committed great violence. Both sorts appear'd to us, but being four coaches together from *Praag*, and all well armed, they had not courage to come near us; though just before they had murder'd some travellers; and again, some of them had been killed by other travellers, as we found in passing by.

The 15<sup>th</sup> of *March*, at nine a clock in the morning, I arrived at *Vienna*, and lodged in the suburbs, in an inn call'd the *Golden Fleece*, where I stay'd till after dinner, after which I changed clothes, and went into the city unknown, and without

ROLAME.

Confere-  
rence with  
Mr. Steen  
Bielcke at  
Dresden.Dohna a  
market  
town.

Praag.

15 Mar.  
Vienna.

ROLAMB.  
Concert  
with Mr.  
Kley.

19 March,  
Presburg.

any examination, as if I had been no stranger, and concerted with Mr. *Kley* the resident about some necessary affairs or other. I stayed in his house with one servant, and gave myself out to be Mr. *Steen Bieleke's* gentleman of the horse, that was sent by him to buy some *Hungarian* horses: the next day I let my other servants come into the city, and lodged them separately, as I had sent notice to Mr. *Kley* beforehand of my coming by letters from *Leipzig* and *Praag*, and he had thereupon wrote to *Jonas Midnansky*, minister of the prince of *Transylvania*, about an honest man that might conduct me to him; I stayed three days at *Vienna* expecting him; but he not coming, I set out for *Presburg* the 19<sup>th</sup> of *March*, being holy *Thursday*, under the pretext, that I, like all other protestants, was come on account of the approaching *Easter* holy-days to attend my devotion. I also got thither unperceived, and by the help of two protestant citizens, named *Michael Schrembster* and *Christopher Snolschi*, I hired a coachman to *Eperies*, who did not know better, than that I was a merchant; those of my retinue gave themselves out to be also either merchants or tradesmen; and for the better dispatch, I was obliged to see *Midnansky*, who lived in a city call'd *Betzkou*, that lies far from the high road to *Eperies*: To prevent my coachman's mistrusting any thing, I told him I had by a servant already bargain'd for a great quantity of leather at *Transbia*, a place trading in that commodity, which I needs must see before I could send it to *Vienna*, which contented him, and he carried me whither I would go. Half a mile on the other side of *Tirnavo*, I went through a valley, where a merchant from *Vienna* had just before been robb'd of 5000 rixdollars, ready money, by the *Hussars*, who also appear'd to us; but finding us arm'd with long guns, let us go in peace. When I was come within a mile of *Betzkou*, where prince *Ragotzky's* minister *Midnansky* lived, I first intended to go only with one *Hungarian* servant thither, to confer with him about the security of my voyage, according to direction by his letter, and to leave the rest of my retinue behind me in the village *Tschbkowitz*, where I lodg'd the night before at an anabaptist's, and was already provided with horses. But it coming into my mind, that I might easily meet with some *Hussars*, who for the sake of a tolerable suit of clothes, which I wore, and the cloak-bag, in which I kept his majesty's orders, and which I never left out of my sight, might assault me, and thereby his majesty's design be hindered, I thought it the surest way, rather to lose one day's journey, than to hazard

his majesty's orders; for which reason I sent one of my servants alone with a letter to *Midnansky*, and dressed him in a ragged *Hungarian* coat; when he had gone about half a mile, he met with five *Hussars*, who, after exchanging a few words, and searching him, but finding nothing, let him go; so that I had good luck I did not go my self.

*Midnansky* sent me one of his servants, an *Hungarian*, that should conduct me to a castle call'd *Roune*, belonging to prince *Ragotzky*, where *Midnansky* design'd to meet me the next day; because at *Betzkou* there lived several *Roman* catholicks that were in the emperor's interest, and that I therefore hardly could come undiscovered thither, nor stay there. When *Midnansky's* servant arrived, I was in a worse condition than before, because he understood no other language than *Hungarian*, and my coachman being curious to sift him, I took him aside, and by signs made him understand, not to tell where we intended to go, the coachman having already perceived that I design'd to go to *Roune*, which was quite out of his way; and he making words about it, I could hardly have made him be silent, if he had not been a *Lutheran*, and a good man: so that at last he was content.

The next morning after I was arrived at *Roune*, *Midnansky* came also thither, with whom I conferr'd about all necessaries of my journey, and our correspondence. And the *Polish* crown marshal *Lubomirsky*, being upon the road to *Moran*, to see the *Hungarian* palatin and chancellor, who was arrived at *Eperies* from prince *Ragotzky*, in order to go from thence to *Vienna*; so that the meeting either the one or the other was almost inevitable, I took a passport of *Midnansky*, as if I was an officer by him taken into prince *Ragotzky's* service, to make use of it, if I should meet the chancellor; but in case I should meet *Lubomirsky*, I design'd to pretend to be a merchant, who, on account of his trade, was going to *Eperies*.

The following day, I, with two more, and *Midnansky's* servant that should go with me to *Zaros*, set out on horseback; my other servants and baggage went the right road, with whom, for the better security, *Midnansky* had also sent two *Heyducks*. After one day and an half's journey by the mountain *Faira*, which is a part of the mountain *Carpathus*, I came again into the right road, where I found the ordinary post. The way between *Roune* and the mentioned post, went along the river *Wagb*, a passage so terrible to look upon, that it made my hair stand on end: for at the left hand was a precipice many fathoms deep, to the strand of the river

24 March,  
conferr'd  
with *Midnansky* about the  
journey  
and correspondence.

25 March.

Passage by  
the river  
*Wagb* terrible to  
look upon.  
river

river, and at the right hand sharp and high rocks, and the way itself very narrow. To get over the mountain *Fatra* was very troublesome, it being not only extraordinary steep and high, viz. half a *German* mile up, and so much down again, but also covered with ice, so that we were obliged to climb up on our hands and feet.

26 March,  
*Rosenberg*,  
a market  
town.

In a market town called *Rosenberg*, I was informed that the *Hungarian* count-palatine *Franciscus Vessellini* was also on the road from *Moran* to *Vienna*; wherefore I hastened to pass that place, where perhaps he might come in my way, which was three miles from thence, and accordingly I did not meet him. But instead of him, I met near a town called *Hybe* sixteen *Polanders* of *Lubomirsky's* people, that told for certain that he was upon the way, and immediately would follow after: wherefore I took lodging in a village called *Laufenberg*, and did not go to the post-house, which was a mile farther, and where I should have stay'd that night, to the end that he might pass by me, which also happen'd. In the said village I stay'd till midnight, and went from thence in the dark to the next post-house, which was in a *Polish* market-town called *Lucbyuna*, neither could I go farther being obliged to take fresh horses there; wherefore I stay'd again till all were asleep, came also thither and went from thence without being perceived by any body except the post-master, who was sly enough to ask questions, viz. whether we were envoys, or if the *Swedish* envoys that were expected would soon come, and other things that did not concern him; he also endeavoured in a very complaisant manner to make us stay some hours, pretending the badness of the roads that were very difficult to pass in the dark, and offered if we would stay till sun rising, to give us his coach, with which he only favoured his particular friends. But as I perceived well enough he was ordered to spy, and some roguery was hid under his complaisance, I gave him thanks for his offer; and to confirm him in his opinion that I was a merchant, I took out some knives, and offered them to sell to him, which made him believe me: so that he gave me some commissions to execute for him at *Eperies*, and bring him an answer when I returned. Near this market-town *Gamoisky* and the *Turkish* *Chiaus* that were in *Prussia* with the king, had been taken by the *Polanders* a little before our arrival.

The post-  
master at  
*Lucbyuna*  
inquisitive

The place  
where *Ga-  
moisky* was  
taken by  
the *Poles*.

27 March,  
*Leutsch*  
one of the  
six *German*  
free towns  
in *Hungary*.

When I came to *Leutsch*, which is one of the six *German* free towns in *Hungary*, I would not venture to go farther with the post, there being in that road several

castles and towns where they used to examine, among which was the town of *Wolvar*, where the year before some waggons belonging to the elector of *Saxony's* envoy that was sent to *Transylvania*, were stopt by the *Polanders*; but I took a wagon and went two miles on the left hand through a valley call'd the *Wolff's Dale*, by reason of the danger of robbers that attack the travellers like wolves.

ROLAMB.

About nine a clock in the morning I came to the town of *Leutsch*, and because I could get no wagon I was forced to stay there that day, which happened very well for me, being so weary of riding post, that I was not able to set a foot over the threshold without the help of my hands, having rid the three days and nights before, and in so troublesome a manner, that if I had had my feet in the stirrups one mile, I was forced to carry them in my hands the next; and he that does not know what it is to be fatigued, may only ride post in *Hungary* for some days, without his own saddle and furniture.

Trouble-  
some rid-  
ing post in  
*Hungary*.

*Midnansky* had given me a direction to the bailiff of *Leutsch*, who was to serve me if I had occasion, but when I desired him to provide me with waggons, he gave me a surly answer, saying, He was not so far obliged to *Midnansky*, as to put himself in danger for his sake, after he had caused his disgrace with the *Palatin* for having furthered some *Swedish* envoys, viz. *Mr. Sternbach* and *Welling*, though they had had a passport of the emperor; wherefore I might see how to provide for my self: as for his part he dared not meddle with it, for fear of being disgraced. I judged from this answer, and because I could get no body to carry me, it might have been contrived so, to force me to go to the aforesaid *Polish* places, or to make me stay till they had sent thither, and given notice of my being here; therefore I resolved to go out of the town on foot along with *Midnansky's* *Hungarian*, to the next villages, where we might get horses, or quite to the town of *Cibin*, four miles behind in the inn, that it might seem as if I was only gone to dine some where in the town. But just as I was going to take the cloak-bag, wherein I had my letters and orders, upon my shoulder, one of my servants came and told me he had got a country wagon with four horses, into which we got in the morning by day-break, and went the aforementioned way to the town of *Cibin*, that lies a mile from *Zaros*, a castle and town belonging in common to prince *Ragotsky* and his relation *Ladislaus Ragotsky*. And because the said *Ladislaus*, who was a *Roman* catholic, and

Recom-  
mended  
by *Mid-  
nansky* to  
the bailiff  
of *Leutsch*

The bai-  
liff's surly  
answer  
occasions  
suspicion.

28 March,  
*Zaros*, a  
castle and  
town be-  
longing to  
prince *Ra-  
gotsky*, and  
his relati-  
on.

ROLAMB. in the emperor's interest used to reside there; I sent *Midnansky's Hungarian* before hand, to inquire whether *Ladislaus Ragotsky* was there or not, and sent a letter with him to the prince's governor, *Martinus Halapi* by which I acquainted him of my arrival, desiring him to keep it secret, (but yet I did not tell him otherwise than that I was an officer, as I have mentioned before, neither did *Midnansky's Hungarian* know better:) and to forward me as soon as possible. This *Hungarian* met me again half a mile out of the town, and told me that at that instant the above mentioned *Ladislaus Ragotsky* was coming along with the bishop of *Cracow*, besides forty *Polish* noblemen; wherefore I stayed in the valley till it was dark, and then went into the town: and in the morning early from thence to *Zaros Parak*, so that neither *Ladislaus Ragotsky* nor any of the *Polanders* did perceive me. In the village called *Giorcke*, where I lodged the night before, five *Hussars* that had followed us, expecting some booty, made an alarm, but we being got into the inn before they came, they went to and fro, under the window all the night, and discoursed with one another, whether they should attack us in the house: But finding us well armed, and having likewise four *Heiducks*, whom the governor of *Zaros* had sent with me, besides four merchants, who were come to lodge there the same evening with their servants, in all ten persons, they went off in the morning. What grieved me most was, that I thought they were sent by the *Polanders* at *Zaros*, or by the *Hungarian* chancellor *Georgius Zelepszini*, who lived but a little mile from thence at *Cassou*, but hearing afterwards what party it was, I did not mind it, but set out in the morning early for *Zaros Parak*. When I came there, the *Præfectus Michael Inzedy* was not at home, wherefore I was obliged to stay there for him three days,

This *Zaros Parak* is an estate of prince *George Ragotsky's* mother *Catharina Lorantphi*, on the river *Bodrack*, and hath a fine little castle with a town well fortified, extraordinary well situated and of great revenue; it lies close by the famous town of *Tokay*, where there grows the best wine in all *Hungary*. At *Tokay* the river *Tibiscus* and *Bodrack* join, both full of fish of many sorts, very large and fat. They never take more of them than what is sufficient for one meal, the rest they fling into the river again, being sure of catching at any time as many as they please. Every body has liberty to fish, whether he has land there or not. They have wood enough; wheat, (for of other sort of corn they sow very little in all *Hungary* and

*Transylvania*) cornfields and meadows in abundance; vineyards likewise, game and wild-fowl more than in any place in all *Hungary*, the great and large plains of the *Heidones* that are full of all sorts of game extending to the town. But all this the people do not mind, for they value nothing more than a glass of strong *Hungary* wine, garlick and fat bacon, which makes them relish their wine the better; and one may see there herds of hogs and oxen, like flocks of sheep in *Germany*, by a thousand at once.

Plenty of the country.

The third of *April* I went from *Zaros Parak* to *Tokay*, and there I passed over the river *Tibiscus*. *Tokay* lieth on the *Tibiscus*, where the *Bodrack* falls into it; the *Tibiscus* is one of the four capital rivers in *Hungary*, (the others are the *Savus*, *Dravus* and *Danube*) and in goodness and bigness next the *Danube*. The castle stands upon the point that is between both rivers. The garison belongs to *Transylvania*; but of the garison in the city, one half belongs to the emperor, and the other to *Transylvania*. The town is open, and without any fortification more than the advantage of its situation; on one side of it passeth the river *Tibiscus*, and on the other it is surrounded with very high and steep vineyards, that leave on both ends of the town only a small avenue by the strand. These vineyards are about three leagues in circumference, and produce the *Hungary Tokay* wine so well known in *Poland*. The inhabitants lamented very much the circumstances of *Poland*, because they could not sell their wine, of which all their cellars were so full, that they had no room left for the product of future vintages. In these vineyards I was shewn some separate pieces of ground, of about  $1 \frac{1}{2}$  tunneland [a Swedish measure of land] that were generally sold for 30, 20, or 15000 gilders, on account of the particular quality they have of producing better wine than those that are adjoining, which is owing partly to the ground, and partly to their situation, as they lie towards the east and south. I cannot forbear mentioning here in what manner the *Hungarians* keep their corn and wine, which is, by digging holes in the ground, in which they keep their seed and wine, and know of no other cellar or granary: thus all their streets, and almost half their fields are undermined. In these holes the corn will keep ten years and longer without any damage.

The four capital rivers of *Hungary*.

Description of *Tokay*.

How they keep their corn and wine in *Hungary*.

Near *Tokay* I passed over the river *Tibiscus*, and went through the counties or *comitatus* of *Zapolia* and *Bibor*, a district of three days journey in length, and seven *Hungarian* miles broad, all plain fields, without any bush; and there being many bogs,

Multitude of wild-fowl. bogs, there is such a multitude of cranes, wild-geese, bustards, ducks and other small wild fowl, that they almost cover the earth, and fly in great flights like clouds; hares are there also in abundance, likewise meadow and cornfields, which they need not dung, it being fat enough of itself. Instead of wood the inhabitants burn reeds that grow in the bogs. In these countries live none but *Heidones* or *Heiduks*, who are subject to the prince of *Transylvania*, in number about 40000, and dwell in large boroughs, which they call cities, about 1000, 2000, or even 4000 in one town. They are free from all duties and imposts, and only obliged to serve the prince in his wars whenever they are summon'd; and then they take three, four, and more servants with them. They are divided into regiments, each city making one, which hath its colonel, whom they call *capitaneus*, and each regiment ought to consist of the same number, and all have one general over them, which at that time was *Baccus Gabor*. Their traffick consists in cattle and horses, which run wild there: the cattle are tended like as in our country, but run in the fields winter and summer, and the calf always follows the cow, as the colt also does the mare.

It is remarkable, that in all *Hungary*, especially in this district, quite to *Waradin*, no cattle is to be seen but what have hair of the colour of elks, oxen as well as cows; the calves are all red, but when they grow older, they become of the same colour. Commonly a *Heiduk* sells two or three hundred oxen in a year, which the *Hungarian* merchants buy, and sell them again in *Italy* and *Austria*. One day's journey from *Waradin* in the county of *Bibor*, I passed through a town call'd *Debrens*, where there live no *Heidones*, tho' it lieth in this district, because it is a free town, and only one thousand *Heidones* are quarter'd there. The inhabitants of that place deal in *Turky* commodities, and pay contribution to the *Turks*, the king of *Hungary*, and the prince of *Transylvania*, by whom in time of war they are always allow'd to be neuter. This place is only remarkable on account of its nastiness, it being a constant dunghil. Cross the market is laid a bridge of timber, over which people pass on foot and on horseback, and whoever goes beside it is sure to fall into the dirt, to which they are so well reconcil'd, that they besmear their doors with it instead of paint.

As I travelled through these countries, I was conducted by *Heidones*, who were relieved in every city, and had their banners and colours, which look'd at a di-

stance as if a fleet of ships came to meet me. In *Waradin* I was very well received and treated by the *capitaneus Franciscus Gyuleus*. ROLAMB.

The ninth of *April*, in the evening, I arrived at *Clausenburg* in *Transylvania*; the young princess and the young prince her son were there, but having no minister with them, except their master of the household, a man of a mean character, I was not received with any solemnity; however, the next morning the princess sent to me to my lodging, and bid me welcome, desiring me to excuse my not being received as she desired, and that I would have patience for some days, till the old princess, mother to the then reigning prince, came with the stadtholder, to which I returned a proper answer.

The 11<sup>th</sup> of *April* the old princess arrived with the stadtholder *Achatius Bardzai* and some other ministers. About an hour after her arrival, she sent two noblemen to me to complement me, and invited me to an audience the next day, which was performed as follows:

The 12<sup>th</sup> of *April* at seven in the morning, two coaches drawn by six horses came before my lodging, with a great number of *balberdeers*, which they call *carnaks*, and footmen cloathed in *Hungarian* livery, viz. sheepskins. The master of the horse went before the coach with a stick in his hand, and one of the princess's ministers, *Sebeci Ferens*, who the year before had been envoy to his *Swedish* majesty, and was taken prisoner by *Warka*, came to receive me. In the castle from the gate to the stairs, where I went up on both sides where the coach passed, stood the princess's guard with guns, which they held upon their shoulders, and not before them as is usual in our country, when the soldiers stand in arms. At the stairs I was received by both princesses marshals, that conducted me thro' three chambers (full of all sorts of persons of distinction, who were come to attend) to the old princess *Catharina Lorantphi*, who received me in the middle of the apartment. I made your majesty's compliments to her in *Latin*. Having concluded my harangue, they were all silent, looking upon one another, and then disputing who should answer, for none of them was vers'd enough in the *Latin* tongue. When they had thus spent about half a quarter of an hour, the princess herself at last was obliged to answer in the *Hungarian* language, and her marshal interpreted it in *German* as well as he was able. The princess desiring afterwards to talk with me in private, bid her people as well as mine retire, and there stay'd only the stadtholder *Achatius Bardzai*.

ROLAMB. *zai* a counsellor, and the marshal: a chair being set for the princess, and another for me, she discoursed with me concerning prince *Ragotsky's* interest at the *Ottoman* Porte, which she recommended to me in many words, to which I returned a proper answer; and having taken my leave of her, went into another apartment to the young princess and the young prince *Ragotsky Ferens*, i. e. *Franciscus Ragotsky*, whom I likewise saluted in your majesty's name, and delivered to the princess the letter I had from your majesty, for prince *George Ragotsky*; after which I was reconducted in the manner as before, into the city to my lodging. From *Clausenburg* I wrote to *Monfieur de la Haye* the king of *France's* embassador at the *Ottoman* Porte, desiring him to acquaint the vizir with my coming, and to excuse my not bringing presents from your majesty. The next day the old princess set out for *Zaros Parak*, and I, in company with the stadtholder, went to *Alba Julia* or *Weissenburg*. He shewed me upon the road as well as at *Weissenburg*, all civility; his discourse was very sensible and pleasant, and among the *Hungarians* he passed for a good soldier. Among all the *Hungarians* I ever conversed with, he was the best and the most humane; for the greater part of them are conceited, unreasonable and ill-bred, despising others, and undervaluing every thing in comparison of their own rustick and filthy way of life; thinking when they have but fowls, bacon, garlick and strong *Hungarian* wine with it (which they rather suck than drink out of dirty common stone or wooden mugs, that have narrow necks, and are stopt up with nastiness) they have the greatest pleasure the world can afford. No man how great soever hath any plate or glass, nor even pewter upon his table; but nasty trenchers that are not scoured but once a week, which when they have thrown the bones off, they lay before you again.

*Alba Julia.*

When I came near *Alba Julia*, I was received by four companies of horse and conducted to my lodging. As to this place, it has the name of a great city among us, but when you see it, is very ordinary, so that one may well say of it, *minuit præsentia famam*. There is not one tolerable house in all the town, except the princess's; the rest are all small huts, and the windows of skin, which is used all over *Transylvania* among the gentry as well as the common people.

11 April, Wrote to his Majesty.

*Hermanstadt* and *Cronstadt*,

After having wrote from hence to your majesty, and settled a correspondence with the stadtholder, I went the 17<sup>th</sup> of *April* to the *Saxon* cities and villages, the chief of which are *Hermanstadt* and *Cronstadt*. Wherever I lodged with the *Saxons* I was

well received, and treated with all good will and civility: but the road was very bad, all mountains, water and mire; I had especially a forest to pass, called *Saydenwald*, which is three leagues long; all the roads were laid over with bridges of round timber, and were besides very deep, by reason of the snow's melting upon the high mountains which separate *Wallachia* and *Transylvania*. At some places the bridges being carried off, we could not pass without great danger; and where the water did not hinder us, the roads were so deep that although I had ten horses before the waggon, we were hardly able to get through.

I shall pass over in silence how these *Saxons* at first came into *Transylvania*, and how they have obtained their privileges, referring for that to history. I shall only mention here, that the *Saxons* possessing the best and most fruitful part of the country, and having great privileges, are hated and very much oppressed by the *Hungarians*. And though the princes, before their accession to the government, are obliged to promise to maintain them in the enjoyments of their privileges, yet that promise is little minded. They complain in particular very much of the prince now reigning, *George Ragotsky*, who oppresses them more than any of his predecessors, and makes use of all manner of pretences to seize on their houses or farms; forces them to forward, to lodge and to defray all travellers, which none of the other inhabitants of the country are obliged to do. One of their ancient privileges was, that none but a *Saxon* was allowed to buy any house in their towns: this they are now about to abolish, under the pretext that, if an *Hungarian* should offer the value for a house to be sold, the *Saxon* should be obliged to let him have it, or the feller should forfeit his house, and so much money besides, as the buyer had offered. This they say was resolved by the two states, viz. the *Nobilitas* and *Siculi*, which, by reason of a majority of votes, ought to prevail, notwithstanding the third state, viz. the *Saxons* who were prejudiced by it, neither were present nor consented to it. Many other burthens are laid upon them, so that in all likelihood they will lose their liberty in time, especially as they have but few men of understanding among them, the rest being all simple people. As for the *Hungarians*, they would willingly see the *Saxons* destroy'd, though they have more reason to protect and care for them; for wherever there appears any culture in *Transylvania*, it is owing to the *Saxons*, the rest being a meer *Barbary*.

*Hermanstadt*

the chief *Saxon* cities. A Forest called *Saydenwald*. High mountains separate *Wallachia* and *Transylvania*.

*Saxons* in *Transylvania*.

Possess the best places.

At present much oppressed.

The states of *Hungary*.



*Hermanstadt.*

*Hermanstadt* within the walls is the greatest and best built town of the *Saxons*. *Cronstadt* is the strongest and has the bravest inhabitants, who may well be called the protectors of the liberty of the *Saxons*, for which they stand up boldly, though they do it sometimes too bluntly and set aside the proper methods to be observed. For they once shut the gates upon their prince who was just coming into their town, and forced him to turn back; but they smarted for it afterwards. *Cronstadt* is remarkable on account of the situation, lying on the frontiers of *Wallachia* upon a spot of ground, that looks as if it were a country by itself, the land being low like the *Prussian worders* (*marshlands*) separated on all sides from the rest by high mountains, and in no part like the rest of *Transylvania*; it has also its particular name, *viz. Wurtzland*, containing thirteen large *Saxon* market-towns, that well may pass for good towns all belonging to *Cronstadt*. It is a fine fruitful country, but of no greater extent than what one may look all over, there being neither woods nor hills to hinder the sight. A river runs through it, called *Bartza*, in *Latin, Burcia*. *Cronstadt* hath three great suburbs, one is inhabited by *Wallachians*, the second by *Saxons*, and the third by *Hungarians*. Here I was obliged to tarry three days for horses and other necessaries. During my stay here, one of the prince's couriers arrived from *Constantinople*, whom I could not get to speak with, for he avoided me for fear I might question him how it fared with the prince of *Transylvania's* affairs at the *Porte*, which however I ought to have been informed of, as I was chiefly sent upon their account. But so suspicious is that nation, that they trust no man, nor shew any confidence or friendship, but where it is for their own interest.

*Cronstadt* borders upon *Wallachia*

Hath 3 great suburbs.

23 April.

*Targowisz* the prince of *Wallachia's* residence.

The 23d of *April* I went in company with prince *Ragotky's* envoy from *Cronstadt* over the *Wallachian* mountains into *Wallachia*, and arrived the 26th at *Targowisz*, the prince of *Wallachia's* residence; we passed the mountains with great trouble, on account of the snow, and the river *Dombvifza* with great danger, there being no bridges where we passed over, and as it winds much betwixt the mountains, we were obliged to cross it very often; it is soon filled up with water, according as the snow upon the mountains melts faster or slower, so that at one hour it is easy to get over, but at another it overflows all its banks: for in the morning when first we passed over it, it was not very deep, but before eight a clock that same morning, the horses and waggons did almost swim, and one of the *Hungarian* envoy's servants

with his horse narrowly escaped being drowned. We used hands and feet to get over as well as we could, and let the waggons go at a venture: before night it was so high, that no body could pass that way after us for a fortnight.

ROLAMB.

A good distance from *Targowisz* the prince sent me his coach with six fine *Turkish* horses, two hundred noblemen on horseback, all finely equipp'd, and about thirty companies of horse, all which made a shew like a little army. The prince himself was present *incognito*, till his marshal and secretary had bid me welcome, the secretary complimenting me in *Latin*. Here we saw the finest *Turkish* horses, the officers dressed different ways, some in coats of mail, others in panther, leopard and whole tiger skins, others with spotted wings like those of eagles; their musick were pipes and kettle-drums, for neither the *Hungarians, Wallachians, nor Turks* know how to use trumpets, and in this manner I was conducted to my lodging.

Reception before the city.

The day following I had audience of the prince, which was done with a pomp suitable to your majesty's dignity, and the prince's respect for you. At the audience was a great number of people, most noblemen, some dressed in sable and other rich furs; among others was also their archbishop present. The audience-room was hung with damask, and had glass windows; all other chambers where I passed through, about eight or nine, were not hung, and had but paper windows. The prince met me in the middle of the room; after I had in a proper compliment assured him of your majesty's affection, he conducted me towards two chairs, on one of which he set himself down, and I sat in the other. But after a little discourse and enquiry after your majesty's health, I went with him, according to his desire, into his apartment, where I stay'd about two hours, and having on his request given him an account of the state of affairs in *Poland*, he not only seemed pleased but even surpris'd at it. He afterwards hung about me a *Caftan* of gold brocade, which I refusing to accept of, he said it was the custom of the country, and the greatest mark of benevolence, which obliged me to take it; after this I went in the same procession to my lodging again in his coach drawn by six *Turkish* horses, that were much finer than those the day before.

Fine *Turkish* horses.

Audience of the prince.

The next day I was for proceeding in my journey, but was detained by the prince who invited me to dinner, that was to be in his orchard. Coming in his coach to the gate of the orchard, five marshals met me with silver staves in their hands,

Dinner in the orchard.

ROLAMB. and the prince himself met me in the door of his summerhouse, where the table was laid. Before the summerhouse stood his ministers and courtiers with some companies of German soldiers. As soon as I was enter'd, he conducted me to the table, where he and I sat upon two raised chairs; the envoy of *Transylvania* sat upon an ordinary bench. Upon the table stood only four silver dishes, but the covers were of iron. After we had sat and discoursed a little while, the second course was brought in, then those of my retinue, that used to dine at my own table, and the prince's ministers sat down also. First there were always four or six silver dishes brought in; the prince and I were serv'd in plate, but the others in pewter. The victuals were well dress'd, and of a good taste, and changed continually from the beginning to the end of the dinner. When the healths went round, that of the grand signor was drunk first, the prince having first made some excuse for so doing, your majesty's health came next, which the prince drank twice, whereas he had drunk that of the grand signor but once; after these came the health of prince *Ragotsky* of *Cmelnici*, and the prince of *Moldavia*. At every health there was musick of harps, violins, pipes, drums, kettle-drums, and several other *Turkish* instruments. Upon drinking the prince's health (which I began immediately after that of *Cmelnici*) two cushions were laid upon the floor where the prince sat; for his ministers, who rose from the table, went thither two by two, kneeling down upon the cushions; and after having drank, kiss'd the prince's hands, wishing him prosperity, and then took their places again. Before dinner was half over, two great bears were laid before the door of the summerhouse, which had been kill'd by the prince's huntsmen, to whom he himself made a present of a handful of *aspers*. Near the summerhouse was pitch'd a tent to retire to upon occasion; and secretary *Klingen* once rising up, he was received by two marshals with their silver staffs, who conducted him to the tent with great ceremony, and stayed before the door till he came out again; then one presented him a basin with water; and after he had washed himself, the marshals conducted him again into the summerhouse. The dinner continued from half an hour past ten, till seven o' clock at night, when I took my leave of the prince who shewed me no less civility on this occasion than at dinner, embracing and kissing me twice; after which I went in his coach to my lodging again, conducted by all his courtiers and musicians. At dinner he often expressed his devotion and veneration for your

majesty's person and great actions, wishing that *Wallachia* was as near *Sweden* as *Transylvania*, not doubting but his state would then be better; wishing your majesty would allow him to levy 500 *Swedish* soldiers for his own money. The next morning he sent me by his master of the horse a very fine pacer, and some companies of horse to conduct me part of my way; where, whenever I came to a town, I always met some companies of horse, who received and conducted me.

*Wallachia* is, by reason of its situation, and goodness of the ground, to be counted one of the best provinces in *Europe*. The soil is extraordinary fruitful, so that the inhabitants need not give themselves much trouble in plowing it; for if they only cover the wheat with the ground, it bears plentifully. The best of the land lies uncultivated, and is quite unpeopled, the inhabitants living all along the mountains, in order to be protected by the mountain guards, against the invasions of the *Tartars* and *Turks*. The middle of the country is all champaign, and not the least hill to be found; and as the land lies uncultivated, it produces numbers of oak forests, that stand here and there like little islands in a sea. Along the *Danube* is the most culture, and pasture every where enough; sufficient fishing; plenty of Wine, honey, wax and salt; as also veins of gold and silver; but none dare search them, for fear of making the *Turks* long after it; out of the earth runs also pitch; there is as much game and wild fowl as one's heart could desire. The prince may yearly raise in *Wallachia* 6 or 700,000 rixdollars ordinary revenue; but he cannot lay extraordinary taxes on the inhabitants, unless by their good will; in which particular the *Wallachians* are freer than the *Moldavians*, whom their prince may tax as he pleaseth. A traveller finds no conveniency there; for along the road, there is not a village to be seen in some days travelling, except every two miles a hut covered with straw, where he finds a barril of wine, of which he may have for his money what he desires, but provisions he must bring along with him. The inhabitants in the country, especially the nobility, are handsome, civil and friendly, but of no great courage; they are inconstant and seditious with regard to their princes. *Matthias Woywoda* that had governed them forty years peaceably, and defended them with great bravery against invasions of *Turks*, *Moldavians*, *Cossacks* and *Tartars*, felt their treachery in his old age, which he had great difficulty to overcome. The present prince *Constantin Sorban*, by the help of the prince of *Transylvania*, appeared

*Wallachia* one of the finest countries in *Europe*.

Best cultivated along the *Danube*.

The prince's yearly revenue.

Temper of the inhabitants.

Drinking healths.

Taking leave of the prince.

ed

Sedition  
appealed  
by the pre-  
sent  
prince.

ed their sedition, and established himself in the government. Just before my arrival, he had defeated before the town of *Targowisz* 300 mutineers of his own horse, whose heads I saw upon stakes round the city. The prince is obliged constantly to keep soldiers upon the *Turkish* frontiers, to hinder their invasions, from which he is not secure, notwithstanding he pays a great contribution to the grand signor, viz. 300 purfes, amounting to 150,000 Rixdollars; for which reason he had a garrison in *Pise* of 2600 men, in *Breila* 6000, and in *Wadivai* 4000, to guard the frontiers.

28 April.

The 28<sup>th</sup> of *April*, I came to the *Danube*, over against a town call'd *Silistria Drestor* or *Silistria*, where the said river separates *Wallachia* from *Turky*. I crossed it in ferry boats, and so set my foot out of *Christendom* into *Turky*; I was there lodg'd in a little dirty house (there being no better) in which lived *Grecians*. I was conveyed to the river side by four companies of the prince's *Hussars* with flying colours.

Out of  
*Christen-*  
*dom* into  
*Turky*.

1 May.  
Audience  
of the  
*bassa* of  
*Silistria*.

The following day I was fetch'd to the audience of the *bassa* of *Silistria*, who resides in this city, and is one of the seven vizirs, named *Melech Achmet bassa*, he is called *Melech*, i. e. Angel, by reason of his fine shape; his wife is daughter of *Sultan Murat*, uncle of the emperor now reigning. Being come to his *Seraglio*, the *chiaus* that conducted me stopped, and pretended I should alight from my horse before the gate; but as I thought this derogatory from your majesty's honour, I rode directly into the court up to the stairs, where two *Capuci Bassi*, i. e. chief doorkeepers with silver staves met me, and conducted me through a large antichamber to the door of the audience room, where I was desired to take off my sword, which I refused; the *bassa* sending three times to insist upon it; I answered at last, that I was resolv'd not to part with it; had I been told of it in my lodging beforehand, perhaps I might have complied with his demand; but to make me take it off before his door, was neither civil, nor consistent with the dignity of your majesty my gracious king; besides, I was not sent to him, but to the *Turkish* emperor; and if he would not admit me in a manner agreeable to the honour of my master, I had no business with him. When he heard this, I was at last conducted into the audience room, which was spread over with fine carpets, and near the walls were laid cushions; in the middle stood two chairs opposite to one another; upon one of which I sat down, then the *bassa* came out of his apartment, and after his salutation, which was but a nod of the head, we sat down each upon his chair. His expression

Ceremo-  
nies.

The  
whole  
compliment, a  
nod of the  
head.

and behaviour were at first pretty rough; but seeing that I made no account of it, but returned proper answers to all his objections, he began to soften; and turning about to an *emir* of *Mabomet's* relations, who sat a little from him, said in *Turkish*, No wonder we hear the *Swedes* so much talked of for soldiers, look upon this young man here, how boldly he speaks; afterwards he began to be good humour'd with me, and asked, why I did not let my beard grow? sent for coffee, and shewed me how I must drink it without burning myself, and invited me to come the next day to dine with him before my setting out; afterward he hung a *castan* of gold brocade about me, which with them is reckoned a particular honour; so I took my leave, and went to my lodging again, where I was soon after complimented by his musicians, *caputfis*, pages, cooks, &c. to whom I was obliged to give money for their coffee, as they call it.

ROLAMB.  
His saying  
of the  
*Swedes*.

The next day he sent for me to dinner, which passed in the following manner. The *bassa* himself with the *effendi* of *Mabomet's* family, sat upon the floor, each in a separate corner of the hall; in the middle upon the floor stood four low square stools, one in the middle that was white, and the three others round it. When I came in, I was conducted to the said stools to sit down, and the white stool being the same upon which I had sat at the audience the day before, I was going to sit down upon it again; but it standing in the middle, I had some doubt or other about it, and pitched upon one of the other three; accordingly it appear'd afterwards, that the white one was design'd for a table. Being set down, the *bassa* came and placed himself upon the other stool, upon the third sat the envoy of *Transylvania*, the forementioned *effendi* sat by the *bassa* upon the floor, another *aga* also upon the floor at his other side; after this came the butler to lay the cloth, he laid over our knees a linnen towel of divers colours, long enough to reach round; he next laid a round cloth with coloured flowers upon the stool that stood in the middle, and served for a table, which also covered all our knees; behind each person was a *Turk* upon his knees, holding the cloth fast on both sides with both hands, then the butler laid bread round upon the table, which was thin, oval, and baked in hot ashes (for they have no ovens in those parts, but towards the time when they are going to eat, they prepare a dough, of which they make a cake, and set upon the hearth in the chimney, that is swept clean, and then throw a great heap of embers upon it, and so the bread is baked, but how wholesome

2 May.  
Dinner  
with the  
*bassa* of  
*Silistria*.  
How the  
bread is  
bak'd.

ROLAMB. it must be, is easy to presume.) He then laid upon the same cloth before each of us a handful of wooden spoons, great and small; I for my part got six, afterwards he set upon the stool, that served for a table, a large flat pewter dish, like a wash basin, into which he flung for every one three green grasses of a bitter taste; but as they pretended wholesome for the stomach, and by it a little *Cbina* dish with pickles; this done, they placed in the middle of this table a dish of roasted meat, call'd *cabab*, of which every one snatch'd a bit with his fingers; but the *bassa* flung a piece for me upon the border of this large pewter dish, (for they use no other plates) and lent me his knife. After having eat between us two or three bits of this dish, it was taken away, and another put in its place, and so they continued till there had been served up about forty dishes, some of which were well tasted; but there were divers sorts of fritters and puddings, dressed with honey, not very pleasant to eat. When rice, boil'd with broth and melted fat was served up, there was at the same time set before every one a porringer with milk, which they mixed with the rice, and so eat it together; this diih they call *pilou*, and is by them reckoned one of the best, rice being the best victuals among the *Turks*. The desert consisted of preserved fruit. After dinner there was brought water and a towel; thereupon we drank coffee, after that we washed our hands and face with rose water; at last there was hung a piece of red silk over every one's head, and our faces were smoak'd with all sorts of frankincense, and so dinner was done. Those of my retinue dined upon the floor, sitting in a circle. After a short discourse with the *bassa*, I took my leave of him, and immediately pursued my journey; but about two musket shot from the city, I had the misfortune to be overturn'd, and to bruise my left leg and foot so much, that for three weeks I could not stir any further than I was carried. However, I continued my journey in this troublesome condition, there being nowhere any conveniency for stopping a few days, the country being utterly impoverish'd by the marches of the *Turks*; we came to many places where we could not get the least bit to eat, and the greatest trouble was to appease the hungry stomachs of my people.

Rice the best victuals with the *Turks*.

Leave of the *bassa*.

4 May.

*Vetus Byzantium.*

A third day's journey from *Silistria*, about a mile on the other side of a place call'd *Sbumna*, is a hill, upon which, as the *Turks* say, *Vetus Byzantium* stood formerly, the *Pontus Euxinus* reaching then up to it, though it is now many miles dis-

tant from that place, neither is there any other water, but a large valley of flat fields of a long extent. It is true indeed, that upon the mountain there are ruins of old walls to be seen, with great iron rings walled in, on which they believe ships and boats were fastned in former times. There may have stood of old a city, but that it was *Byzantium*, and that the *Pontus Euxinus* came up to it, is like other fables told by the *Turks*.

The fourth day I pass'd the mountain *Hemus*, by the inhabitants call'd *Noak*, from a great robber *Noak Bela*, who once lived upon this mountain, as they say, and did great damage to the *Turks*; on the place where his castle stood, lives now constantly a *Turk*, who beats the drum, sings a song of the foresaid *Noak*, and shews the rudera of his castle to travellers, who use to give him a few *aspers*. It is one day's journey to pass over these mountains, they are steep, high, and the road is bad and dangerous, by reason of robbers, of whom ten in number appear'd to us, yet durst not attack us, but fled into the wood; the *Turkish chiaus* I had with me shot at them, but miss'd. These mountains separate *Bulgaria Minor* from *Major*, and go from *Pontus Euxinus* to *Macedonia*, all of an even height; there they divide themselves, and as it were, incompass with two arms *Macedonia* and *Greece*. Being pass'd these mountains, we had for the greater part even and flat fields through all *Bulgaria*, an admirable country, like an orchard; asparagus, collyflowers, tulips, and other fine herbs and flowers grow in the fields: wild tortoisés were lying on the road, thirty or forty in a heap. Between this and *Constantinople* we had only two troublesome forests, one call'd *Faky*, one day's journey long, at the end of which runs a water that separates *Bulgaria Major* from *Romania*; the other forest is call'd *Debleti koak*, i. e. *Dives Sylva*, likewise one day's journey long, and two days journey from *Constantinople*. In both these forests robbers use to lurk, who march with flying colours, foot and horse; two days before my arrival, a company of thirty *Turkish* travellers had been attacked by some robbers from the latter forest, who kill'd twelve of them, the rest narrowly escaping, who met us, and told us the ill success of their journey; those that were wounded lay in *channas* or inns in a city call'd *Sarai*, where we lodg'd at night; the following day we pass'd this forest without any danger, being convoyed by *Turks*.

Being now come so near *Constantinople*, I sent an express into the city, and by the *Hungarian* ministers residing there, acquainted

quainted the grand *vizir* of my coming; I also wrote to the embassador of *France* for necessary information concerning several matters; mean time I staid in a town call'd *Kutziukcek Mese*, three hours journey from *Constantinople*, where the ministers of *Transylvania* came to me, with whom I consulted about my entry, which was performed in the following manner.

*Kutziukcek* three hours journey from *Constantinople*.

14 May.

Entry into *Constantinople*.

The 14<sup>th</sup> of *May*, at six o' clock in the morning, I set out from the above mentioned *Kutziukcek Mese*. About half way between this and the city, I met the ambassadors of *Transylvania*, that brought a horse for me with very fine trappings: but being not able, on account of my foot, to mount a horse, it was led before my coach in which I went; my *Hungarian* commissary, with two of his servants, went also before. At the usual place, that is a good way from the city, I was received in the name of the *Turkish* emperor, by a *Turkish* aga or officer called *Ali Aga*, who had with him 24 *chiauses* on horseback, and conducted me into the city to my lodging in a procession, according to the custom there, *viz.* First of all went the 24 *chiauses*, after them *Ali Aga* by himself, then the ministers of *Transylvania* and their retinue; next, the horse design'd for me was led by two grooms of the stable; I followed in a coach drawn by six horses, which the resident of *Transylvania* had lent me; after the coach follow'd six of my retinue on horseback, and at last my baggage waggon drawn by four horses. My lodging was order'd by the *vizir*, in which two rooms were furnish'd after the *Turkish* fashion, with carpets upon the floor, and cushions of many colours next to the walls; the others were expressly furnished with tables and banks, otherwise not in use among the *Turks*.

The lodging order'd by the *vizir*.

15 May.

Welcomed by the foreign ministers at *Constantinople*.

I was no sooner arrived in my lodging, when some of the *French* ambassador's servants came, whom he had sent to meet me out of town; but they having taken the wrong way, had miss'd of me. As soon as they were gone, the secretary and servants of the *English* ambassador came to bid me welcome; and the secretary entering with me into a long conversation, my *chiaus* grew uneasy at it, saying, it was contrary to custom to converse with the foreign ministers, before I had audience of the *vizir*. I excus'd it in the best manner I was able, saying, That among the ministers of the *Christian* powers the custom was so, and to neglect it would be look'd on as an incivility: besides, on such occasions nothing material was treated of, but all consist'd in compliments, nor could he take amiss any thing that pass'd be-

tween the ministers of those two crowns, who being in so strict an alliance with his *Swedish* majesty, and all three being intimate friends of the *Ottoman Porte*, he had no reason to mistrust them, they having not the least thought of any thing disadvantageous to the *Ottoman Porte*; which satisfy'd him. After dinner, the resident of the emperor sent some persons with his compliments; but a *spahi* that was order'd to be my door-keeper, would not let them come in, but sent them away unknown to me. Immediately after, others came from the resident of *Holland* on the like errand, who would have been sent away likewise, had I not prevented it. The next day I sent messages to return my compliments to the foresaid ministers, and excus'd myself to that of the emperor, that his people were not admitted, and he afterwards sent to me with better success. It is the custom in *Constantinople*, contrary to what is observed in christian countries, that the ministers who reside there, send first to him that arrives; they give the title of illustrious, even to the residents; and in visiting treat one another with sweetmeats and wine. However, they converse but little together, and live retired, notwithstanding their principals are in friendship.

ROLAND.

16 May  
The compliments returned.

The 17<sup>th</sup> of *May* I had audience of the great *vizir* *Copryli Mehemet bassa*, which by reason of the indisposition of my foot, I fain would have defer'd some days; but the *vizir* insisting upon it, notwithstanding it was *Whitsunday*, I was allowed no farther excuses. Besides that, the envoy of *Transylvania* desired me to make a beginning, and enter upon business for fear of the *vizir*, who was a rigorous man, might make him suffer for it. I went in the morning half an hour past seven on horseback from my lodging to the *Strand*, where I went into a boat, and was rowed to the harbour next to the emperor's *Seraglio*, call'd *Bass Capi*; there I mounted a horse again, which I had borrow'd of the resident of *Transylvania*, and went to the *vizir*'s house, that lay a good way from the water. First rid my *chiaus* by himself, he was followed by half of my retinue on foot two and two, after that my *janizaries* in their dress, *viz.* a high cap of elk skin, trim'd with a gold lace a hand broad, and in the forepart a scutcheon of silver gilt, half a yard high, in the hand a great cane with an ivory head; after the *janizaries* went my interpreter, I on horseback came next, and behind me the rest of my retinue. Being come to the stairs of his house, I alighted from my horse, and was as good as carried into a room that was hung, where I waited a little till I was call'd into the *vizir*'s room; for they never allow any person to go directly

17 May  
Audience of the *vizir*.

Procession.

ROLAMB. rectly in to them, but let them first wait a while; it even is a great honour to be brought into a separate apartment, most people being obliged to wait in the anti-chamber or hall.

The *vizir's* audience room.

In the audience room there were two chairs placed, a little square one for the *vizir*, and an arm chair of red velvet for me. I was introduced by *chiaus Passi*, and immediately after I had entered the room, the *vizir* came also out of his chamber; we sat down each upon his chair over against one another; the *vizir* began first to speak to my interpreter, asking how I came by that accident on my foot, with some expressions of compassion; then I made him a compliment in your majesty's name, delivering him your letter, which he received with great veneration, and gave it to the chancellor, by them call'd *reis effendi*. After this I spoke concerning my commission in general, referring myself to a memorial I had with me, containing the particulars, together with the proper arguments drawn up in *Turkish*, which I delivered at the same time with a translation of the letter. The reason why I delivered it in writing, was,

1. Because the interpreters do not exactly keep to one's words, but either use other expressions, or add something of their own, which in a matter of such moment might easily have done prejudice.
2. The *Turks* are much wandering in their thoughts, so that they do not take things so well only from discourse.
3. They have no patience to hear a long speaker, but one must make few words in speaking with them.
4. Foreign ministers have their spies at publick audiences.
5. It is customary with them to do business in writing; for even the *vizir* himself, when he is with the emperor, transacts all in writing, and talks but seldom with him.

After having delivered the writings, the *vizir* began to ask,

1. How your majesty did?
2. Where you were?
3. How strong *Ragotzky* was?
4. About the design and intention of your majesty's conjunction with him.
5. What towns and fortresses your majesty had in possession in *Poland*. To all which I returned proper answers. Afterwards he asked, whether your majesty had defeated the enemy since that conjunction? I thereupon first mentioned in a few words the chief encounters that had passed before; but that after the conjunction, whilst I was there, no decisive action had happened, king *Casimir* not having a sufficient army for offering battel; he replied, Why did not your majesty march your army back again into your own country, since they were not able to resist you? Upon which I gave him an account of

the transactions of last year, how the states of *Poland* surrendered themselves, how they renounced *Casimir*, and how at the pope's instigation the *Poles* had broke their oath and promises. Your majesty therefore was now about pursuing and punishing those rebels, and bringing them to reason. I farther acquainted him, how through the pope's intrigues the *Poles* had made an alliance with the *Czar* of *Russia*, and consented to have his son for their king. To this he answered in great passion, this the *Poles* will never consent to; he said several other things on that subject, too long to be related here. As for the rest he used me with great civility in his discourse, in receiving and dismissing me; so that all who were present could not but express their great surprize, as being quite contrary to his custom, which is to give every body surly and short answers. After the conference, he hung a coat upon me, and gave also to each of my people one; so we went away like mass priests, keeping the coats on till we got on horseback, then I took off mine. When I was got out of the outer gate of the *vizir's* *seraglio* into the street, my *chiaus*, and another of the *vizir's* servants, that begg'd some money, coming too near my horse, he kicked twice, and threw both their horses with the riders to the ground, their white turbans rolling along the street; my *chiaus* that was an old and an heavy man, fell upon the other *Turk*, and as it happen'd, received no harm, but the other was so bruised, that the blood gushed out of his nose and ears, and the next day he died. This at first occasioned laughter, but afterwards it was look'd upon as ominous, that a *Swedish* horse at one stroke had thrown down two *Turks*, this nation being very superstitious. Besides, they have a particular suspicion against the *Swedish* nation, it being writ in their prophecies, that their empire shall be destroy'd by a northern nation, of which I shall make farther mention hereafter.

The 19<sup>th</sup> of *May* being the third festival of *Whitsuntide*, I had audience of the emperor *Sultan Mehemet*, which was performed as follows. In the morning about three o' clock, I went from my lodging by water to the abovementioned harbour, near the *seraglio*, where my horse stood ready, which I mounted, and rid to the emperor's *seraglio* in the following procession.

1. Rode *chiauses*.
2. The resident of *Transsylvania*, and a secretary of *Transsylvania*, *Jacobus Harzani*.
3. The envoy of *Transsylvania*, *Tordai Ferens* alone, he had desired his own audience might be put off, in expectation of this opportunity, when he knew he would be treated with greater honour,

The *vizir's* divers questions.

Answers to them.

A prophecy among the *Turks*, concerning a certain northern nation. 19 *May*. Audience of the emperor.

Procession.

honour, than if he had had audience by himself. 4. I rode by my self. 5. Behind me my retinue on foot, consisting of about 40 persons, many of the *French* ambassador's people, and *French* merchants attending among my retinue, partly at my desire, partly out of their own curiosity. In this order I went through the first palace-yard of the *seraglio* to the second gate, where I alighted on a high bench of marble made for that purpose, call'd *Beckgitasbi*, for none are permitted to ride into the inner court; afterwards I went on foot in the aforementioned order through this inner court, which is four square, and very large, set with laurel, cypress, and other trees, more like a park, there being a great many red deer and harts in it. Along all the four sides are porches, or sheds of boards supported by marble pillars; under the porch on the right hand stood the *janizar aga* with his officers, who had high and large bunches of feathers upon their heads, and were dress'd in gold brocade of many colours; behind them stood the *janizaries* in four ranks, all along that side of the court; they were, as I guess'd by eye-sight, about 10 or 1200, all well dress'd, with furr caps upon their heads. On the left hand stood a long row of *chiauses*, with their high white *turbans* upon their heads; in the middle of the last row, in a large room, call'd *Divan*, which is their council chamber, was the great *vizir* sitting in the front, dress'd in a white sattin coat lin'd with sable, to whom I bow'd in passing by; on the right hand in the front towards the court, sat a row of about 60 or 70 *bassas*, all dress'd in silver brocade, and high white *turbans* upon their heads; I and the envoy of *Transylvania* were conducted to the left hand side, where we and our retinue sat down. Immediately after, a great heap of bags of money were laid down before me, with which the emperor's servants and troops were to be paid. This money was not counted but weigh'd; neither is it usual among the *Turks* in talking of money, to reckon by hundreds or thousands pieces in number, but by so many bags or purses, each purse containing 500 rixdollars; so if you hear 100 bags mention'd, there is 50000 rixdollars meant by it; they always take care to fix the audience of foreign ambassadors, upon a day when the forces are to be paid, to make a shew of their grandeur. Before they began to distribute the money, the *tesherdar*, i. e. *treasurer*, came to ask my name, which he took down in writing, it beign customary to register at whose audience the pay was made. Then the grand *vizir* wrote a note to the emperor, acquainting him with my presence, and de-

firing his orders about the audience; that note was carried to the emperor by a *capuci bassi*, who had a silver staff in his hand; the emperor sent his orders to the *vizir* likewise in a note, which the *capuci bassi* carried aloft in his right hand, and where he pass'd by, the people rose up and made a respective bow to the paper. After this, I was desired to come to dinner in the room where the *vizir* was, which pass'd in the following manner. In the *vizir's* place (who absented himself, because he fasted) sat *Fussuff bassa*, one of the seven *vizirs*; over against him stood a chair of red velvet, upon which I sat down, and the envoy of *Transylvania* by me on my left side; then came he that laid the cloth, setting a small square stool between us, and a flat round silver dish upon it, in the shape of a large water bason, which served for a table, upon which the cloth was laid. The rest of the manner of dining being like that of the *bassa* of *Silistria*, I shall refer to it: There were in all five such tables in the room, one in the front, at which I sat with the mentioned *vizir*, and one in each corner; at that on the right hand sat *Achmet bassa*, also a *vizir*, by himself; at the other on the left hand sat two judges of *Asia* and *Europe*, call'd *Cadi les Kieri*; out of which always one is taken to be *musti*: on the left side of the room *Nisan-sky Mustafa bassa* dined with the resident and secretary of *Transylvania*, and two of my retinue; on the right side of the room sat the high treasurer, call'd *tesherdar*, who is a *bassa*, by him sat secretary *Klingen*, and another of my retinue; the rest of my people dined in another room. There was such a silence during dinner, that not one word was spoke, nor the least noise perceived; the attendants serving at table, going to and fro in very good order and quietness. All that were present sat like images looking down before them, because the emperor himself was upon the roof, and look'd through a glass window upon us, wherefore none durst look up on pain of death. Only some *chiauses* run to the other tables, where they had victuals given them, taking some in dishes, some in their hands, and some in small bags, which they carry about them, to put up all sort of eatables roasted and boiled, even soups, all together; for the *Turks* look upon it as a sign of grandeur, when such people come to beg something from their table. Dinner being over, and the tables taken away, the grand *vizir* came in again, and sat down by me in the place of *Fussuff bassa*, who, upon the other's approach, got out of the way, as if he had been turned out of doors; such is the veneration they shew the grand *vizir*. He

The inner court.

The *Divan*, or council chamber.

Money not counted but weighed.

Audience usually given to foreign ambassadors, when the militia is paid.

Dinner in the *vizir's* room.

With such silence, that not one word was spoken.

Veneration shewn to the grand *vizir*. He

ROLAMB. He spoke very friendly to me, inquired how I was in health, afterwards he desired us to take our places again, and to prepare for the audience. Thereupon I withdrew, and being come to my former place again, I, and those I had with me, had long coats of gold brocade hung about us, according to custom. The great *vizir*, and three other *vizirs* being gone into the emperor first, I was soon after conducted into his presence. The room where he uses to give publick audience, call'd *Divan Hane*, is but little and dark, and you go two steps down into it. The emperor sat upon a throne raised a yard from the ground, which had four pillars, with curtains above and below, round about; within were laid long cushions, which made it almost look like a *French* bed; the pillars were covered over with gold; the knobs set with diamonds, the cushions and curtains embroidered with pearls; the floor was spread over with red velvet, richly embroidered with gold, which we walked upon. The emperor was eighteen years of age, his face tawny and long, of a pusillanimous and stupid physiognomy, he wore a white turban, with two black plumes of hern feathers, one hanging down on each side, and a silver brocade coat of many colours; the grand *vizir* stood next by him, and three other *bassas* on the other side, who stood so immoveable, as if they had been nailed to the wall. In the antichamber stood *Capi Aga* an eunuch, who is head of all the white eunuchs, and of what men there are in the emperor's seraglio; likewise *Kislar Aga* a moor, and an eunuch, who is head of all black eunuchs, 200 in number, and of all women in the seraglio. By these two stood also some other white and black eunuchs and mutes, who are much employed by the *Turkish* emperor; for by them he gives his most considerable orders by signs, for two reasons, 1. That it may be kept secret. 2. That he may talk what he pleaseth without any notice. At the door of the audience room stood two *capuci bassas* in gold brocade coats, who took me under the arms, and so led me in before the emperor, to whom I made a bow; after which I was brought some steps back again, and there they left me; then they took the envoy of *Transylvania*, and brought him in to the middle of the room, where they pushed him down upon all fours; from thence they carried him back again towards the door, by the wall; my retinue were brought in one after another in the same maner, and some that did not take care of themselves, were push'd down to the ground that they quaked; for there was a long row of them, and the cere-

mony was to be dispatch'd in great hurry. After me six of my servants had the favour to be admitted, who had also coats given them. All this made the said *capuci bassas* so warm, that the sweat run down their faces, partly from working, partly from fear; for had they committed the least fault, they had been undone at the least wink from the emperor.

All being now quiet, I saluted the emperor in your majesty's name in *Latin*, assuring him of your friendship in as few words as possible; but when I began to talk of the subject of my embassy, the *vizir* interrupted me, saying, he had acquainted the emperor with it already, which obliged me to stop there. I then delivered his majesty's letter, wrap'd up in blew gold brocade, which a *capuci bass* took from my hands, and gave it to the *vizir*, who laid it down by the emperor. As soon as this was done, the *capuci bassas* took me under my arms again; and after having made a bow to the emperor, conducted me out again, where I mounted on horseback, but was obliged to stay till all the *janizaries* with their officers were pass'd by, to march before me: after this I went in the same procession as before to the harbour, where I stept into a boat, and returned to my lodgings.

The next day after the emperor's audience, I sent to the *musti*, to wait on him with your majesty's letter; but he returned an excuse, pretending, as he was but lately come into his office, (for he had indeed been in it but eight days) he would inform himself about the affair, and afterward send me word. However, though he was not altogether in the wrong so far, for he was not only unexperienced, but also of no great parts; yet the main point was, he knew I was not come stocked with presents; and therefore the honour of receiving your majesty's letter and compliment was of no account with him; and although I afterwards got him underhand put in mind of it once or twice, yet I had no notice of any audience; nor did I think it necessary to force your majesty's letter upon him, he having no credit nor authority, but living in a servile dependence on the *vizir*, who had placed him in that office, with a design of establishing himself the better in his own: for when the emperor designs to make away with some *vizir*, or make any other considerable change, he never fails to consult the *musti* about it, who is the chief of their lawyers, and whose opinion has great weight with the emperor; and accordingly these views of the *vizir* had the intended effect: for in the expedition against the *Venetians*, which the *vizir* commanded, things

The audience room.

The emperor's character.

The emperor gives his orders by eunuchs and mutes.

Compliment to the emperor.

20 May. No audience of the *musti*.



things looked at first with a bad aspect for the *Turks*, so that the emperor even was twice resolved to send him a cord, but the *musti* prevented that storm both times by his intercession.

21 May.  
Message  
from the  
vizir to  
the Swe-  
dish en-  
voy.

The day following the *vizir* sent to me to salute me, to ask after my health, and to bid me be of cheer (their expression is *safadaoln*, i. e. be merry) the emperor having declared himself favourably upon your majesty's desire, and resolved to dispatch me, before his departure to the army, with all honour, and to your majesty's satisfaction. I sent him an answer with a compliment, and as I found it necessary to give him a true notion of the affairs, and to clear up certain doubts he had raised about some of the articles, which I had delivered to him in writing; at the same time, to get an opportunity of bringing him to a firm resolution with relation to the *Tartars*, and to get favourable orders to be returned for them by a courier lately arrived from the *cham* of *Crim*, who sent notice by him, that he was ready with his forces, and only expected the emperor's orders. I sent my *chiaus* to desire leave to wait on him once more before my departure. He sent me a civil answer by the *chiaus*, appointing me for the next day to *Terfano*, where we could talk more at liberty, his house in town being too much frequented. I went accordingly, and notwithstanding he was full of business, he sent every body away, and admitted me immediately. Being now acquainted with their way, I forthwith, without any previous discourse, entered upon my business, and asked him, whether the *Porte* was resolved to accept of the offer of your majesty's friendship upon the terms proposed? he answer'd very civilly, with assurances of reciprocal good offices; I then touched upon the three points of my commission, as being the effects intended by that union, and desired to know what answer I had to expect? He replied, That the *Porte* had long had friendship with *Poland*; and the *Poles* having committed nothing contrary to it, it would be wrong in the *Porte*, to abandon that old friendship for the new one with your majesty, which was as yet to be established, and to consent, out of regard for this new friend, that their subjects should help to distress their old friends. I thereupon remonstrated to him, that the friendship offered by your majesty was not new, but had begun in the time of king *Gustavus Adolphus*, was continued by queen *Christina*, with good offices done in favour of the *Porte* against the *Roman* emperor, and was now confirmed by your majesty; consequently this was no new transaction,

22 May.  
Final au-  
dience of  
the vizir.

Friendship  
between  
the Otto-  
man *Porte*  
and king  
*Gustavus*  
*Adolphus*,  
and queen  
*Christina*  
to be re-  
newed.

V O L. V.

but a continuation and sequel of the old friendship, only with this difference, that your majesty was willing to strengthen the old union, for which the *Porte* ought to think themselves so much more obliged. Upon this he answered, *Valla* (which is a great oath with them, signifying as much as, *so help me God*) all this is very reasonable, adding, that I might depend upon it, that the *Ottoman Porte* would never be deficient in good offices and sincerity towards you majesty, and would now particularly comply with your majesty's desire as to the three points proposed; he also promised immediately to write to the *cham*, not to assist the *Polanders* against your majesty; and to enquire of him at the same time whether he had not perhaps newly made an alliance with *Russia*, which if not done, he would order him to fall upon the *Russians*. I thereupon desired an order to the *cham* in writing, which he promised to give me. In order to have full resolution upon every thing, I spoke concerning the prince of *Transylvania* in particular; he fell into some passion, and asked, why your majesty had that affair so much at heart? As I knew the reason why this conjunction or alliance was suspected to the *Porte*, I enlarged a little on the reasons for it, refuting on the other hand with plain arguments the pretended causes of their mistrusting him, protesting withal, that your majesty's intentions and designs were sincere towards the *Porte*, without having the least thoughts against their interest or advantage. He swore the same oath again, that if those were his majesty's intentions, the prince of *Transylvania* should not only be forgiven, but even the grand signor's own troops should be at your majesty's service, if desired. He concluded with this general promise, that your majesty's desires should be complied with in every respect, and I should be dispatch'd to my satisfaction before his departure.

ROLAMB.

The  
prince of  
*Transyl-  
vania's*  
concerns  
recom-  
mended.

Two days after, being the 25<sup>th</sup> of *May*, the *vizir* sent me word by my *chiaus*, that my recredential letters were drawing up, that he had appointed the next *Wednesday*, being the 27<sup>th</sup>, for my expedition, and that I might keep myself in readiness for it, he intending to set out the day after for the camp, which was about a quarter of a league from the city. However, the appointed day being come, I was not called; wherefore I sent my *chiaus* to the *vizir*, to know the reason of this delay, and to put him in mind of his promise, the time of his departure being so near. His answer was, that having learned from *Silistria* and *Wallachia*, that a solemn embassy from your majesty was on the way hither, my expedition was deferred till its arrival.

Remem-  
bring the  
*vizir* on  
his pro-  
mise of  
dispatch-  
ing me.

8 M

arrival.

ROLAMB. arrival. I was apprehensive, that if the *vizir* was once arrived at the *Dardanel*s, he would be so overloaded with other business, that these and such like affairs might be postponed to your majesty's prejudice; besides, that those people are of an inconstant mind, and do not long stick to one resolution, but are rather apt to take contrary impressions suggested to them by ill affected persons. A minister was also daily expected from *Poland*, who was not like to promote your majesty's interest; but what I was most afraid of, was, lest some encounter, or any other accident concerning *Ragotsky* might happen, that might make the *Turks* waver, to the prejudice of your majesty's interest. These considerations put me upon trying once more, whether it was not possible to get a confirmation of their resolutions, at my taking leave, before the *vizir* proceeded on his journey; for he was already in the camp, where he stay'd eight days: accordingly I sent to desire another audience of him, but he excused himself, pretending multiplicity of business, and that he had referred my affair to the *caimakam*, (who is the *vizir*'s deputy or lieutenant at *Constantinople*, during the *vizir*'s absence, and governs the whole state) who would satisfy me in every thing. I therefore immediately desired audience of the *caimakam*; who excusing himself also, I insisted that I might at least send secretary *Klingen* to him; but he answered he durst not admit any stranger, nor meddle with any business, whilst the *vizir* was so near, but that as soon as he was gone he would give me notice of it; he did so, and sent for me presently after the *vizir*'s decamping. I told him in a few words, what the *vizir* and I had agreed upon, and acquainted him with your majesty's progress in *Poland*, since the conjunction with *Ragotsky*, of which I had received advice a few days before from Mr. *Kley* your majesty's resident at *Vienna*. He received me with all civility, and answered, the *vizir* had acquainted him with his resolution, and all should be done to your majesty's satisfaction, but only my expedition was deferred till the arrival of the other minister.

This was the situation your majesty's affairs committed to my care were brought to before the *vizir*'s departure; and as there could nothing more be done, but to wait for the promised expedition, I employ'd the rest of my time in visiting foreign ministers: for before this time, as there was a great number of troops in the city, the *vizir* had advised me to keep at home, lest I might receive some affront, he not being able to prevent their insolence. This I alledged to the *French* and

*English* ambassadors, when I sent secretary *Klingen* to excuse my delay in visiting.

As for the emperor's minister Mr. *Simon von Reninge*, I expected the first visit from him, he having but the character of resident. Besides, there being no great confidence between our masters, and he not seeming very desirous to come to me, I kept my visit back also, and remained within the terms of those compliments we had exchanged by our servants at my arrival. In other respects he is said to be an ingenious and discreet man, who has a good character among those that converse with him, and is well beloved at that court, since the present *vizir* has a great regard for the house of *Austria*; partly on account of the *Venetian* war, which as the *Turks* would willingly be rid of it with reputation, the *vizir* thinks might easily be ended by the *Roman* emperor's (whose authority he imagines to be the same in *Christendom*, as his own is in the *Turkish* empire) obliging the *Venetians* to make peace with them on such terms as they should propose; or by permitting their army to march through the emperor's dominions into the *Venetian* territories; partly also to prevent the *Roman* emperor's undertaking any thing against the *Ottoman Porte*, while that war lasts. For these reasons the house of *Austria* is much cared for by the *Porte*; and their resident is sure to effectuate what he will, by the means of his interpreter *Panejotti*, who is a *Greek* by his religion, has learning, and is endowed with quick parts and good sense, above any other *dragoman* at this court, and is much trusted by the *vizir*; so that what *Panejotti* says, almost passes for an oracle; (for among these barbarians and ignorant people, a slender tincture of knowledge passes for the highest wisdom) for which reason he has pensions from *Transylvania*, *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, and many other quarters, to support their interest, when consulted by the *Porte*, which often happens. But as he takes money indifferently of them all; so he equally imposes upon them all. What makes his credit still greater, is, that the *vizir* employs him to translate all *Latin* letters that come to the *Porte*, there being no other *dragoman* that understands *Latin*.

The *French* ambassador Mr. *de la Hay*, The was about 80 years of age, and had been 20 years ambassador; a capricious man, who for a punctilio would set aside all consideration, even in matters of consequence, and was at that time upon ill terms with the *vizir*, who had bid my *obias* dissuade me from visiting him. However, I would not be wanting in what I owed him, and went to pay him a visit at the time he had himself appointed, but he let me come within

ROLAMB.

3. June.

The *caimakam* the *vizir*'s Deputy.

8 June. Audience of the *caimakam*.

The emperor of *Germany*'s resident at the *Ottoman Porte*.

The house of *Austria* in great credit with the present *vizir*.

*Panejotti* interpreter to the emperor's Resident.

*French* ambassador.

within his gate into his orchard, where I was met by his secretary, who was to make an excuse, as if he was indisposed; but the truth was, he had taken amiss my visiting the *English* ambassador before him; though he had no reason for it; 1. Because the *English* ambassador had visited me first, and he not. 2. There was the same good understanding between your majesty and his master. 3. The *English* ambassador had invited me that day to dinner. 4. He had the same morning been with the *musti* about your majesty's affairs, and was to bring me an answer; and as he was to go next morning to the *caimam* on the same errand, he wanted my information. 5. Having already heard of the *French* ambassador's capricious temper, I had left him the choice of his own time, either in the forenoon or in the afternoon, and he appointed afternoon. But waving all this, as he did not greatly affect your majesty, or the common cause, this occasion shewed what was to be expected from him. For altho' I had wrote to him from *Transylvania*, and desired him to acquaint the *Porte* of my coming, and to excuse my bringing no presents with me, he had indeed done it but superficially, having only sent his *dragoman* to the *vizir*; who being a proud and scornful man, was not a little provoked at it. After my arrival, when an *aiack divan* (that is, a general council) had been held, concerning my commission, and the writing I had given in, after the breaking up of which, the *vizir* sat down and discoursed on that subject; among others, one call'd *Sali passa* began to speak of your majesty and your exploits, much in the same terms he had heard me talk the day before, and turned his discourse to this conclusion, they ought by all means to lay hold of this opportunity of embracing your majesty's friendship. Upon this *M. la Borde* the *French* ambassador's oldest interpreter, who had been sent thither prepared, began to caution them, saying, They should be aware of the *Swedes*; for it is a nation (these were his expressions) who, if they can get a hole big enough to put a finger into, they will not give over, till they can follow with their whole body; *Poland* they have already brought under their yoke; if they are allowed to keep it, they will soon long for *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* also: and at last extend their desires even beyond the *Danube*; you have better neighbours of the *Poles*; consequently it is more advisable for you to assist them in driving the *Swedes* out of *Poland*. I had delivered to the *vizir* on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *June* a paper, in which I mention'd the alliances and friendship that were subsisting between his majesty and *France*, &c. The *vizir* having

sent to enquire concerning that matter among the foreign ministers, the *French* ambassador sent his interpreter to the *vizir*, to tell him for answer on his part, that formerly there had indeed been an alliance between *France* and *Sweden*, but that was now at an end, and *France* had no further concerns with *Sweden*. Nay, when I desired him to stir and speak in behalf of the common cause, he excused himself; sometimes he pretended it would sound too harsh, and look like threatening, to mention that *France* and *Sweden* stood in so close an union, that to comply with the one, was obliging the other also; at other times he was too tender to give umbrage to the emperor's resident. Both which excuses were but shifts too easily seen through; for on the other hand, he cultivated a great intimacy with the emperor's resident; carested the *internuncio* of *Poland* exceedingly; and in short, was indefatigable in obstructing your majesty's affairs and the common cause. As for the rest, he kept too much company with monks, and was a great promoter of their interests, a man of infinite intrigues, especially in the affairs with *Venice*, in which he had meddled very much, and for which he was suspected and hated by the *Turks*, who intercepted some of his letters to the *Venetians*, and by that means were come to know what sums had been paid him by that republick.

The *English* ambassador, lord *Thomas Bendyffe* paid me the first visit, on which occasion, as well as before in his frequent messages to me, he assured me in many and strong expressions of his veneration and good intentions towards your majesty and the common cause, offering himself most readily to assist me in all that could be for your majesty's service. Upon my arrival, he had call'd all the *English* merchants at *Constantinople* together, representing to them the great friendship that was between your majesty and the protector, and acquainted them with the strict orders he had from him to espouse his *Swedish* majesty's interest at this court. Therefore, seeing your majesty's envoy was now arriv'd, he exhorted them to neglect no opportunity of giving to all the *Turks* with whom they conversed, such impressions as might tend to your majesty's advantage, and to the promoting of the common cause. He himself at my request went in person to the *caimam*, the *musti*, the *bustanci passi*, and others of his acquaintance, setting forth to them the reasons that were most conducive to the ends proposed. To sum up all, he left nothing untried to give real proofs of all that can be desired of an ally and friend; and this not only in the beginning, but also during all the time I was obliged to

The *English* ambassador.

His expression concerning the *Swedish* nation.

continua

ROLAMB. continue At *Constantinople* for your majesty's service; he was otherwise a man of great civility and good understanding, and has most credit at the *Ottoman Porte* of any of the foreign ministers of this time, both on account of the respect they bear to his master, and for his own sincerity.

The Dutch resident. The *Dutch* minister Mr. *Varner* was first appointed resident by the *Ottoman Porte*, and afterwards confirmed by the States; a

Well versed in the oriental languages. man well versed in the oriental languages; but fitter for a professor, than for a public minister; for his whole delight and business consisted in reading *Rabin's*, and all sorts of other oriental writings; for which purpose he kept *Hebrews*, that at certain hours of the day went to instruct him; he himself had published a treatise

Author of a treatise of coffee. of *coffee*, its nature and use. This is a kind of a pea that grows in *Egypt*, which the *Turks* pound and boil in water, and take it for pleasure instead of brandy, sipping it through the lips boiling hot, persuading themselves, that it consumes catarths, and prevents the rising of vapours out of the stomach into the head. The drinking of this coffee, and smoking tobacco (for though the use of tobacco is forbidden on pain of death, yet it is used in *Constantinople* more than any where by men as well as women, though secretly) makes up all the pastime among the *Turks*, and is the only thing they treat one another with; for which reason all people of distinction have a particular room next their own, built on purpose for it, where there stands a jar of coffee continually boiling. The *Dutch* resident never having paid me a visit, the respect due to your majesty, did not allow me neither to see him; and though I gave him all manner of reason and opportunities to live confidently together, yet he kept himself retired, and avoided all commerce with me, except the compliment he sent me at my arrival. Whether he did this out of jealousy against the *Swedish* nation, agreeably to the sentiments of his masters, or to please the emperor's and the *French* ministers, with whom he had a very good understanding, is what I do not know. Besides, those that were no ministers in ordinary of foreign powers at the *Porte*, for those of prince *Ragotsky*, of *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, of the *Tartars*, and of *Ragusa*, were not reckoned among the foreign ministers, forasmuch as their masters are tributary to the *Porte*. The *Venetians* used to have one here in time of peace, but he was recalled upon the war's breaking out; and their *bailo*, who had been sent envoy extraordinary half a year ago, was then in prison at *Adrianople*.

Tobacco forbidden on pain of death.

The resident of Transylvania.

I lived in confidence, as I was directed by your majesty, with Mr. *Stephen Tissa* the

resident of *Transylvania*, and Mr. *Jacob Harizanius* prince *Ragotsky's* secretary, who assisted me in translating my writings, and was my interpreter at the audiences.

I enquired underhand, whether the *Tartarian capi chibaja* was inclined to join and converse with me; but I found him so much in the *Polish* interest, that he did all he could to defeat my designs, and avoided my company; for this reason, I judged your majesty's dignity might suffer by making an attempt, and meeting perhaps with a dishonourable repulse, a thing one might well apprehend from so polite a nation.

There were also two envoys from the *Zaporovian Cossaks*, but they lived retired. I sent to compliment them, and acquainted them with the orders I had from his majesty to espouse their interest: they only returned a civil answer, but were shy of conversing with me, for fear of giving suspicion; for their aim was to make the *Ottoman Porte* believe, the *Cossaks* had no less absolutely submitted themselves to them than the *Tartars*, without having their eyes turned for support any where else, and that they maintained great friendship with the *Tartars*. The end, which the envoys intended, was, not to be long detained, but they thereby missed their true interest.

In this state and condition were your majesty's affairs, which I was graciously entrusted with on the fourth of *June*, on which day the *vizir* broke up with the camp from *Constantinople*.

### The King of Sweden's Letter to the Grand Signor.

NOS CAROLUS GUSTAVUS Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Wandalarumque rex, magnus princeps Finlandiæ, dux Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Brehmæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ, & Vandalia, princeps Rugiæ, dominus Ingridiæ & Vismariæ; nec non comes palatinus Rheni, Baviariæ, Juliaci, Cliviæ & Montium dux &c. Serenissimo, celsissimo, excellentissimo, potentissimo, magnanimo, & invictissimo principi, domino SOLTAN MEHEMET, eadem Dei gratiâ Turcarum imperatori, &c. Amico nostro charissimo salutem, prosperos rerum successus & mutui amoris incrementum.

Serenissime, celsissime, excellentissime, magnanime, & invictissime princeps, amice charissime. Quemadmodum in superioribus nostris literis ad serenitatem vestram d. xvi. Junii proxime præteriti anni hic Marienburgi perscriptis, atque cum serenitatis vestræ fideli aulico & internuncio

Musta-

Mustapha aga transmissis amice significavimus. Nos constituisse mittere ad serenitatem vestram aliquem nostrorum ministrorum, qui eandem de statu rerum nostrarum, aliisque connexis negotiis informaret, & cum primis nostro nomine amorem & affectionem nostram erga serenitatem vestram contestaretur: ita nunc supra dictarum rerum causâ ad serenitatem vestram ablegamus nostrum aulicum & militiæ consiliarium, generosum, nobis sincerè fidelem, Claudium Rolamb, hæreditarium in Bystad & Lenna, ut serenitati vestræ exponat, non modo quibus ex causis bellum quod nunc cum rege & republica Poloniæ gerimus, primo sit ortum, & deinde nunc apertâ hostilitate, nunc suspensione armorum continuatum: sed etiam quare ultimis induciis nondum finitis, nuperimè ad armorum conflictum utrinque ventum sit. Largitus nobis est Deus felices rerum successus contra nostros hostes, & spem etiam aliquam mediaque nobis ostendit, componendi & sopiendi diuturnum & cruentum hoc dissidium. Cui intentioni dum illaboramus, inventi sunt quidam, qui non ferentes æquis animis nostram prosperitatem, novas nobis turbas, novosque hostes excitare annisi sunt. In his est magnus Moscoviæ dux, utpote qui nullâ justâ de causâ, sed excogitatis frivolis quibusdam querelis, contra pacta perpetuæ pacis, nos bello laceßere cœpit. Adjunxere se etiam Polonis contra nos chami Crimensis copiæ, nosque prælio cum Polonico exercitu, licet infelici illis eventu adorti sunt. Et quia communes sunt rationes, quæ nos & serenitatem vestram ad constituendam mutuam, firmam & utilem amicitiam correspondentiamque invitare videntur, speramus fore, ut serenitas vestra, cognito rerum in hac parte Europæ & cum primis nostro statu, e suâ re futurum judicet, ut mutuis animis in communem rem consulamus rationesque ineamus, quibus utriusque partis vicini, quandoque extra justitiæ vestigia exorbitantes, ad juris & æquitatis normam redigantur. Quod si serenitas vestra velit permittere & auctoritate suâ ita dirigere, ut chamus Crimensis nobiscum armorum societatem contra magnum Moscoviæ ducem inire possit; & simul alia nonnulla, quæ serenitati vestræ noster extraordinarius ablegatus pluribus exponet, procuratione suâ promovere, fecerit quidem hoc ipso nobis rem gratam, sed sibi cum primis proprioque suo statui nunc & in futurum valde proficuum & pene necessariam. Quam rem totam & quibus fundamentis ducti, confidamus serenitatem vestram insupradicta nostra postulata condescensuram, depromet etiam sæpe jam nominatus noster consiliarius. Quare serenitatem

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vestram amicè requirimus, velit eundem nostrum extraordinarium ablegatum, Claudium Rolamb, benevolè coram se admittere, & sermoni deductionibusque ejus indubiam fidem tribuere, non aliter atque si ipsi præsentem essemus; eundemque deinde ad nos cum optatâ & amicâ resolutione quantocius dimittere. Quibus finientes, serenitati vestræ amica nostra studia & officia deferimus.

ROLAMB.

Dabantur Frauenburgi in Borussia  
d. xxiii. Sept. An. M.DC.LVI.

CAROLUS GUSTAVUS.

M. Biornklou.

*The Inscription.*

*Serenissimo, Celsissimo, Excellentissimo, Magnanimo & Invictissimo Principi, Domino*  
SOLTAN MEHEMET, *Turcarum*  
*Imperatori, amico nostro charissimo.*

As for the state of the *Turkish* empire, it was at my arrival almost in a *crisis*; for although there was some appearance of its recovering in the time of sultan *Amurat* from the shock it had suffered, during the unskilful administration of the sultans *Mustafa* and *Osman*, yet since the unexpected demise of *Amurat*, and till my time, it always was in a state of decay, which then was such, that it either might be re-established or utterly unhinged. But as it is necessary for the setting these affairs in a better light, to give an insight into the transactions of the time immediately preceding, I shall begin my relation from the time when Mr. *Strasburger*, who was sent by king *Gustavus Adolphus* of glorious memory, was at the *Ottoman Porte*, and resume the thread of his account from the troubles that happened at sultan *Amurat's* accession to the throne, and the revolt of *Babylon* where he leaves off.

Although sultan *Murat* at the beginning of his reign appeared only of an effeminate and voluptuous temper, particularly given to poetry and musick, and in love with an *Armenian* young man called *Musa Cielebi*, for whose sake he renounced all conversation with women; yet this youth being afterwards forcibly and with threatnings taken from him by the *janizaries*, and cut to pieces before his eyes, he fell into melancholy, to drive away which he was advised to drink wine, to which he was not a little inclined before from the praises he found of it in the poetical writings which he read every day. And having the best sorts of wines brought him from all places, he gave himself up to

*Strasburger's* relation of the affairs of *Turky*.

Sultan *Murat* given to voluptuousness, poetry and musick.

To wine.

ROLAMB.

drinking to such excess, that it wrought an entire change of his mind, to such a degree, that he would often go privately to taverns and spend there half the day in drinking; nor would he mind any thing but looking at the exercises and sham fights of his young favourites called *Izoglans* and *Muskabys*, or even getting on horseback himself, mingling with them, and fighting with a kind of spear, which they call *girid*; and then his greatest diversion was to run it into their eyes, or to cut off the heads of those who came in his way. These daily practices raised his thirst after blood to such a degree, that in the night time after he had drank himself out of his senses, he went about the streets of *Constantinople* with some executioners behind him, climbed with ladders up into the windows, to search whether he could perceive any smell of tobacco, and then to have the smokers dragged out of the house and hanged up. Whomsoever he met in the streets in the night time, innocent or guilty, he ordered their heads to be cut off and thrown into the water; so that no morning passed without finding twenty or thirty dead bodies without heads here and there in the streets. These actions as they rendered him terrible, so they brought him into credit among his subjects; for no quality in an emperor is higher valued among them than that of cruelty; for which reason sultan *Amurat's* memory is in high esteem with them to this day. His *silibetar-aga*, i. e. his armour-bearer, named *Mustapha Passa*, who was in great credit with him, encouraged him in this notion of raising thereby an opinion of bravery among his own forces and his neighbours; and in order the better to refrain the insolency of the army, advised him to undertake an expedition against his enemies the *Persians* or *Poles*. And although *Amurat* inclined more against *Poland*, yet the *musti* endeavoured to persuade him first to recover *Babylon*, it being an eternal disgrace for the *Ottoman Porte* to give up so famous a city, whither the *Turks* make as solemn pilgrimages as the Christians do to *Jerusalem*. But sultan *Amurat* had a higher spirit, and resolved to attack both these enemies at once; nor would he slip the opportunity of king *Vladislaus* of *Poland's* being in war against the *Russians*. Accordingly he sent the vizir *Tabani Bujuk* over into *Asia* to raise an army against the *Persians*, at the head of which *Husref Passa* was to march against *Babylon*; *Amurat* himself went to *Adrianople*, from whence he design'd to march in person against *Poland*; however he sent *Abassa Mehemet Passa* before with sixty thousand men to take *Kaminieck Podolsky*,

but the said general was totally defeated by *Konitz Polski*; nor had *Husref Passa* better success against *Babylon*. Sultan *Murat* having thus miscarried in one of his designs, he was persuaded by *Szabin aga* to make peace with *Poland*; after which he marched in person with four hundred thousand men, first against *Jbrevan*, and then against *Babylon*, both which places he took by capitulation; the former in the year 1045. in the month of *Seffer*; the latter in the year 1048. in the month of *Szaban*, according to the *Turkish* way of computation (who begin to reckon their time from *Mahomet's* flight from *Mecca*, called by them *Hetzira*, and according to the change of the moon from new moon to new moon.) During these expeditions he had given orders by one of his eunuchs *Bessier aga* to the vizir *Bairam bassa* to make away with two of his brothers sultan *Soliman* and sultan *Achmet*, as also with the late emperor sultan *Mustafa*, who was in prison, lest they might occasion some insurrection during his absence; sultan *Mustafa* died the night before this order was to have been executed. The vizir being gone in to the two others to dispose them willingly to submit to death, the executioner came in soon after and laid the cord first about the vizir's neck (by mistake for want of knowing him;) and if those that stood before the door had not known the vizir by his voice, whilst he was struggling and calling out, he had been strangled first; but having escaped in this manner, the two youths were put to death. After this was done, the vizir *Kara Mustafa Passa* was left before *Babylon* with three hundred thousand men; but sultan *Murat* himself marched home again through *Mesopotamia* to *Constantinople* with a hundred thousand men, whereof upwards of thirty thousand perished by the way, partly of hunger and thirst, partly being torn to pieces by the lions.

With the remainder sultan *Murat* returned in the year 1049 victorious, and in great triumph to *Constantinople*, and at his arrival, caused two of his remaining younger brothers sultan *Bajazet* and sultan *Kasim* to be strangled; the third, sultan *Ibrahim*, who was the only one left, was spared upon his mother's intercession, he being simple and of no spirit, only given to love, so that there was nothing to be apprehended from him.

Being now returned to *Constantinople* in peace, he gave himself up to drinking night and day; during the night in company with one of his concubines an *Italian* woman, and in the day time with his favourites *Mucio Bustangi Passi*, *Deli Hussein Passi*, *Silichter Pascha*, and his physician

The *Turks* chronology.

Two of the emperor's brothers strangled.

The late emperor dies the night before the intended execution.

Two more of the emperor's brothers strangled.

His conduct after his return.

Hakin

*Hakin Passa*. Since the expedition of *Babylon* he had got a *Persian* with him named *Emirghione Ogli* a good poet and musician, who accustomed him to drink brandy and strong waters, the excessive use of which threw him soon after his arrival into a fever, of which he died after thirteen days illness in the 30<sup>th</sup> year of his age. When he saw death approaching, he called before him all his favourites, and made them promise, that as soon as he should have breathed his last, they would make away with themselves and all the servants of his household, that he might not go alone into the other world, but be waited on by them there also; but when he was dead, none of them cared to make good their promise.

Dies at the age of thirty of a fever, contracted by drinking too much brandy.

In the room of sultan *Murat*, his brother sultan *Ibrahim* was set up for emperor, who was naturally stupid; but as sultan *Murat* had left no sons himself, and had made away with his other brothers, there remained none of the male line of the *Ottoman* family to succeed, but he, however unfit he was for government, and *Kara Mustafa Passa* the *vizir* being a prudent man, and reflecting on the new emperor's incapacity as well as his inclination to women and all sorts of pleasures, and fearing lest his follies might prove obstructions to his carrying on the administration, he supplied the emperor with store of beautiful women, musicians, and other pleasures to which the emperor addicted himself so entirely, that he never thought of the government, but left it to the *vizir's* care. He had nine women given him for his lawful and principal wives, who were called *bassaki sultanas*, and were to serve him alternately, among whom was one named, on account of her beauty and agreeableness, *Szekepara* (as much as to say a bit of sugar) who gained the emperor's heart preferably to all others; and being a quick and cunning woman set the emperor upon many extravagancies. She brought it about that *Jussuf capitán bassa*, who returned victorious from *Candia*, lost his life, merely because he had brought her no presents; she made the emperor waste upon her and the other women the whole treasure which sultan *Murat* had heaped up, and distributed all offices in the empire among her favourites. And as their minds were always set upon something or other that was not to be had in the *seraglio*, they persuaded the emperor to oblige the *vizir* to get it, which not only was very difficult, but sometimes even impossible for him.

Sultan *Ibrahim* naturally stupid.

*Szekepara* his chief wife.

Her intrigues.

The *vizir* endeavours at a remedy,

The *vizir* at last remonstrated this to the emperor, and brought him so far, that he turned some of the women off, and only kept those whom the *vizir* recommended

to him. But it was not long before the emperor, wrought upon, partly by his former love, partly by their intrigues, took the same women again, who full of revenge gave the emperor all sorts of ill impressions against the *vizir*, so that he often treated him with very rough language; but dared not touch his life on account of the authority and credit he had. The women perceiving this tried another method, and made the emperor believe, that the *vizir* had some negromantick characters under his gown of sable fur, whereby he enchanted the emperor so as to be formidable to him. Some days after the *vizir* appeared in that gown again before the emperor, who fell into a great passion, called out and ordered *Bustanci Passi* to dispatch him. The *vizir* hearing this got on horseback, went out of the *seraglio* in full gallop, and as he went by the people that were gathered together on account of the *divan*, cried out fire! fire! to conceal the true reason of his flight, which frightened every one, and made them hasten homewards; but *Bustanci Passa* pursued him to his house and had him killed there. So this wise and able minister fell by the intrigues of these women, a man whom they still talk of with praise, in whose time not one bad *asper* was to be seen in *Constantinople*, which otherwise is but too common.

ROLAND, but in vain,

by reason of the women's intrigues,

and at last loses his life for it.

Sultan *Ibrahim's* mother tried all possible means to restore him to his senses by the help of physicians, but that proving ineffectual, she employed a forcerer called *Hussein Gingi Hogia* (*Hussein* means a master of spirits.) This was the man who should make the emperor wiser, and for that reason was night and day with him, which brought him into great credit and authority. But the emperor grew rather mad than better, and let this man govern according to his wild schemes, who deposed and set up *vizirs* as he liked, he taking for himself the employment of *cadi l'alkieri* of *Asia*, which is a great dignity among the *Turks*. But the emperor fell into still greater debaucheries and excesses with women; he was carried with his concubines in sedans all about the streets of *Constantinople* in broad day light, attended with pipes, drums, and all other sorts of noisy musick: he ordered the *vizir* to take care that no waggon should be seen in the streets that might hinder him in his furious rambles. The *vizir* accordingly made all possible regulations; notwithstanding which, it unluckily happened one day that the emperor met a country waggon in his way, laden with wood, which put him in such a fury, that he immediately sent for the *vizir* and stabbed him in the street

The emperor to be restored to his senses by physicians, but greweth worse under the hands of a forcerer.

Commits great excesses.

with

ROLAMB. with his own hand, leaving the corps naked for some days exposed to publick view. He made great and sumptuous nuptials for his daughters, whom he married one after another to some *basses*, tho' they were but two or three years of age. All diamonds, pearls and other jewels that were to be had in *Constantinople* he bought up, and gave them to his women: he sent to the shops of christian and jewish merchants for gold brocade and other precious goods in great quantities, without paying for them. All the amber that was to be found in *Constantinople* he bought up and eat it for a provocative like bread, which made that drug so dear in the city, that a hundred drachms of it cost above a thousand rixdollars, and at last grew so scarce that none was to be had; for the same purpose he sent all over the country to catch sparrows, of the brains of which he had pyes made.

A hundred drachms of amber cost in his time 1000 rixdollars.

He clothed all his concubines in sable furs.

Remonstrances made to the empress dowager.

He is dethroned, and his son made emperor.

If one wanted a great employment, an infallible way to obtain it, was to present the emperor with a handsome woman slave, but then the purchaser could keep it no longer till another gave him one more handsome, and so every month produced a shifting of places and employments. At last the emperor took it in his head to have all his concubines (who were some thousands) clothed in sable, and to hang even his apartments with that pretious fur; in order to which he commanded the vizir *Achmet Passa* to get a sufficient quantity of it; the vizir obeyed, and ordered that every body in *Constantinople*, who had a sable fur coat, should send it to the emperor. This falling hard upon the chief men of the empire, particularly on the officers of the *janizaries*, who would not willingly part with theirs, they grew mutinous; and one *Murat aga* who had lately been disgusted by the vizir, and deposed from his office of *janizar aga*, took the resolution to remonstrate to the empress dowager, to the *musti*, to *Abdu Rabim Effendi*, to *Mulki Kadi* a favourite lady of the empress dowager, and to *Behtasz aga*, lately made *janizar aga*, how unfit the emperor was for government, and what would be the consequences of his continuing longer in it. This had so much effect, that it was resolved by the foresaid persons, in conjunction with the *janizaries*, to dethrone sultan *Ibrahim*, and to raise his eldest son sultan *Mehemet* to the imperial dignity in his stead; who as he was but a child, the empress dowager his grandmother by the father's side was to have the guardianship over him till he was seventeen years of age. And tho' the *spabis* of *Constantinople* opposed this design, yet the *janizaries* being strongest

in number, and having the empress dowager and the *musti* on their side, the latter party prevailed. So they proceeded to execution, and first deposed the vizir *Achmet Passa*, filling his place with *sopbi Mehemet Passa*, otherwise called *Kogia Vizir*. They next went into the *seraglio*, and upon a sentence pronounced by the *musti*, seized Sultan *Ibrahim*, and put him into an iron cage, the same in which formerly *Tamerlan* had kept sultan *Bajazet*. This was done the more quietly, because *Abdu Rabman Capi Agasi* had been also brought over, and consequently the *Izoglans*, and others of the court servants, were kept in awe in their own rooms. The women seeing their protector fallen from his grandeur, and prognosticating but too well what would be their fate, raised heavy cries and lamentations; accordingly 800 of his concubines, besides the women slaves were turned out of doors at once, some of them were strangled, and others exiled; *Szekepara* was sent to *Grand Cairo*, where she died miserably. Their gold, jewels, and all their precious furniture, of which they had not only chests but even whole rooms and houses full, were sold at *Constantinople* for half the value.

Is put into an iron cage.

Lamentations among the women, who are involved in the execution.

This made sultan *Ibrahim*, who before was but stupid, at length run quite mad; he roared and cried night and day, that no body in the *seraglio* could have rest, till some days after the vizir took him out of the said cage, brought him into a room, so as he was, without a cap, breeches, and barefooted, and had him strangled there by two old seamen, of whom there are 24 in the *seraglio*, who being by age disabled for rowing, are employed there in sweeping the rooms, his corps being afterwards carried out, and laid in the palace yard, all the eunuchs came, according to custom, to fling their *turbans* upon and about the corps, which was at last carried into *Sophia* church, and buried there near that of sultan *Mustafa*, who in his time had been no wiser than this emperor.

Is strangled.

Buried in *Sophia* church.

Sultan *Mehemet* hearing that his father was strangled (for it was done unknown to him) wept and lamented very much, till at last the empress and the vizir with much ado comforted him.

Sultan *Mehemet*.

He was afterwards brought to the mosque of *Eiub*, in the year 1058, according to the *Turkish* chronology, and there, after many prayers, and burning of frankincense, the *musti* hung to his side the sword of their prophet *Ali*, and stuck a hern feather in his *turban*, which is all the ceremony of their inauguration. Thus sultan *Mehemet Han* succeeded his father, who for his extravagancies and lust was taken

Ceremonies of the *Turkish* emperor's inauguration.



taken off the same year, in the imperial dignity, in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of his age, his grandmother *Bujuk Valide*, sultan *Achmet's* dowager, and mother to sultan *Murat* and sultan *Ibrahim* being appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire.

Tumult betwixt the janizaries and *spabi's*.

Immediately after this change, a tumult arose between the *janizaries* and the *spabi's* of *Constantinople*; the latter alledged that they had not consented to sultan *Ibrahim's* death; and having engaged in their party all the *Izoglans* out of the two imperial seraglio's at *Pera* and *Atmeidan*, they called loudly for having all those punished who had been the cause of sultan *Ibrahim's* death; the *janizar* officers endeavoured to appease the tumult by fair means, but in vain; and one of their *forbaci*, i. e. colonels, who set up for mediator, was killed by the *spabi's*. The consequence was, that both parties at last came to a pitched battle near *Atmeidan*, in which, after a sharp engagement the *spabi's* were put to flight, and upwards of one thousand men kill'd on both sides, but most on that of the *spabi's*, some of whom were cut off even in sultan *Achmet's* mosque, whither they had fled; and others wherever the *janizaries* met with them. Thus was this emotion appeas'd for this time, being the first since sultan *Mebemet's* accession to the government. But the *spabi's* were rather irritated herewith than suppress'd; for those of *Asia* and *Europe* were not concerned in this affair, but only those of *Constantinople*; on the other hand, the authority of the *janizaries* increased more and more, and the old *janizar aga* mentioned before, who was the author of sultan *Ibrahim's* death, was made *vizir*.

A sharp fight.

The empress dowager governs two years.

Now the state was in peace for two years, and the empress dowager being a woman of spirit and sense, both on account of her own natural parts, and of the long experience of her years, governed during that time well and peaceably, till the young dowager *Seni Valide* (i. e. the emperor's mother) began to suspect, that she would consent to the death of sultan *Ibrahim* her own son, might at last practise against her grandson's life also; for which there was the more appearance, because the old empress had a good understanding with the *janizaries*, and bore an ill will to the young empress dowager, whilst on the other side she much caressed the mother of the emperor's younger brother sultan *Soliman*, a youth of a much better look and shape than the eldest. These considerations made the young empress dowager seek her security and support among the *spabi's* of *Asia*, who were easily drawn into her interest, as being highly provok'd at the disgraceful rencounter with the *janizaries*; so

that they only waited for an opportunity to be revenged. For the main power of the *Turkish* empire is in the hands of these two bodies, which keep one another as it were in balance; so that if one begins to outweigh the other in credit, the opposite party immediately sets up for a counter-balance. An emperor's greatest skill and security consists in keeping this balance; and in case both parties grow too powerful in playing one against the other to both their ruin; which maxim indeed has been tried, but seldom with success before this present *vizir's* time, of whose artful management in this point mention shall be made hereafter.

The young dowager therefore endeavoured to gain over to her interest the *spabi's*, and some *bassas* and *begs*, who had formerly been employed in the seraglio, by representing to them the insolence of the *janizaries*, and insinuating, that they in concert with the sultane *Valide*, were set upon destroying the *spabi's*, unless they took care to prevent them in time. This wrought so readily upon the *spabi's*, that they rose up in arms, and marched with a great force under the conduct of an old renowned commander of theirs *Gurgi Nebi* to *Scudari*, a city situate over against *Constantinople* on the *Asiatick* side, under the pretence of revenging sultan *Ibrahim's* death: But as all those who were the authors of it, maintained a good understanding with the *janizaries*, and that the *vizir Murat passa's* credit among them was almost absolute, this revolt of the *spabi's* was soon suppress'd, through the *vizir's* capacity, and the power of the *janizaries*, without much bloodshed. For tho' the *vizir* met them near *Scudari* with a great army of *janizaries*, yet he first sent the *Cadi l'Askieri*, or chief judge of *Asia*, to dissuade them from giving occasion to the spilling of *Mussulmens* blood, and to enforce his admonition with threats, in case they persisted. Accordingly this method proved effectual; for after some slight skirmishes in which the *spabi's* were worsted, they relented, and every one went to his own home again. This success raised the spirits of the *janizaries* still more and more, and particularly increased the insolence of their commander *Beftasz aga*, who besides, was the old empress's favourite, and of his adherents *Kut Kbiabaja* and *Kara Chiaus*, who were rich men, and of great credit. The hatred also which the old empress dowager bore to the younger, grew the more violent, as she was inform'd, that the latter had been the occasion of the late tumult, in order to ruin her. She therefore began to contrive how to dethrone the emperor by the help of the *janizaries*,

ROLAMB:  
The main power of the Turkish empire is in the hands of the *spabi's* and *janizaries*.

*Cadi l'Askieri* the chief judge of *Asia*.

*Beftasz aga*, commander of the *janizaries*.

ROLAMB. *nizaries*, and to set his younger brother sultan *Soliman* upon the throne, in order the better to secure her own authority, without being any more controuled by any one; for sultan *Soliman's* mother being lately dead, the inspection over him seemed to devolve upon her alone. To bring this about, she thought the more easy, because the *spabi's* being reduced so low, the *janizaries* carried all before them, and with them she could do what she pleas'd by the means of *Beftasz* their *aga*, whose insolence was come to that degree, that he pretended to overrule even the *vizir*; and as *Murat bassa* above-mentioned, who otherwise was in high esteem, had refused him some small request, he, by the help and authority of the old empress, had him turned out of that high post, and *Melech Achmet passa* put in his room, who was a quiet and simple man, whom he could lead at his own will. But this invincible power of theirs which they imagined so well rivetted, that *Beftasz* used publickly to say, that before any man should take off his head, so many other heads should fly first, as would make a heap as high as *St. Sophia's* church, suffered a terrible shock from a quarter where it was least expected. For *Beftasz* making his credit subservient to his avarice, had bad aspers coined at *Belgrade*, which he forced upon the common people, by making them change the adulterated coin for their ducats, which he put into his own coffers. This caused an insurrection, which began at *Constantinople* in a quarter of the town call'd *Sarabechana*, where their taverns are; the common people of the whole city having gathered there in a few hours, went to the *musti*, and to *Nakib effendi*, (the head of *Mahomet's* family, a great dignity among them) whom they forced along with them to the seraglio, desired to speak with the emperor, made their complaints to him, and insisted on another *vizir's* being named, he who then filled that post not being fit to govern, as being a tool and underling of *Beftasz aga*.

*Capi aga* and *Kissar aga*, the chief officers of the emperor's household (the latter hath the command over all women and *Moors*, and the former over all men in the seraglio) found this fair opportunity to ruin *Beftasz aga*, and to establish the emperor upon the throne, and therefore encouraged the emperor, not to let it slip, but to get the common people on his side, and set them on against the *janizaries*. Accordingly the *vizir Melech Achmet passa* was sent for, and immediately deposed from his office in the sight of the people, and *Cbiaus passa* put in his place, who former-

ly had been sultan *Murat's* armour-bearer, a man of good understanding and courage. So the people were for this time appeased and satisfied. But *Beftasz* and his adherents perceiving too well, that *Cbiaus passa* would not be a man for their turn; and yet not daring to oppose these measures for fear of the people, dissimulated, in hopes that either they might gain him over, or find out means to put him out of the way. In order therefore to hinder the *vizir* from stirring up the people again, and subjecting the old empress together with himself to the same peril, he ordered his *janizaries* carefully to hinder any further meeting among the inhabitants; so that whenever any two were found to talk together either walking or standing, they were clapt up in prison, and the most eminent among them were secured on various pretences, in order to frighten the others from assisting the new *vizir* upon occasion.

The emperor assisted by the *vizir* on the other side, designing insensibly to remove out of the way those three heads of the *janizaries*, ordered *Bustanci passa*, that when *Cutchia Hajasi* should come to the *divan*, according to custom, he should meet him and dispatch him at any rate: But the old empress having information of this design, terrified *Bustanci passa*, so that he dared not to put it in execution. With these cabals the animosity between the two empresses was carried to the highest pitch; and as the younger, together with the *vizir*, laboured to maintain the emperor's person and authority, the elder with the *aga* of the *janizaries* endeavoured with all their might to establish their own, which could not be done, unless the emperor was dethroned, and his brother sultan *Soliman* set up in his place, as I mentioned before. In order to bring this about, *Beftasz* call'd a *divan* together, to be held in *Orta Giami*, i. e. the *janizaries* mosque, where there was a numerous assembly of their clergy, as well as laymen, who made appearance, some as being of *Beftasz's* party, others as being awed by his credit, who durst not stay away: Only the *vizir Cbiaus passa* was yet wanting; but he was sent for at midnight, with an intent either to make him consent to their scheme, or, in case of refusal, to kill him there on the spot. The *vizir*, though fully sensible of the great danger he would expose himself to if he went, and of the indignity offered to his person, he by his employment having solely the power of convoking a *divan*, and this no where except in the seraglio, or in his own house: Nevertheless, being a man of sense, and of an undaunted spirit, he went with a

Which he secretly tries to ward off.

With the assistance of the old empress.

The hatred betwixt both empresses encreases.

*Beftasz* convokes a *divan*.

And sends for the *vizir*, who otherwise has the sole power of calling one.

His insolencies.

Coins bad aspers.

Which occasions tumult and complaints against him.

his ruin intended.

small

small attendance to the said assembly, where he found 10000 *janizaries* drawn up in arms before the mosque, with burning matches. However, he proceeded and entered their assembly, tho' *Beſtaſz* neither met him, nor yielded the upperhand to him; of all which he took no notice, but temporized. Having heard their proposition, concerning the election of sultan *Soliman*, he returned an answer, as if he was very well pleased with it, commending them for the zeal they shewed for the welfare of the *Muſſulmen*, and took an oath upon their alcoran, that he would always be true to their party, and assist them in the execution of their design. With this *Beſtaſz* was satisfy'd, not so much that he really gave credit to the *vizir's* promise, and relied on his friendship, but rather in confidence of his own power, imagining, that though the *vizir* might have a mind to oppose him, he would not be able to do it in so short a time; for the next day was appointed for the execution of the resolution they had taken in the *Kalaba divan*. Towards evening the *vizir* left them, and repaired to his own house; where having staid some hours, he, with two persons more, went to the emperor's seraglio through a back door called *Iron Gate*, having had information, that the old empress intended to retire that night out of the seraglio, on account of the disturbances that were to be expected the next day, and to secure her own person among the *janizaries*. The *vizir* coming to the said gate, found it open, contrary to what is usual, *Buſtanci paſſa* having ordered it so, at the old empress's direction; but the *vizir* had it shut up, and went to the emperor's bed-chamber (called *Haram*) where he met *Soleiman Kiſlar aga*, who perceiving a candle burning in the old empress's apartment, contrary to custom; and being at a loss what to think of it, was not gone to bed: His fears increased, when he saw the *vizir* coming so privately, and in the dark. But upon the *vizir's* acquainting him with the whole transaction, and his own intentions, he soon recovered his fright, and, at the *vizir's* desire, went in, and ordered the young empress and the emperor to be waked, and conducted by some eunuchs out of their own rooms into the old empress's apartment, where she was sitting and amusing herself with vocal and instrumental musick. Her chief door-keeper *Baſz Capa Oglan* endeavouring to lock the door against him, he killed him with his *ganzar* or dagger, and with his eunuchs who had their daggers also drawn (for those are the usual arms of the *Turks*, who wear no sabres, except in war, or

on their travels) rushed in upon the old empress, seized her, and put her into a safe room under a close guard. This being done, the *vizir* and the said *Kiſlar aga* went into the emperor's apartment, and by signs bid the women who watched there, to wake the emperor and the empress; which accordingly they did, without speaking one word, also by signs only (for at the *Turkiſh* court it is the general custom to converse chiefly by signs; one seldom hears a word spoken, and they are so perfect in this practice, that they are able to tell stories, and to understand one another, as well as if they talked together, thinking that this silent way of conversing adds to the veneration of the place.) The emperor and his mother hearing of the design that was upon the anvil, were extremely disturbed, particularly the empress, who having but lately lost her husband, was now seized with new apprehensions what would become of her son; the emperor being but a child, was frightened at his mother's desponding behaviour, and fell crying and lamenting at the *Kiſlar aga's* feet, saying, *La, la, la, Kurtar ben*, i. e. My guardian protect me. The *vizir* comforted them the best he could, and took the emperor with him to a part of the seraglio call'd *Hazoda*, where his gentlemen of the bedchamber have their room; there are forty of them in number, who are afterwards advanced to the dignity of *paſſas*, and other high offices, and are called *Hazodali*, from the place where they dwell. In these mens hands it was that the *vizir* and *Kiſlar aga* put the emperor, from whom he had in the mean time taken an order, by virtue of which he deprived *Buſtanci paſſa* of his office (which is the inspection over all *buſtanci's* and *seraglios*) and appointed another in his place; he farther sent for all *buſtanci's*, of whom there are always about 500 in the seraglio, who take care of the gates and apartments; those he put under a new oath of fidelity, and sent them back to their posts, to guard all avenues and gates. All these precautions having been taken with so much tranquillity, that all the people of the household, who lay in the adjoining rooms, knew nothing of what passed, the *vizir* gave orders to *Capı aga* to rouse and arm all the *Izoglans*, who are about 1000 in number, all young and stout fellows. He himself went to all the other rooms, where any of the court's attendants lay, had them all armed, and ordered them to keep in readiness, yet every one in their respective rooms, and without any noise. The emperor continuing his cries and lamentations, as not knowing but that he was to be sacrificed,

ROLAMB.  
Secures the old empress.

The conversation at the *Turkiſh* court is by signs.

Provides for the emperor's safety.

The *vizir* acquaints the emperor with what passes.

ROLAMB.  
Comforts  
him.

crificed, the *vizir* had him carried before a window of the said room to shew him how all the people were ready for his defence. But it happened contrary to his intentions, that an *Izoglan* seeing him from one of their rooms, call'd *Bujuk Oda*, knew the emperor, and immediately called out *Hakta ala padifza himafe*, &c. which is their *Vive le roi*, or, God save the king, to which all the others answered, *allab, allab*; and this cry running round through all the apartments of the seraglio, was the beginning of the alarm and confusion that ensued.

Summons  
all *passas*  
and *begs*  
to the seraglio.

The *vizir* had overnight immediately sent orders into the city of *Constantinople*, to all the *passas* and *begs*, to appear in the seraglio with as many men as they could gather, each of them provided with provisions for three days; which was done accordingly: So that before day break, not only both outer palace yards, but even the gardens and the streets adjoining to the seraglio, as far as the large place *Aik Meidan*, i. e. horse market, where the three ancient columns stand, were filled up with troops, and all night long the seraglio was supplied with ammunition by water, from *Galata* and *Toptfana*. About day-break the *janizaries* also grew aware of what passed in the seraglio, and therefore with *Beftafz* at their head prepared themselves also. When it was day-light, and they saw a multitude of citizens, and of the mob gathering towards the seraglio, knowing that they had not called them, and conscious of the ill will they must bear them on account of the insolencies they had for some time suffered from them, the *janizaries* made large promises to the *Greeks*, *Albanians* and other Christians, that if they would side with them, they should be freed from the *baradz*, (i. e. the tribute which the Christians pay to the *Turks*) and be admitted to employments, distributing withal great sums of money among them. By these means the *janizaries* gained a great many people over to their side; so that even the city itself became divided into two parties, one holding with the emperor, and the other with the *janizaries*. All that was done hitherto in the seraglio, had been conducted with good order and quietly, all the different ranks of the household keeping in their rooms, only waiting for the emperor's orders, and leaving the rest to the *vizir's* and the *Kislar aga's* disposition: But after they had said their first morning prayers, which is always done at break of day, and is call'd *Sabanamafi*, the *Baltazi's* (who are about 200 in number, all choice men, strong, brisk, and of a full size, who are armed with battle-axes, and serve as a

*Aik Meidan* the horse market, where the three ancient columns stand.

The tribute which the Christians pay to the *Turks*.

The city divided into two parties.

The *Turks* first morning prayers is at day-break.

guard for the women) began an alarm, calling the *Izoglans* to come out of their rooms and follow them. The *Izoglans* are divided into two partitions, one is of 5 or 600 men, whose quarters are called *Bujuk Oda*, the other consists of 400 men, and is called *Kutzuk Oda*. These issued forth immediately, and went with the *Baltazi's* directly to the hall of the forty *Hazodali's*, where the emperor was. There they met one of the old empress's favourite eunuchs, whose name was *Has Odabassi*, whom they first attacked with words, and upon his offering to reply, went to seize him; he escaped however, and hastened to save himself among the *Bustanci's*, but they cut off his passage, and were going to dispatch him, when upon his request they allowed him as much time as to be brought first before the emperor, in order to deliver to him his seal, and the key of his wardrobe. He had scarcely given both to the emperor, and was going to say something in his own defence, when one of the *Izoglans* lifted up his battle-ax, and cleaved his head in two, that he fell before the emperor's feet; then the others fell upon him, and cut him into so small pieces, that even a watch and some ducats he had in his pockets were cut to bits; the pieces of the corps were afterwards gathered upon a carpet, and carried away. The emperor being young, was so extremely frightened at this proceeding, that he cried; but these people being once grown furious, nothing was capable to check or awe them, amidst the confused noise of so many different languages, for they were all renegadoes of divers countries, *Albanians*, *Circassians*, *Bosnians*, *Italians*, *Frenchmen*, *Poles*, &c. It is to be observed here by the way, that in the emperor's seraglio native *Turks* are seldom employed, but only foreign renegadoes, ever since sultan *Soliman's* time, who made this regulation on a trifling occasion, which was, that one of his pages a *Turk*, serving him drink in a cup, kept the handle in his own hand, no other being left for the emperor to take hold of; another page who was a renegado immediately presented another cup to the emperor with the handle turned towards him, which pleased the emperor so well, that he would never after employ any *Turk* in his service at court, which maxim prevails to this day; though the chief reason of it is, perhaps, because the *Turks* are too insolent, high spirited and seditious to be trusted. To proceed, this medley of nations however agreed in one point, which was the making away with the old empress. The *musti* chancing to get among them, wished himself indeed far off, being unwilling to pronounce

Repartition of the *Izoglans*.

*Has Odabassi* the emperor's eunuch.

His head split in two.

*Turks* seldom employed in the seraglio.

The chief reason of it.

the sentence over her (which in the like cases is always necessary to precede) but they threatned him, that if he would not pass the sentence immediately, they would use him in the same manner as they had done another, whose corps they had just before carried away.

The emperor's mother gets among the mutineers.

During this parley with the *mufti*, the emperor's mother being under the greatest apprehensions for her son's life, came running out of her room in a mask, and reproved the mutineers for their insolence; but they in their madness and rage, taking her for the old empress, were going to lay violent hands on her, and would certainly have destroyed her, had not she saved herself by falling at the emperor's feet, who thereupon made signs to them with his handkerchief, crying out, *Gberi duriniz, gberi duriniz*, i. e. fall back; and so the mutineers finding who she was, kept off.

The *mufti's* sentence against the old empress.

This alarm being thus over, they returned upon the *mufti*, who thought it not adviseable to use any more delays; but said, it was the will of GOD, that the old empress should be delivered into their hands; which sentence he wrote upon a paper, and gave it to them; with this and the emperor's orders in writing, they sent some of their own party to the room where the old empress was shut up, who went thither, carrying both papers aloft before them. Going through the apartments, they met the empress's fool, a woman, who being asked, whether she was the old empress? answered, Yes; and at the same time fired a pistol at them, which did but flash in the pan; with this they seized on her, and would have strangled her for the old empress, had not *Kislar aga* chanced to come in, and told them who she was; after which he himself conducted them into the room where the old empress was; but they not finding her there immediately, (for she had hid herself in a loft among a heap of bolsters) they were near killing the said *Kislar aga*, for having deceived them as they thought. But he desiring them first to look better about, one of the *Izoglans* climbed up to the loft, and there found her hid in a bolster among the cotton, with which it was stuffed. When she saw herself discovered, she took her hands full of ducats, and threw them on the ground, in hopes, that he who was got up in quest of her, would leap down after the money, and leave her an opportunity of slipping out of their hands. But the said *Izoglan*, named *Deli Dograndi*, little minding the money, pulled her by the feet down upon the floor, where his companions, like so many birds of prey, surrounded her, tore off her clothes, which she had all over sewed full of gold, pearls

Who being shut up in a room,

hid herself among bolsters.

and diamonds, particularly a gown of sable fur, which she had stuck full of ducats; all which they cut into pieces, and divided among themselves. She had a pair of diamond ear rings about her, which her late lord sultan *Achmet* had given her, being bought for a year's revenue of *Grand Cairo*, these one of the *Izoglans* named *Ali Bostanci* got for his share; there were likewise necromantick characters found upon her, and among others a padlock of a particular make, with the interwoven names of sultan *Murat* and sultan *Ibrahim*; by the means of which she was said to have enchanted those princes. After they had stript her quite naked, even without leaving any linen upon her, they dragg'd her by the feet into the palace yard, and there strangled her. Whilst the fellow who was to perform the execution, was struggling with her, she snatched his finger in her mouth, and bit it with her gums (for age had not left one tooth in her head, she being then 80 years old) with such force, that he was very near losing it. When they had thus made an end of her, as they thought, seeing no farther signs of life in her, they all left her, and ran to acquaint the emperor with this expedition. But they were hardly gone a few steps off, when she reared herself up again, and look'd about where to fly to, which being observed by some others, they call'd the *Izoglans* back, and shewed them that they had but little skill in that trade; whereupon they set about it a second time, and did not give over till they were sure there was no life left in her.

ROLAMB.

Her diamond earrings bought for a year's revenue of Grand Cairo.

Stript naked, dragged by the feet into the palace yard and strangled.

80 years of age.

Thus the emperor's greatest enemy, who was the cause and spring of all these disturbances, aiming at no less than the taking away his crown and his life, was put out of the way; and consequently the faction of *Beftasz* and his *janizaries*, as good as half quashed. To finish all, the *vizir* immediately sent for *Mabomet's* banner out of the treasury, where it is kept as their *palladium*, and a sacred relic; it being a tradition among them, that it was brought by the angel *Gabriel* to *Mabomet*, at a time when he was engaged in a heavy war against the Christians, for a preface of victory: it is never made use of, except in the greatest extremities, on which occasion, all that are above seven years of age, and will be reputed good *Mussulmen*, i. e. faithful, ought to repair under this banner, on pain, in case of failure, of being deemed *Giaur*, i. e. infidels, who are fallen off from their belief. This banner was delivered to the *baltazi's*, who carried it to the populace, and set it up among them, calling out *Allah, Allah*. The *vizir* also sent heralds through all the streets of *Constantinople*, to proclaim the heavenly banner

*Mabomet's* banner brought out of the treasury,

called the heavenly banner.

**ROLAME.** banner (as they call it) being set up, and to summon all *Mussulmen* to repair to their duty. This caused such a concourse of people, even of children and decrepit old men, that it was with much difficulty they could keep their women at home; those who had no arms took sticks, stones, and what else they first could seize on, and went to range themselves under the banner.

Repartition of the janizaries

The report of the old emperors's death, as well as of *Mabomet's* banner being set up, soon reached also the streets where the *janizaries* were assembled: they are divided into two quarters, the first is called *elki odalar*, i. e. the old house, where one half of their body was then with their officers; the other is called *jeni odalar*, the new house, in which was the other half with *Beftasz* himself and his counsellors. He and his faction made no account of that pretended religious duty, but knowing that his life was at stake, advised his followers to fall upon those who had ranged themselves under the banner, before their number increased too much, and after having defeated them, to attack the emperor's seraglio; the better to forward which design, they might fire the city in different places, which would draw the inhabitants from the banner, in order to save their own houses and goods. This scheme might have succeeded, had it not been for those of the old house, who, swayed by a religious principle, made a scruple of conscience to let private interest prevail over the duty of their belief and the concerns of their souls, and thus to render themselves for ever unworthy of the name of *Mussulmen*; besides that, their wives, children and goods were dispersed in several parts of the city; so this project of setting it on fire was rejected. *Beftasz* however with his party was preparing himself for an attack, and had sent orders to the same effect to the old house, to be enforced with distributing money among them, when he received advice, that the *janizaries* of the old house had thrown down their arms, and were gone over to *Mabomet's* banner, after having returned for answer to those who were come with *Beftasz's* orders and money; *Verenda kiafir alanda kiafir*, i. e. he that sends them is an infidel. At the same time arrived a *chiaus* from the seraglio, sent by the *vizir* to *Beftasz* and his followers, who in the name of the emperor said: *Hazratin sangi agbi altuina git meien kendi kiafir we awreti bosz*, i. e. he that does not repair to the holy banner is an infidel, and his wife is divorced from him. The *chiaus* having pronounced these words and thrown a paper before their feet, hastened back with all possible speed. Upon reading the paper

*Beftasz* makes counter-preparations,

without success.

they found these words: Thee, *Beftasz aga*, I have appointed *passa* of *Burcia*, and thee *Kara chiaus* I have appointed *capitan passa*, and thee *Kutchiabaja* I have appointed *passa* of *Temiswar*, and thee *Kara Hassan* I have appointed *janizar aga*, on penalty of death and confiscation of all goods, if every one of you doth not immediately repair to his employment. At this all the *janizaries* of the new house called out, *Daima emiz padis zab ijn olfun*, i. e. the emperor's reign be for ever; and so they all to one man and without any order ran to the said banner. *Kara Hassan* who was named for *janizar aga*, went to the seraglio to the emperor, and received of him his *kaftan* in confirmation of his new employment; after which he proceeded to his *janizaries* under the banner. Thus the great power of *Beftasz* being vanished in one moment, and he finding himself with his two colleagues *Kutchiabaja* and *Kara chiaus* quite destitute, conscious at the same time what destiny would attend them, they were trying to save themselves by flight. But *Beftasz* was forthwith seized, set upon a mule, and in scorn and derision carried to the seraglio and there strangled; after he was dead, they plucked out his beard, and sent to every one of his friends in the city a hair of it for a present, and a memorandum of their triumph. The other two were also overtaken in the country and killed. The rest of the ill affected who had any credit, being thirty eight in number, all of them *czorbadzi* and *odabassi*, i. e. colonel-like officers among the *janizaries*, were afterwards also privately and in the night-time made away with by the *vizir's* order.

His great power is at an end.

Is seized and strangled.

Thus this sedition, which seemed very near overthrowing the whole *Ottoman* establishment, was through the *vizir's* prudent conduct quashed, without great bloodshed, the emperor with his mother were saved, and the pride of the *janizaries* crushed, so that there was all reasonable prospect of a lasting tranquillity. However, it was not long before a *passa*, named *Ipsir passa*, began a new alarm in *Natolia* with an army of the *Spabi's* of *Asia* consisting of thirty or forty thousand men, whom he had gained over to his side, and roved with them over the country, laying one town after another under contribution, and even *Aleppo*, which place he blocked up for some time, till it submitted also. Many and heavy complaints were brought before the emperor against him, but there was no remedy to be expected from main force; on the contrary, the emperor being at last apprehensive lest *Ipsir passa* might turn his arms against himself, was obliged to care for him; and, in order to soften him, send him

The sedition appeared with which the *Ottoman* state seemed threatened.

*Ipsir passa* begins a new alarm.

Is cared for by the emperor.

him his seal with the offer of the title *lala*, i. e. *guardian* (which in effect was making him *vizir guardian*, being the usual term the emperor makes use of in talking with his *vizir*.) This offer took with *Ipsir passa*, who came to *Constantinople* and took possession of his new post of *vizir*, and soon began to make away with one *passa* after the other, part of whose estates he conveyed into the emperor's coffers, and the rest into his own; in which proceedings none durst oppose him, he having the *spabi's* near him and at his beck, all the streets and corners of *Constantinople* being filled with them. However, the grandees of *Constantinople* combined at last, and on a certain evening having every one invited his company of *spabi's* to his house, they told them so much, as at length to talk them into an aversion to the *vizir*; from thence they went and offered the direction of their design to *Murat*, *capitan passa*, who being upon ill terms with the *vizir* readily accepted of it, and managed the business so dexterously, that the next day the *spabi's* and *janizaries* having made an insurrection, the emperor was forced to give them the *vizir Ipsir passa's* head, though much against his will, the *vizir* having greatly insinuated himself into the emperor's favour by furnishing him with money; and as it seemed to them that the *musti* had been in the *vizir's* interest, they stript him of all and pillaged his house, obliging the emperor to fill the *vizir's* place with *Murat passa*. But after three months it was over with him too, and he was sent to *Damascus* and poisoned on the road.

This tumult was hardly appeased when another arose, which was occasioned by the mismanagement of the emperor's own and most trusty minister: for soon after the *spabi's* and *janizaries* reunited and made a common cause in complaining among themselves, that their pay was made to them in base money, the emperor's treasurers causing bad *aspers* to be coined underhand, when the troops were to be paid, putting them in purses filled more than half with that bad coin; this wrought at last a strict union between those two bodies, who chose an old renowned *spabi Affan aga* for their leader, and unexpectedly went to the seraglio, demanding to speak with the emperor himself. He was obliged to comply and shew himself from a high room near the outermost gate of the seraglio, called *ali tiokk*, when the said *Affan aga*, in the name of all, represented their grievances to the emperor. The blame was laid upon *Kislar aga*, as also on some *Moors* and eunuchs, who were the emperor's greatest favourites (called *musba-*

*hip*) whom they insisted to have delivered out for punishment; how gratefully soever this might sound in the emperor's ears, yet there was no denying them; accordingly he ordered *Kislar aga* to be strangled first, and then with seven others to be thrown over the wall to them; their bodies they hung all together on a tree, and mangled them with cutting the flesh from their bones; nor would this satisfy them yet, but they demanded also a lady, called *Mulkikadin* the empress's favourite, who being delivered also, they hung her by the feet on the same tree. Though by the death of these persons the tumult was so far laid, yet *Affan aga* with his followers still went on to commit several other outrages, and took it in his head to turn all the Jews out of *Constantinople* (where there were above twenty thousand) and to divide their goods and daughters among themselves. But this design was prevented by some of the most discreet among them; and after the abovementioned *vizir Chiaus passa* was come to *Constantinople*, the emperor by his advice sent for *Affan aga* to the *divan*, as if he intended to speak with him, who presuming that all former transactions were now forgotten, went securely thither, but ended his life there under the sabres by the emperor's order: and so there was also an end of this sedition.

After this manner, one sedition being quelled, another broke out during the minority of sultan *Mebemet*; and though since that time he was free from tumults and rebellions, yet upon the whole, the *Turkish* empire struggled with great fatalities during his reign, not only with relation to the abovesaid revolts, but also ever after through a continual series of disasters in the war with the *Venetians*; for besides the several battels the *Turks* lost from time to time at sea, immense numbers of their men perished in *Candia*, they were forced to suffer the *Venetians* to come almost within sight of their capital, and take from them one strong island after another in the *Archipelago*, whereby all communication with, and supplies from *Egypt* and other parts of *Africa* were cut off. This began to occasion a mean opinion of sultan *Mebemet*, to whose ill fortune they attributed all their adversities, and at my arrival the publick talk ran very hard against him upon that account, so that upon the least unlucky turn and new disgrace in their publick affairs he stood in great hazard of a revolution. However, the treachery of the *Turkish* ministry was the true cause of the good success of the *Venetians*, of whom they took bribes and managed affairs accordingly to the advantage of the enemy. This management went on during the administration

Obtains the employment of *vizir*;

but soon killed.

*Murat passa* in his stead made *vizir*, and afterwards banish'd to *Damascus*. A new tumult occasioned by base coin.

ROLAMB.

Appeased by the execution of the coiners,

and of *Mulkikadin* the empress's favourite.

Above 20000 Jews in *Constantinople*.

Troubles in sultan *Mebemet's* minority.

Continual losses from the *Venetians*,

occasioned by the treachery of the *Turkish* ministry.

ROLAMV. ministrations of the several *vizirs*, who were corrupted one after the other by the intrigues and management of the *French* ambassador, till this present *vizir Coprili Mehemet passa*, who being possessed with a true zeal for his sovereign's reputation, and the interest of the *Turkish* empire, scorns to be tempted with their money. The emperor till now had been a child, and consequently was not able to judge how publick affairs were managed; but the *vizir* let him into the reasons why the *Venetians* had till then made such progress against his empire; after which he had the corrupted ministers dispatched out of the way, and highly affronted the *French* ambassador, for having made himself so mean as to be employed by them, calling him publickly a traitor, and sending his interpreter to prison for some months. He next went and assisted at the campaign of last year in person, recovered the islands in the *Archipelago*, which the *Venetians* had made themselves masters of, and took such measures that their numerous and powerful fleet was obliged to return home with shame. This conduct had the effect, that the emperor was restored to a better opinion among his subjects, and has now as much established his throne, as it was tottering before on the least unlucky incident. For the bad aspect affairs bore last summer, occasioned those frequent and unusual devotions at *Constantinople*, every time the *vizir* near the *Dardanel*s was on some enterprize or other, when the emperor himself went either to *Ejub's mosque*, or to *Okmeidan*, to pass whole nights in devotion, attended thither with excessive acclamations, whilst some hundreds of boats that went up and down the canal, answered with an equal noise. As to the *vizir*, his credit with the emperor grew to such a height, that he now respects him as a father; and indeed he is a man of good natural parts in their own way, and of great experience by reason of his age; but his behaviour is rough and tyrannical, which is what creates him the esteem of the *Turks*. The readiness of his wit makes him govern well, and his cruelty awes those who might otherwise plot against his life. When he came into the administration, the *spabi's* had great authority, which they used with such licentiousness, as may be judged from the abovementioned transactions; he therefore made it his first care to insinuate himself with the *janizaries*, and then to make away with about four or five hundred of the chief men among the *spabi's*, who he was afraid were preparing new broils; and this he had executed in the night time, as privately and with as little noise as was possible. But last sum-

mer when he was going to take the field, he grew apprehensive of their revenge, and with reason, for they had already several times mutinied in the camp before *Constantinople*, which once went so far, that they seized and carried him before the emperor, demanding his life, which however was spared at the emperor's own intercession: he therefore tried another method, which was to reconcile himself with part of them by dint of money, and to send the greater number, viz. the *spabi's* of *Asia* to their own homes, in order to manage the rest the better. On the other hand, as the *janizaries* began to rear up again after the *spabi's* were crushed, he turned about to the latter for help to keep the *janizaries* down, and near the *Dardanel*s, caused most of their officers, even seventeen *forbaices*, i. e. colonels, and the *chibaja beg* himself, to be put to death in one day, besides many hundreds of *janizaries*, on pretence that they had failed in their duty in the action, which executions he chiefly committed to the *spabi's*, with a view of rooting up all confidence between them. Thus he laid the spirit of these two formidable bodies of the *Turkish* empire by playing one against the other, so that neither the *spabi's* nor the *janizaries* were ever so low as they are at present.

Besides this he degraded or killed several *passas* and *vizirs*. He deposed *caimakam Frenk Achmet passa* so suddenly, that no body knew of it till it was done, not the *caimakam* himself; for when he was sitting in the emperor's seraglio holding a *divan*, his employment was given to another, for whom he was to make room that moment. He also removed the *capitan passa*, the *beglerbeg* of *Buda*, the *passa* of *Silistria*, who had been *vizir* once, and twice *caimakam*; moreover, he degraded the *musti* and the *nakib effendi*, which are their highest dignities, and sacred among them, and put his own favourites in their places. He ordered the *patriarch* of *Constantinople* to be hanged, and kept another of *Jerusalem* for some weeks in prison, as he did also innumerable *begs* and officers, even once all the captains of the fleet, whom he afterwards either turned out of the service, or made away with. To sum up all; by these rigorous and cruel proceedings he has compassed his ends so far, that the *Turkish* army, which before him had their minds set only upon mutiny and uproar at home, and shewed no sense of honour nor bravery against the enemy in the field, are now so far broke of that rebellious humour, that last summer they not only made a brave stand against the *Venetians*, but even recovered the two islands *Tenedo* and *Lemnos* out of their hands: for they were be-

Remedied by this *vizir*.

His manly actions,

and good qualifications,

of which he gives proofs on the *spabi's*,

as well as on the *janizaries*;

on several *passas* and *vizirs*,

and on the patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*.

Reforms the army.



come sensible that either they must conquer the enemy, or choose inevitably to perish by the hands of the *vizir*, the former of which appearing more preferable, they now begin to accustom themselves to notions of victory.

The *Turkish* emperor becomes of age when 17 years old. *Adrianople* the ancient seat of the empire.

During my stay at *Constantinople* sultan *Mebemet* entered into his 17<sup>th</sup> year, at which time a *Turkish* emperor becomes of age, and the mother's guardianship determines. He is then by their law obliged to repair to *Adrianople*, the antient seat of the empire, and to undertake some expedition, to entitle him to a third feather to be put into his *turbant* by the *vizir*; for before this he may wear only two, and those hanging down before; but after he has performed that journey, he may set those two feathers upright, and add a third as aforefaid, which however must also be turned downwards, till he has conquered some province, and then he wears them all three upright, and is acknowledged by his subjects, and deemed to have full authority. In conformity to this custom the emperor, by the *vizir's* advice, set out from *Constantinople* the 23<sup>d</sup> of *September* 1657, and after a stay of a few days in his camp with *Daut passî* marched to *Adrianople*. The *vizir* was as yet taken up near the *Dardanel*s, but followed some weeks after, and was received by the emperor with great demonstrations of favour and honour. There were indeed divers conjectures concerning the views intended by this journey, but the true and chief reason of it was in reality no more than this *vizir* is forming great and deep designs; he was formerly in the service of two famous and able *vizirs*, during sultan *Amurat's* time, one named *Tabani Bujuk*, and the other *Kara Mustafa passâ*, which latter was also in the administration for some years in sultan *Ibrahim's* time. Having studied the maxims of those ministers, he strictly follows them: as *Tabani Bujuk* did always press sultan *Murat* to undertake some expedition, in order to gain to himself reputation in the world, the present *vizir* observes the same conduct with respect to sultan *Mebemet* now reigning. And notwithstanding he is from his nature easy and inclined to melancholy, yet the *vizir's* discourses have wrought so much upon him, that last summer he imitated the example of sultan *Murat*, and with the view of making himself more respected and feared, began to range up and down *Constantinople* in disguise, always attended by his executioners, whom he immediately orders to dispatch whosoever is surprized in smoking tobacco or any other irregularity; on which occasions he hath already

The emperor makes a journey from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*.

The chief reason of it.

The emperor naturally easy and inclined to melancholy.

shewn several instances of cruelty: the *vizir* hath likewise done all his endeavours to inspire him with an inclination to war, so far that upon his setting out from *Constantinople* on the said expedition, the emperor gave his mother to understand he did not intend to see *Constantinople* again within the first seven years, but to employ his younger years in extending the borders of the empire of the *Mussulmen*. For it is an article of their constitution, that no emperor shall be allowed to build a *mosque*, unless he has conquered some province or other; and this building of a church is thought the more meritorious, because they have a superstition, which makes it doubtful for an emperor, who has not built his church, whether he shall go to heaven or no. But this warlike resolution soon abated, for while I was at *Adrianople*, his mind was already much set upon returning to *Constantinople* again; and it was with great difficulty the *vizir* could keep him with the army till they broke up. If this *vizir* should live long, he will certainly put him upon some remarkable enterprize against some part or other of *Christendom*. Every thing looked then towards an Expedition against *Italy*; how-

ROLAMB. Has given instances of cruelty.

A particular superstition.

Intended expeditions against *Italy* and *Venice*.

Their prophecies concerning a northern people.

ROLAMB.



present sultan's name is *Mebemet*, when they heard of your majesty's progresses in *Poland*, they were extremely affected with it, fearing the accomplishment of those prophecies was now at hand. For they call the *Swedes sfed*, and say that between *sfed* and *sfer* there is so little difference, that a mistake might easily have happened in writing *sfer* instead of *sfed*, for their *r* is written *7* and their *d* *7*. But above all now that they have seen of that sort of people in *Constantinople*, of whom they took no notice before, that prophecy must needs be soon fulfilled. And indeed our arrival here has so raised the attention of the *Turks*, that whereas they use to call all those who wear hats and their own hair, by the name of *frenk* or *franks*, yet I had scarce been a week at *Constantinople*, but they had learned so well to distinguish, that they not only called me and those of my retinue, but also every man who had yellow hair, no longer *frenk* but *sfed*.

Having now seen of that sort of people, they fear their prophecy fulfilled.

The encrease of the *Turkish* empire owing to military discipline.

Their moderation in eating and drinking.

Their truth and good faith.

Choice in bestowing employments.

It is true, if one narrowly examines their present state, and compares it with the following national character, to which their monarchy owes its former encrease, it seems that vast machine is near its downfall. For 1st, They formerly cultivated military arts and exercises, and avoided nothing so much as a lasting peace; whereas now they are disposed for nothing less than war, and fond of nothing more than peace, being grown effeminate to a degree hardly to be believed. 2dly, They did not give themselves up to luxury, but were temperate both in eating and drinking, and with this view their law forbids them the drinking of wine, and refrains their being too long at their meals, pretending that two angels are waiting on each *Mussulman* at table, whom they ought not to detain long; the true meaning of which is, that *Mabomet* would not have them indulge themselves in long and dainty meals. Contrary to this precept, gluttony and other excesses are no where more common now than among them, and those who are above others in rank and dignity, drink secretly in their own houses, still careful of their reputation, which would suffer was it publickly known. 3dly, There was once truth and faith among them; but it is otherwise now, and one *Turk* will not trust the other, but relies almost more on a Christian; and for this reason the chief employments are filled with *renegadoes* or their children, nay the emperor's whole household is composed of none else. 4thly, The most important employments were bestowed only upon *Turks* who were the most capable; whereas at this time they are not given by choice, but directly sold by the emperor's eunuchs,

without distinction or regard to capacity.

5thly, Formerly the strength of their monarchy consisted in these two bodies of forces, the *spabi's* and the *janizaries*, for which not only choice men were picked out all over the empire, but even hardly any admitted, who were not from their childhood brought up and well exercised among the *Azamoglans* in three different seraglies, on purpose appointed for that use. At present they are promiscuously taken out among all sorts of people, and to become a *janizary* costs no more than the expence of an *ocka* of sugar or coffee; yet they have no pay, but only the name, which exempts them from tribute, which makes it that there never were more *janizaries* in *Turkey* than at present; and yet their empire never wanted soldiers more than even now, for they have neither life nor spirit; so that a *janizary* and a dog are at this time almost valued alike.

The strength of the *Turkish* empire in their *spabi's* and *janizaries*

6thly, Their veneration for the emperor was very great; they respected him like a god; his commands were without controul; nay, he who was to die by his order, was reckoned among the blessed. At this time one hears not only every year of a tumult or rebellion, but even they have killed sultan *Osman*, dethroned sultan *Mustafa*, made away again with sultan *Ibrahim*, and would have done so likewise by sultan *Murat*, had he not prevented them; how often this present sultan *Mebemet* was in danger of his life has been related above. Formerly, when the emperor sent a *capuci passa* (of whom he has two hundred at his court) to any *passa* to take away his life, he was received with great veneration, and the disgraced person submitted to the execution with profound obedience; but now when a *capuci passa* sets out on the like errand, he is often met on the road and made away with, or is seized and tortured till he forswears undertaking ever the like commission again. 7thly, They are fallen off

Veneration for their emperors.

Respect for *Mabomet's* law and statutes.

from their former veneration of *Mabomet's* laws and statutes; and their *musties*, who are the guardians and interpreters of that law, and whose persons formerly were reckoned sacred among them, are now, for reasons of state, deposed and changed on any emergency; nay, sultan *Murat* even took away one *musti's* life. 8thly, Justice is not administered by the prescription of the law, but according as avarice prompts their *vizirs* and *passas*, who force the *cadis* or judges to pronounce sentence as they are bid, though it be directly opposite to the law; nay the fountain of it, the *musti* himself, when some revolt prevails, is forced to pronounce any sentence, how contrary soever to his conscience, which

Administration of justice.

which is dictated to him by the *vizir* or other leading men. 9thly, To compleat all, some of the late emperors laid intirely aside all care and enquiry, how the government and the revenues were administered, and gave themselves wholly up to their pleasures among their concubines and eunuchs, which has opened a door to the covetousness of the courtiers, who think of nothing but filling their own purses by breach of trust, and open violence, so far, that as soon as a man is known to be well in his affairs, his neck is in certain danger, let his merits and capacity be never so great. These methods not sufficing, base coin is struck in vast quantity, with which they cheat the army, till they mutiny and rise in arms. And the present *vizir* excepted, I cannot say, that in my time any one of the *Turkish* ministers shewed the least concern for the common-weal, but all other regards gave way to their selfish views of ambition and avarice. This conduct proved very pernicious to the *Turkish* affairs for some years past, in the war against the *Venetians*, and cannot fail to end in the utter ruin of their empire. For a nation's falling off from its antient character, and giving into new customs, is usually reckoned a certain forerunner of some remarkable change in the government; and according as that turn of temper inclines a nation towards virtue or vice, so the change of their state will be for their advantage or detriment. Now, whereas there appears at present in all their affairs a violent bent of vice, it is not unreasonable thence to foretel their impending ruin, unless they recover by the divisions among Christians, which as they have at first highly contributed to their encrease; so they will in all probability have the same effect again, if it should please almighty God any longer to make use of that nation to scourge his own disobedient people.

Among the several matters that deserve to be related concerning the state of the *Turkish* empire, the emperor's seraglio, (*septum magni domini*) with his particular household, is very remarkable; not so much on account of its stately and sumptuous architecture, as because neither Christians nor *Turks*, the emperor's nearest servants excepted, are permitted to come into it; and it is death for any body only to peep in, and see any of his women; consequently there are few or no strangers who ever could have true information concerning the state of it. But I had the good fortune to receive a most particular account of it whilst I was there, from a renegado *Albertus Bobovius*, a man of learning, well versed in the *French*, *Ita-*

*lian*, *German*, *Latin*, *Greek*, *Turkish* and *Arabian* tongues, who since his being taken prisoner in the *Venetian* war, had served ten years for a musician in the seraglio, but was lately set at liberty, and received *Spahi's* pay, yet lived in the *English* ambassador's house, in hopes of getting, by his help, out of *Turky*, and among Christians again, being in his heart still addicted to his former religion of the reformed profession. I shall impart the substance of his account in a few words.

Its situation is upon a point of land that reaches out into the *Bosphorus*, washed with the sea on three sides, and by the *Turks* call'd *Sarai Burnu*, the property of which piece of ground, with the palace, and all buildings standing upon it, belong to *Mecca*, the emperor holding the use of it for a certain rent or acknowledgment, which is yearly paid into the temple at *Mecca*. The whole building consists of three large yards built round on all sides, all which is compassed with a great orchard.

In the foremost palace yard are the arsenal, the hospital, the habitation of the wood and water-carriers, the baking-house, and the dwellings of those who make and take care of all sorts of mats, which the *Turks* work very curiously and neat, for covering the floors. In this court the *vizir*, and whoever comes on horseback do alight, and then proceed on foot. The second palace yard is surrounded within with porticos or piazzas, supported with marble pillars, under which are sitting the *passas*, *chiauses* and *janizaries*, and other officers, when there is a *divan* or council, which is also held in the same place, as well as their *chancellery* or secretary's office. In this court live cooks and confectioners, who prepare all sorts of sweetmeats and preserves; as also the lackeys who wait on the women. It is very large, full of laurels, cypresses, and other trees; among which stags and fallow deer are seen to walk about, like in a park. The third and innermost court contains, besides the hall called *Divan Hane*, wherein publick audiences are given, the emperor's apartments, and those of his women, and the rooms for those of the household, who are in daily waiting, who being of divers degrees, I shall give an account of each sort, and reckon up their number.

The chief of the emperor's court officers are two eunuchs; one white, who is call'd *Capi aga*, and has under him a hundred white eunuchs, who are to observe the young men call'd *Izoglans*, and keep them from unnatural vices. The said *Capi aga's* office is besides this, to exercise a command over all the men in the seraglio,

Care about the government and revenue.

At present base coin.

Private interest, ambition and avarice

seem to forebode their ruin.

Of the emperor's seraglio and particular household.

*Bobovius's* account of it.

ROLAND

The place where-upon the seraglio stands, belongs to Mecca.

The foremost palace yard.

The second palace yard.

The inner palace yard.

Chief officers of the household.

The *Capi aga*.

**ROLAMB.** glio, and he is even the person whom the emperor employs in correcting the *vizir*, in case he thinks his pride too much grown, and yet will not take away his life, on account of his behaving well in the administration; and this correction consists in the *Capi aga's* giving him as many stripes as the emperor directs.

The second of the emperor's chief court officers is the *Kislar aga*, a black eunuch, under whom are 200 black eunuchs, who have the inspection over the women. His office is to govern all the emperor's wives, concubines, and their female slaves; and if any of the emperor's women misbehave against him, they receive their punishment from his hands. The next in rank after these two is the *Bustanci Bassi*, the head of all the *bustanci's* or gardeners; these have the care of the emperor's several houses and gardens, wheresoever situate, and they are 5000 in number. These three officers are always about the emperor's person, whom they turn and lead at their pleasure, and consequently must be much courted by the *vizir* and other grandees to keep them in favour.

After these are 40 young men, call'd *Hazodali's*, who are like gentlemen of the bed-chamber; they dress and undress the emperor, and sleep in his own apartment. They have three chiefs; the first of whom is the *slietar aga*, the emperor's armour-bearer, who always carries the emperor's sabre after him; the second is, the *chobadar*, his valet-de-chamber, who takes care of his wearing apparel. A third is, the *rike baptar*, who carries the emperor's turban in travelling, and holds the stirrup when the emperor mounts on horseback. These three always ride abreast immediately after the emperor, when he travels. The next after these is the keeper of the furniture or wardrobe, with those under his command, call'd *Haznali's*, being 200 musicians, divided into two forts, some to whom the field musick belongs, and others who play upon all kinds of instruments; besides these are the singers call'd *Mechetarles*, about 80 in all, more or less, according as the emperor's curiosity leads him. Their business is to play before the emperor and his wives night and day, that being their chief and almost only past-time.

The emperor's falconers or *Doganci's* are 200 in number, who attend the emperor's hawking, and are obliged night and day to go to and fro near their habitation, carrying falcons upon their hands. His confectioners, who are 100 in number, are call'd *Kilerli's*.

His most trusty and privy servants are call'd *Izoglans*, who are 1000 in number, and as it were, the springs by which the

rest of the household in the innermost courtyard move; they dwell in two long houses like barns, without any partitions of rooms; in one there are 400, and in the other 600, where they have hardly room enough to sit or lie down. Most part of the day they are sitting without any motion or talk, unless spoke to by their foremen, their whole conversation being only by signs, without the least noise, nor so much as laughing; for the rest they are allowed reading or writing, and walking about in the court-yard, once a month, to stretch their legs; otherwise they do not so much as stir from their places, except it be to go to prayers, to bathe, or on their necessary occasions; for which three purposes there is a house near their door. The bath-keepers called *Haman*, are 80 in number.

Besides these men servants, there are the emperor's wives, concubines, and their women slaves; whose number is not always alike, but depends on the emperor's will and desire. The present sultan *Mehemet* has but two wives. His father sultan *Ibrahim* had nine wives, besides a vast number of concubines; so that the women he kept were reckoned upwards of ten thousand; but commonly speaking, there are but one thousand of all sorts of women in the seraglio. These have all their particular houses and habitations in the inner palace yard. In the middle yard there dwell cooks, call'd *Afici's*, 300 in number, and people who make all sorts of sweetmeats, and preserves of honey, call'd *Halvaci's*, 200 in number; likewise one hundred of lackies, call'd *Sulufti Baltaci's*, who wait on the women, and are armed with great axes.

In the third or outermost yard, there live those who make and take care of matts, call'd *Hassirgi's*, 120 in number; likewise the bakers, call'd *Ekmekgi's*, 80 in number, and the wood and water-carriers, call'd *Azamoglans*, 100 in number. In the very walls of the orchard, there live the people who take care of the house and orchard, call'd *Bostanciles Odalari*, of whom there are always 600 in the present emperor's seraglio, as also the grooms of the stables, to the number of one thousand.

All the persons now mentioned are obliged night and day to attend in the emperor's seraglio, where they are lodged and dieted, but very miserably; they have wretched bread, and a small piece of meat half rotten given them once a week; now and then some beans, fruit, but seldom a spoonful or two of rice; their drink is water. All these attendants are taken from among the children of Christians, or

The *Haman*, or bath-keepers. The emperor's wives concubines and women slaves.

The *Afici's*, or cooks.

The *Halvaci's*. The *Sulufti Baltaci's*.

The *Hassirgi's*. The *Ekmekgi's*. The *Azamoglans*.

*Bostanciles Odalari*. Grooms of the stables.

All these are miserably dieted.

ROLAMB.

The prisoners are first used to sit.

are prisoners brought out of Christendom. The prisoners when they come into the emperor's seraglio are trained up in the manner following. First, they must use themselves to their customs, especially their manner of sitting, which they find the hardest of all; and many of them, for want of being able to learn it, are turned out of the seraglio again, and sent to the galleys. For during the first month of their stay in the seraglio, they are taught to sit all the forenoon upon their knees and heels with their shins under them at length, and their toes touching the ground; in the afternoon they change their posture, sitting upon their legs crossways like taylors. Those that cannot hold it out, which indeed is the case of most of them, but from that continual and constrained sitting have their thighs and legs swelled, are removed into the hospital, where they are anointed and taken care of till they are better; then they return to their sitting as before, till their legs swell again; and this trial is repeated three times. If after all they cannot bring themselves to it, they are sent to row in the galleys, or to some other labour out of the seraglio. If it happens so that they overcome it at last, and are able to sit, the second thing to be done is, to persuade them to the *Mabometan* faith and to be circumcised. If they shew any reluctance, they are put into a particular room for the night, where they are scourged, and by all sorts of torment kept from sleeping: in the day time they are brought back to their own room, where certain persons are appointed to persuade them by fair means, and all sorts of inducements; which method is continued till they yield, and conform with their religion. This step being gained there remains a third, which is, to instruct them in their law, and in reading and writing; after which they are put among the body of the *izoglans*, in those two large houses, where they pass their time in the miserable condition described above, and in time are advanced to some of the forementioned employments.

2dly, Persuaded to turn *Mabometans*.

3dly, Instructed in their law, reading and writing.

*Azamoglan*s the first born children of the Christians.

Those from among the *azamoglan*s who are taken into the service at the emperor's court, are first instructed. They are the first born children of Christians, which the subjects are obliged to furnish by way of tribute; for whose education their emperors have appointed three large houses at *Constantinople*, two at *Pera*, and one at *Adrianople*, where they are instructed till they are come to a proper age, when they are taken from thence, and during the first six years are called *azamoglan*s, waiting by turns in the seraglio, one hundred at a time, to carry wood and water, and being at other times employed in the most

abject services, as occasion offers within the city of *Constantinople*; there is an officer set over them, who is called *Stambol aga*, who also in the *janizar aga*'s absence commands those *janizaries* who are left behind. When these *azamoglan*s have held out their six years, and are inured to hard work and fatigues, they are ranged among the *janizaries*, *bustanci*'s or *izoglans*.

There are besides these other servants also who belong to the household, and wait indeed every day at court, but they have their turns; nor do they live in the seraglio, but in the city. Such are the *capuci bassis*, two hundred in number, whose office is to wait at the door of the emperor's innermost chamber, being always four at one time, and are often sent with important commissions. Another sort are the *mustafaraka*, two hundred in number also; who are to follow the emperor and wait on him, and on some great solemnity or other to carry the dishes to his table. Six hundred *chiauxes*, with their *chiaux passu* at the head, make up a third sort, who are likewise employed in embassies, dispatches abroad, and other commissions of less consequence, and are daily waiting on the emperor, the *vizir* and the *caimakam*.

The *capuci bassis*.

The *mustafaraka*.

The *chiaux passu*.

It would be too tedious to enter into an account of all the employments in the civil as well as military establishment, according to their several degrees; I shall therefore pass that over, and only in a few words give the sum of the belief and doctrine of the *Turks*, which chiefly consists in six articles.

Of other civil and military officers.

The *Turkish* belief and doctrine.

1st, They believe that there is a GOD, to whom none is equal; to whom none of the epithets of Father, Son or Holy Ghost do belong; who neither begot, nor is begotten himself; has neither beginning nor end; is the creator, protector and preserver of heaven and earth, and of all that has life. For the rest they give him the attributes of being all-wise, all-knowing, so that (according to their own expression) he sees the way of a black ant upon a black stone, all present, with other like attributes; without whose will and permission nothing happens whether good or evil.

1. Of God,

2dly, They believe that there are angels good and evil, that the good angels are GOD's servants, and are by GOD employed in several services both in heaven and upon earth. Among them *Gabriel* is the greatest and the most powerful; *Esrail* receives the souls of the dead, and is called the angel of death; *Israfil* shall sound the trumpet on the approach of the last day, holding therefore the trumpet continually before his mouth, to be ready when GOD commands him to sound. They call

2. Of angels.

**ROLAMB.** the evil angel *Iblis*, who for his disobedience and pride was cast out of heaven, and begot many sons since, which are the evil angels, who lay all sorts of snares for mankind.

3. Of four holy books. The *alcoran*. 3dly, They believe that there are four holy books written and sent down by GOD, viz: the books of *Moses*, the gospel of **CHRIST**, the psalms of *David*, and the *alcoran*, which are all worthy to be credited; but that the three first are falsified, and were therefore set aside by the *alcoran*, which was since sent down by GOD for a rule, and shall endure till the last day without possibility of being falsified. This book is in so high veneration among them, that none who has not washed his hands and his body may read or handle it, unless in case of necessity, if it should happen to fall down, or on such like occasions, and then they must first put a cloth about it; if one who is reading in it should chance to turn his back upon it, he commits a sin not to be atoned for. Those who are skilful in writing neat copies of the *alcoran* (for printing is not suffered among them) are called *bitet*, and are very much respected; others who can say it by heart, are called *buffa*, and are worshipped like saints; they use to copy certain passages and sentences out of it, and wear them about their necks to charm away all dangers of the body as well as the soul.

4. Of prophets and evangelists. The *Turks* conceited of themselves. 4thly, They believe that GOD sent prophets and evangelists to preach and teach the truth, of whom *Adam* was the first, and *Mabomet* the last; to which latter the law contained in the *alcoran* was given to publish, and that GOD gives to the people who follow it, the preference above all other nations in the world. This is the cause of the great conceit the *Turks* have of themselves; so that there is none of them, how mean soever his circumstances be, who does not value himself so much above any king among the Christians, that he should reckon it an injury only for to be compared to him.

5. Of the last judgment and resurrection of souls. Of the *anticrist*. Of the end of the world. Of hell. 5thly, They believe a last judgment and a resurrection, but are of opinion that the soul is buried with the body; but that the souls of the blessed have a little window through which they can see all that passes in heaven. They farther believe that there is an *anticrist* whom they call *deggiali*; also that **CHRIST** shall descend from heaven and destroy him; that a director general shall be born of *Mabomet's* descent, who shall agree with **CHRIST** and give him his daughter for a wife; after which heaven and earth shall be no more; that GOD shall lay a bridge over the hell, smaller than a hair and sharper than a

sword, over which all men shall try to pass; the blessed only shall get over it, but the wicked shall fall from it into hell. Of the heavenly joys they imagine, that they are to consist merely in sensual pleasures, magnificent habitations, plenty of perfumes, jewels, eating and drinking, but chiefly and above all the possession of beautiful women.

6. Of predestination. 6thly, They believe a predestination, and that every thing both good and evil happens by an inevitable decree and determination of GOD.

These are the six articles of their belief, for confirmation of which they are enjoined the practice of the following duties. 1. Of the confession itself to be made when asked: I believe that there is a GOD; that there are angels, books, prophets, a last judgment, and a decree of GOD concerning all that happens both good and evil. 2dly, Of prayers: those are of two sorts: *farza*, as commanded by GOD himself in the *alcoran*, and *sunna*, as ordered by their *Mabomet*. Five times a day they are called to prayers from their church steeples, which is with them instead of ringing of bells. Before they go to prayers they are enjoined to wash their hands, face and arms up to the elbow, their feet, their neck and nape, as also their armpits; which washing is with them what baptism is with us. But their circumcision is performed with particular ceremonies of their own, which it would be too long to relate here. When they say their prayers, they range themselves as if they were to be mustered, and one who is the most learned among them, being placed in the front, the rest say after him, all turning themselves to that side, which looks towards *Mecca*. 3dly, Of alms or charity: to which they are so disposed, that no beggar is to be seen among them; they even keep birds, dogs and cats out of charity; and there are certain publick places at *Constantinople* where those creatures are fed by thousands. It is a diversion to see their keeper go with them to a certain place, looking like an exchange, where their alms are gathered for them, for not one dog goes in with him, but they stand by hundreds at the door, waiting for his return, and when he comes out they rejoice and follow him like so many attendants. They also feed many thousand of birds of prey, so that the air of *Constantinople* is as full of them, as it is in other places of flies; every morning they throw small bits of flesh out of the windows for those birds, which snatch them up in the air with such dexterity, that it is much if a piece touches the ground. What is most commendable is, that the grandees, for

for instance *vizirs*, and the like persons, with the view also of establishing a fame for themselves, lay out great sums in building for the conveniency and relief of travellers, sumptuous bridges, fountains and *channes* or publick inns, where passengers are lodged, and even sometimes defrayed as to eating and drinking, particularly the poorer sort, and that by hundreds; for the support of which foundations they settle funds of many thousands of dollars income. 4thly, Of fasts: those are called *ramadan*, and last a whole month, during which they do not taste either wet or dry from sun-rise till sun-set, but then again they eat all night long. 5thly, Of pilgrimages: that to *Mecca* must be performed by every one who is come to years of discretion, and has the use of his reason, either in his own person, or by sending a deputy in his stead. They undertake those pilgrimages to *Mecca*, where *Mabomet* was born; to *Medina*, where he was buried; to *Babylon*, where are the tombs of *Imam Asim* their chief evangelist, and of *Ali* their general; and lastly to *Jerusalem*, where they have built a temple over the place, on which they say *CHRIST'S* feet had stood when he was teaching the people, in which they pay veneration to him. They have abundance of other absurdities in their religion, the relation of which would be too tedious.

As for what concerns the affairs of *Turky* with respect to its neighbouring kingdoms and states, your majesty is already sufficiently apprised in what relation that monarchy stands with the several powers of *Christendom*; and that *France*, *England* and *Holland* are in friendship with them, on account of the trade they carry on in the *Levant*; for which reason they have their ministers at *Constantinople*, as also several consuls at *Grand Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Smyrna*, and many other places in *Asia* and *Africa*. However, *England* enjoys its trade thither on much more advantageous stipulations with the *Ottoman Porte*, than any other of the foresaid nations; and the *Dutch* are of late but upon indifferent terms with them, since many of their ships were last summer found out among the *Venetian* fleet. The confidence with the emperor of *Germany* and the house of *Austria* has hitherto not been very great; however, peace was maintained during the late reigns, on account of the incapacity of the several sultans, who filled the *Ottoman* throne one after another. But now it seems the house of *Austria* is in better correspondence and greater credit with the *Turkish* court than ever before; for the present *vizir* caresses the emperor and his son the king of *Hungary*, making shew of embracing their in-

terests; though this conduct proceeds rather from his own political views of obtaining leave for the *Turkish* army to pass through *Dalmatia*. The king of *Spain* has no communication with this court, by reason of his ministers not being treated in point of the ceremonial agreeably to the *Spanish* grandeur, which is not satisfied with the usual honours paid to the ministers of other christian powers. The pope avoids all commerce with a people whom he treats as the enemies of *Christendom*, to keep intercourse with whom would profane his holiness; yet he has three convents at *Galata*, one of *Jesuits* and two of *Capuchins*, whose relation with the *Venetians* is more than publick. *Poland* had formerly little credit here; but that kingdom being now reduced to such a condition as not to give them any apprehension, they shew more regard for it; and having been inspired with suspicions against your majesty's progresses and power in *Poland*, they encourage the *Polanders* to make resistance. Besides this, the *cham* of the *Tartars* being gained over with *Polish* money, and the prospect of the usual plunder he gets every year in *Poland*, fills the *Ottoman Porte* with favourable impressions in behalf of *Poland*; so that at least in outward appearances *Poland* is now more favoured than ever it was before. The old jealousy between the *Muscovite* and the *Ottoman Porte* not only continues, but even daily increases against him, on account of the piracies committed by the *Don-Cossacks* on the *Black-Sea*, as also of the mistrust the *Ottoman Porte* have of their own subjects of the *Greek* religion, that they are secretly promoting the interest of *Muscovy*. This was the cause of the death of the patriarch of *Constantinople* who was hanged last year, and the patriarch of *Jerusalem's* being cast into prison for some weeks. The *Zaporovian Cossacks* lay under the same suspicion at the *Porte*, who do not much rely on their pretended devotion, by reason of the good understanding they keep with the *Russians*, and that they always were found in company with the *Don-Cossacks* on the *Black-Sea*, particularly last summer in *July*, when they together did great damage to the *Turks* near *Pangala*, a town in *Bulgaria*, by plundering the *passa* of *Silistria's* camp, and setting fire to the town itself.

Towards the east the *Ottoman Porte* has a great and powerful rival, which is the king of *Persia*; but since the *Turks* have recovered *Babylon* out of his hands, and he the year after had sent a magnificent embassy to compliment their emperor, a good understanding is now restored between the two courts. In return the *Ottoman Porte*

Inns for travellers and the poor.

4. Fasts.

5. Pilgrimages to Mecca;

to Medina; to Babylon; to Jerusalem.

The Porte's relation and interest with the powers of Christendom. With France, England and the Dutch.

With the emperor and the house of Austria.

ROLAMB.

With the king of Spain.

With the Pope.

With Poland.

With the Tartars.

With Muscovy.

With the Cossacks.

In the East with the king of Persia.

**ROLAMB.** *Porte* has sent *Kiofe Ismael pasha* on an embassy to *Persia*, both to confirm the agreement lately made, and to accommodate the differences between the *Persian* and the *Indian* courts.

In *India* with the *Great Mogul*. There was also at my time at the *Ottoman Porte* an ambassador from the *Great Mogul*, whose commission was, both to renew the former friendship, and to engage the *Turkish* emperor to fall upon *Persia* in conjunction with him, and to divide the conquests between themselves.

Reason of the *Indians* hatred against *Persia*. This animosity against *Persia*, among other reasons, proceeded from the king of *Persia's* having lately taken the city and province of *Kandabar* from the *Mogul*, with the slaughter of great numbers of his forces.

Indian ambassador at the *Porte* and his dispatch. The said *Indian* ambassador was received and treated with the utmost magnificence, and all the *vizirs* and *passas* had orders to entertain him with all possible marks of honour. But in answer to his commission he was told, that the *Porte* was engaged against the Christians, and that any hostile enterprise against *Persia* would be an open violation of the treaties lately concluded with them; that however the *Porte*, in testimony of its friendship, would endeavour to mediate an amicable composition of the differences depending between them and the *Persians*.

The true reason of this answer. But the true reason was the *mufti's* dissuading the *Turkish* court from ruining the king of *Persia*, and rather advising to assist him, he being a king, with whom the *Ottoman Porte* would always be able to cope; and his dominions by their situation serving the *Turkish* empire for a barrier against the *Mogul* and *Great Tartary*; whereas, should the king of *Persia* be ruined, those two powers would become neighbours to the *Ottoman Porte*; and being both of the same religion, and besides of a more ancient descent than the *Turks*, might possibly lay claim to the protection of *Mecca*, of which the *Ottoman Porte* is at present in quiet possession. Accordingly the *Indian* ambassador was dispatched with the above-said answer, and accompanied back by *Hussein Manoli*, whom the *Porte* sent their ambassador to the *Mogul*.

The king of *Zagathai* the most powerful in *Great Tartary*. The third power of the east, for whom the *Ottoman Porte* has great respect, is *Husbeck* or the king of *Zagathai*, the most powerful in *Great Tartary*, who receives great marks of love and veneration from the *Turkish* emperor, because they both are of the same religion, and descended of *Mabomet* himself; but the kings of *Husbeck* being of the elder branch, value themselves so high, that they do not deign the *Turks* to have any communication with them, and look with envy on the protection the *Ottoman Porte* exercises over

*Mecca*, as belonging to them for the said reason. However, as their dominions do not border immediately on any part of the *Turkish* empire, but are situate between *Persia*, the *Great Mogul's* dominions, and those of *Russia*, and have on a fourth side the *Caspian Sea*, they have no opportunity of doing the *Turks* any harm, but are obliged to leave them in the quiet enjoyment of that protection.

A fourth sovereign in the east, or rather to the south, whom the *Ottoman Porte* must have an eye upon, is the king of *Abyssinia*, called by them *Padesha Jabeß*, of whom being a Christian as well as his subjects, the *Ottoman Porte* entertains a perpetual jealousy. Sultan *Amurat* took two provinces from him, one of which, called *Jemenia*, the king of *Abyssinia* has since recovered, but the other is still in the possession of the *Turks*, who send thither every year a *passa* from *Grand Cairo*. This Neighbourhood is indeed very disagreeable to the *Turks*, but hitherto they have not ventured yet to break with him, for as it is a very remote expedition, where the climate does not at all suit with their *Asiatick* and *European* forces, they seldom before had any great success to boast of against the said *Abyssinian* empire.

This is in a few words the state and situation of the *Turkish* empire with relation to its neighbours in the east.

Thus much may suffice for an account of the present state of *Turky*, and its relation to the neighbouring powers; I think it my duty next to resume my report of the negotiation I was entrusted with at that court.

Since your majesty's commission had been so far negotiated with the emperor and great *vizir*, as is mentioned above, and that the answer intended to be given to me, together with my dispatch, had been deferr'd, the great *vizir* set out the 28<sup>th</sup> of *May* from *Constantinople* for *Daut Passi*, a place half a quarter of a league from the city, to join the army there, with which he proceeded on the fourth of *June* to the *Dardanelis*, leaving my negotiation in the hands of the *caimakam*, *Frenk Achmet passa*, a reasonable man, by nation an *Italian*, and entirely for our interest. But the *vizir* was hardly gone, when it began to be whispered among the *Turkish* ministers, that your majesty's affairs could not be in so good a condition as they had been represented; but that some extraordinary distress must have forced him to court the *Ottoman Porte's* friendship with such eagerness; and that all I had told them was only with a view to mislead them, and to gain time; at length their own sickleness,



fickleness, as well as the odious insinuations of others, made them break out into unguarded expressions against your majesty and your alliance with *Ragotzky*, and to say publickly, they ought to retract their first resolution, and let the whole affair lie dormant, till they had heard what the other envoy had to propose, who was expected from your majesty, and then to hold another council concerning it, but that in the mean time the *Tartars* should be ordered to advance into *Poland*, or *Transylvania*.

Representations made on that subject, with the reasons of a second embassy.

On the other hand, I was not wanting to represent to them both myself in an audience I had of the *caimakam*, and by the means of the *English* ambassador, what was the true reason of two ministers being sent, which step ought to convince them the more of your majesty's sincere and good intentions towards them. Mr. *Welling* being also arrived on the ninth of *June*, I delivered a memorial in writing, concerning the whole negotiation, which had so much effect, that they grew easy again, and laid aside their former diffidence and prejudices. And whereas both the emperor and the *vizir*, as well as the other *Turkish* ministers, were already fully informed of your majesty's desire; and that the objections they had made of themselves, were removed, by clearing up all doubts, and giving them all possible light and satisfaction, but especially whereas the main point was already obtained on the good terms granted by former resolutions, (unless they should now alter those resolutions again, as was then intended) there remained only for me to press our dispatch, which accordingly I did with great application, and insisted upon it with the *caimakam* several times, both in writing, and by word of mouth; but he wanted authority to dispatch us of his own accord; and the orders he expected from the *vizir* were retarded by the occupations he had at the *Dardanelis*. For he was not only very hard pressed by the *Venetians*, but also had mutinies every day among the troops under his command, the suppressing of which employed almost all his thoughts. And so our dispatch was deferr'd from one week to another, notwithstanding all our solicitations; and at last one contrary incident came upon the neck of the other. First, there arrived a *Polish* envoy, who being assisted by the *Roman* catholic ministers, very much obstructed our affairs; yet we defeated his intrigues after much labour, and brought it at last so far, that orders came from the *vizir* to dispatch us, with which the *caimakam* acquainted us himself in the audience we had on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *July*. Our conversation on that occa-

The affairs obstructed by the *Polish* envoy.

21 July Audience of the *caimakam*.

V O L. V.

sion was as follows. First, I took notice of our being so long detained; to which he answered with making several excuses, particularly with laying the fault on the multiplicity of business occasioned by the present war, but that now he had sent for us, to acquaint us with the good news, that we should be forthwith dispatched with a good and agreeable resolution. I answered, that we were indeed glad to hear we were at last to be dismissed with a favourable resolution, and that soon; but since we had been put in hopes of it so often, we should be still more glad, when we saw the effect itself. As to their war, it was true, that did furnish them with occupations of the highest consequence; however, they ought to consider, that our commission was of no less importance, and of such a nature, as rather to lessen than to increase their other cares. For it could not but startle and discourage their enemies, to hear that they had established friendship with so powerful a king as the king of *Sweden*; and I concluded with pressing him to let us soon see the effects of his promises. Secondly, I told him, that indeed we had been always used by the *vizir*, as well as by himself, with much civility, and received many good promises, but that now we were surprized to see their outward behaviour contradicted by the effect itself, being informed, that the *cham* of *Crim Tartary* was marched into *Poland*, which did not look like a sign of the *Ottoman Porte's* friendship towards your majesty; and as we were not able to reconcile this step with their promises, we desired he himself would explain, how it was to be understood? He answered, the *cham* was not gone to *Poland* to assist the *Poles*, but only to the frontiers, to watch the motions in *Poland*, lest the emperor's provinces might be exposed to some danger; for since there was a war in *Poland*, the *Tartars* certainly could not but have an eye upon it. I answered, what business had the *Tartars* with *Poland*? that I never heard yet the kingdom of *Poland* had put itself under the *cham's* protection, neither had he any jurisdiction in *Poland*, which obliged him to observe our motions there; and as for the guarding the *Turkish* provinces, there was no occasion, they being not infested by any body; besides, that it was injurious to mistrust your majesty's sincerity, and good intentions. He answered, they indeed confided in your majesty, but did not know how far they might trust the prince of *Transylvania*, who had so enormously swerved from his duty, as to march into *Poland*, without taking any notice of it to the emperor. I answered, your majesty and the prince

ROLAMB.

The reason of the *cham's* marching into *Poland*.

The prince of *Transylvania's* error.

ROLAMB. had one and the same intention, which was rather for the *Ottoman Porte's* advantage than prejudice. And if the prince had offended in point of formality, the *Porte* might easily overlook that slip, in consideration that the main design was good. I thereupon desired the *Turkish* emperor's orders to the *cham*, to keep himself within his boundaries. He answered, it should be done, and an express sent to him immediately. He then asked, whether your majesty had sent an ambassador to the *cham*, and to what end? I answered, there had been one sent in order to make friendship with the *cham*, and to convince him of the justice of your majesty's arms in *Poland*. He said, that was well done: But I replied, the *cham* had neither well received, nor dismissed your majesty's embassy. He then resumed his excuses for our being so long detained, saying, that as soon as they had received an answer from the *cham*, we should be dispatched. I answered, we little thought the *Ottoman Porte* wanted the *cham's* consent for what they intended to do, we were sent to the head, which was the emperor, but had no business with the *cham*; we were apt to believe the emperor's authority was great enough for determining himself in an affair of this nature without the *cham's* leave, who, for ought we knew, was but a subject, and was to obey; but that the emperor was the master, and had to command; besides this, the *Ottoman Porte* ought not to put so much confidence in the *cham*, who was deeper in the *Polish* interest than they were aware of, and having received bribes, promoted their cause both with his discourses and advices, and pursued his own private views, without any regard for the true interest of the *Porte*. At this he was a little out of countenance, and said, he well knew all that to be true; however, he would not stay for the *cham's* answer, but forthwith dispatch us, our recredential being already drawing up. I asked, whether we might depend upon it, and report it thus to your majesty, for fear of writing things which afterwards proved otherwise in the event. He said it should certainly be done, and we might safely write so to your majesty. I farther said, that in order to let them have the better security for your majesty's good intentions, if they pleased, we would give them an assurance under your own hand and seal, on condition however that the emperor would give us also his assurance, that he would neither oppose your majesty and his allies himself, nor suffer them to be opposed by others. That this offer ought to convince the *Porte* of the sincerity of your majesty's intentions, and

His majesty's embassy to the *cham*.

whatever contrary reports had lately been spread by our adversaries, were nothing but falsehoods and impostures. He desired us to draw that assurance up in the *Turkish* language, and deliver in two copies of it, one for the *vizir*, and the other for himself to shew to the emperor. We asked him also, whether he should like it, if we wrote to the *vizir*? He answered, we might do it, and he would send him our letter. Immediately I drew up a memorial, which we sent away, together with a copy of his majesty's assurance. After this, the ministers of *Transylvania* were also called on the 26<sup>th</sup> of *July* to an audience of the *caimakan*, who promised them likewise their dismissal, concluding with these words, that the *Turkish* emperor had had good reason to resent the fault which prince *Ragotsky* had committed in going to *Poland*, without asking the emperor's leave; but in regard to your majesty's intercession, he had pardoned him for this time; and now, since he had begun an affair, he should make the best of it, and order it so, that he might get something for his own trouble also; for your majesty, the *Russian*, *Brandenburg* and the *Cossacks*, had already got the best part of *Poland* for themselves. Whilst affairs looked thus with the most favourable aspect, and notice was already given us for our audience of leave of the emperor, the report came of *Ragotsky's* retreat out of *Poland*, and the ensuing defeat of his troops, which, as we use to say, put every thing off the hinges again: His ministers were imprisoned the ninth of *August*; and we not only fell under the strongest suspicion at the *Turkish* court, but even found ourselves exposed to the greater danger, the more we had before espoused *Ragotsky's* interest; so that it was already reported all over *Constantinople*, that we were likewise thrown into prison; and indeed we expected no less every moment; for we were, during three weeks, cut off from all communication; and as often as we desired audience, we were refused it.

And so prince *Ragotsky* himself was the occasion of destroying all the work, which your majesty had been labouring at in his behalf at the *Ottoman Porte*, and brought to so favourable a situation, that the *Turkish* emperor's orders were already sent to the *Tartars*, to keep themselves within their boundaries, which the *cham* had received the day after the prince's defeat, and had accordingly withdrawn his forces. This event at the same time drew upon us those delays, and other sufferings so derogatory to your majesty's respect, to the joy of our enemies, who thereby got a fair opportunity of working against us

26 July. The ministers of *Transylvania* have audience of the *caimakan*.

Prince *Ragotsky's* retreat out of *Poland*, and defeat. Involves us also in great danger.

more effectually than before, and with so much success, that though there came a new order from the vizir on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August, for dismissing us, yet it was limited in such a manner, that the *caimakam* should let us depart with our dispatches, but without admitting us into the emperor's presence. We protested against this unequitable proceeding, both directly, and by the interposition of the *English* ambassador, making proper remonstrances to the *caimakam*, who himself owned he thought it a very irregular step, and had therefore already wrote to the vizir concerning it, whose answer he was expecting every day. But as that tarried long, and we still pressed for our departure; the *caimakam* being a reasonable man, and our hearty well-wisher, went himself to the emperor on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September, to get orders for fixing the day of our audience of leave; but we had no better luck this time; for when he came into the seraglio, he was unexpectedly deposed, and succeeded by *Thior Hassan passa*, who had been sent from the *Dardanel*s by the vizir; to which misfortune his remonstrating to the vizir in our behalf, had in all likelihood not a little contributed. We solicited the new *caimakam* likewise to execute the vizir's orders, but with no better effect than before, either by reason of the emperor's being to set out for *Adrianople*, as accordingly he did on the 23<sup>d</sup> of September, or of the *caimakam*'s own ill nature; for he was a peevish, cruel and headstrong man, which made all the foreign ministers averse to have to do with him; he afterwards amused us, during twelve weeks, with a heap of shifts and false promises, saying sometimes he had already wrote, and promising at others he would write, whilst he neither had wrote one syllable, nor sent the least word to the vizir concerning our business, neither would he permit us to go ourselves to speak with the vizir, much less to send any body to him. In all this he had no other view, than to force money from us; till at last I told him the plain truth, and our own mind in very dry terms, as well by word of mouth, on the 30 of November, as in writing on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December, which exposed us to his insolence and menaces; so far, that he even threatened us with taking our heads, if we offered to go to *Adrianople* without his permission. This made us at last resolve in despite of his opposition and defiance to write to the vizir himself, and to send the letter by my interpreter to *Adrianople*, after we had first consulted with the *French*, *English* and *Dutch* ministers, and represented to them his brutish behaviour, and what would be the consequences, if the

*Turks* should once begin to violate the law of nations, with regard to the ambassadors of christian powers, the effects whereof would fall heaviest upon them who were residing there in ordinary, and daily exposed to his brutality. The *English* ambassador thereupon declared he would write to the vizir about it. The *French*, that he might not seem to have done nothing, sent indeed a letter also, but not to the vizir (alleging that he had no interest with the vizir, and consequently might do more harm than good by his letter) but to a friend of the vizir, named *Ali aga*, who at that time had no credit neither. The *Dutch* ambassador first took time to consider of it, and afterwards absolutely advised us against it, saying, he knew the temper of the *Turks* so well, and had learnt so much of those with whom he daily conversed, that if we did it, it would not only obstruct our Views, but possibly draw the greatest misfortunes upon us. But as I knew him perfectly well, and was fully sensible his advice was grounded on an unwillingness of meddling in an affair which might give offence to the king of *Hungary*'s resident, I kept to my resolution, and sent my interpreter away on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December. When he heard this, and that the other ministers had wrote, he was ashamed, and sent a letter also, after my interpreter was already on the road, but that was not delivered. My interpreter being arrived at *Adrianople*, was not only admitted by the vizir, but even dispatched back immediately with orders to the *caimakam* to let us depart, and to provide us with necessary carriages and a *chiaus*.

Upon this the *caimakam* sent for us on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1658, affecting a very friendly countenance. We took our leave of him, and afterwards on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January set out from *Constantinople*. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of February we arrived at *Adrianople*, where we met with a good reception from the vizir, and were provided with lodgings, and other necessities.

The 10<sup>th</sup>, I employed the *English* ambassador's interpreter, who had orders from his principal, to be aiding and assisting to us in any thing that might tend to your majesty's service, to speak to the vizir's *chiabaja* (an officer like a steward, whom one applies to for being admitted to the vizir, and on other occasions) to procure us an audience of the vizir, in which I hoped to have an opportunity to lay open to him the intrigues between the house of *Austria* and *Poland*, pursuant to your majesty's orders, for which purpose I had drawn up a memorial which I had

ROLAMB.  
After having first consulted the *French*, *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors.

13 January, Audience of the *caimakam*.

10 Febr.

caused

24 August.

15 September, the *caimakam* deposed.

Succeeded by *Thior Hassan passa*.

a peevish, cruel and headstrong man.

30 November.

My interpreter sent with a letter to the vizir on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December.

caused to be translated into the *Turkish* language. On the 13th I received answer from the *vizir*, that as soon as he should be at leisure, he would send for us, being at that time taken up with the payment of the *spahi's* and *janizaries*; and though since that time I sent every day either to the forefaid *chiajaja*, or to the *chiaus passi*, to put them in mind of it, and pressed them so earnestly, that the *chiaus* even once refused to admit my interpreter to speak with him, yet the audience was still postponed till the 20th of *February*, when we were called by the *vizir*, and at the same time dispatched; and thereby no opportunity was left to deliver my memorial; for the *vizir* was already so much prepossessed by the king of *Hungary's* chief interpreter *Panejotti*, that it was in vain to make any farther remonstrances; for he approved of nothing but what was proposed to him by the said interpreter; whatever any body else moved, took with him no farther, than as it had *Panejotti's* sanction, and what he happened to dislike, was sure to be rejected by the *vizir*. We therefore judged it inconsistent with your majesty's dignity, to deliver our memorial, and to give the *vizir* a handle to put a slight upon your majesty's good intentions. It was owing also to *Panejotti's* insinuations, that the *vizir* would not allow us to return by the way of *Venice*, but made us go by *Buda*, through the dominions of the king of *Hungary*. At the audience, after the usual formalities were over, the *vizir* began to say, your majesty had sent to establish a friendship with the *Ottoman Porte*, at the same time that you had contracted an alliance with a slave of the *Porte*, the prince of *Transylvania*, who on that occasion had incurred the guilt of rebellion, and marched against the emperor's subjects the *Tartars*. I answered him, that as your majesty being willing to continue the friendship established by king *Gustavus Adolphus* with sultan *Murat*; and to testify your sincere affection towards the *Ottoman Porte*, had sent us to renew and confirm the said friendship; so your majesty had likewise, at the example of the said king *Gustavus Adolphus*, and queen *Christina* made an alliance with prince *Ragotsky*, according to a long intercourse of friendship that had been subsisting between the crown of *Sweden* and the princes of *Transylvania*: That your majesty's uniting yourself with a friend and vassal of the *Ottoman Porte*, rather than with an enemy of theirs, ought on the contrary to be looked upon as a strong argument of your majesty's good intentions towards them. That if the prince had given offence to the *Porte*, by march-

ing into *Poland* without their previous leave, and afterwards proceeded too far with relation to the *Tartars*, it was all his own fault; for which he had already atoned by his own ruin: That your majesty was not at all pleased with it, but had on your part nicely observed all the parts becoming a friend, having not only at the very time when your majesty entered into a negotiation with the prince, sent an embassy on that subject to the *Porte*, but having also on all occasions advised the prince, and suggested to him what might be for the advantage of the *Ottoman Porte*; that as for the last action against the *Tartars*, your majesty had not given the prince one man for it; nay, did not know the least of it but after it had happened. The *vizir* proceeded with telling us the contents of our recredentials. I made ample and serious representations against them, remonstrating, that this was a very unfuitable return for your majesty's sincere affection to the *Ottoman Porte*, and that he was misled by ill minded persons. But he answered, what I had said was all right, but the letter was now drawn up, and could not be done over again: The *Porte* had confided in your majesty's friendship, but whilst he, the *vizir*, had been taken up against the enemies of the *Turkish* empire, the forefaid changes intervened, since which they knew not what they had to expect from your majesty, but were in hopes to have more particular assurances on that head. Then he ordered *castans* or long gowns to be brought in, and hung about us.

I talked to him next concerning our audience of the emperor; he answered, it could not be this time; but if either we or any others should return from your majesty, to let them know what they might rely on with relation to your majesty, we should have all satisfaction. I answered, that this way of proceeding, as it could not but convince your majesty of the *Porte's* indifference for his good intentions, would rather make you averse to any farther communication with them, and that therefore he ought to be tender of not offending your majesty, who having given them no cause for it, but rather sent us to confirm the antient friendship, this way of dismissing us would be a very unbecoming return. But he repeated his former answer and turned the discourse on our journey, and the assistance we were to have on the road, using withal much temper and moderation in his talk, and forbearing all passion. Afterwards he gave orders to clothe our retinue, and clothes were brought in accordingly; but the *chiaus passi's* ill-nature prevented the distributing

ROLAMB.  
caused to be translated into the *Turkish* language. On the 13th I received answer from the *vizir*, that as soon as he should be at leisure, he would send for us, being at that time taken up with the payment of the *spahi's* and *janizaries*; and though since that time I sent every day either to the forefaid *chiajaja*, or to the *chiaus passi*, to put them in mind of it, and pressed them so earnestly, that the *chiaus* even once refused to admit my interpreter to speak with him, yet the audience was still postponed till the 20th of *February*, when we were called by the *vizir*, and at the same time dispatched; and thereby no opportunity was left to deliver my memorial; for the *vizir* was already so much prepossessed by the king of *Hungary's* chief interpreter *Panejotti*, that it was in vain to make any farther remonstrances; for he approved of nothing but what was proposed to him by the said interpreter; whatever any body else moved, took with him no farther, than as it had *Panejotti's* sanction, and what he happened to dislike, was sure to be rejected by the *vizir*. We therefore judged it inconsistent with your majesty's dignity, to deliver our memorial, and to give the *vizir* a handle to put a slight upon your majesty's good intentions. It was owing also to *Panejotti's* insinuations, that the *vizir* would not allow us to return by the way of *Venice*, but made us go by *Buda*, through the dominions of the king of *Hungary*. At the audience, after the usual formalities were over, the *vizir* began to say, your majesty had sent to establish a friendship with the *Ottoman Porte*, at the same time that you had contracted an alliance with a slave of the *Porte*, the prince of *Transylvania*, who on that occasion had incurred the guilt of rebellion, and marched against the emperor's subjects the *Tartars*. I answered him, that as your majesty being willing to continue the friendship established by king *Gustavus Adolphus* with sultan *Murat*; and to testify your sincere affection towards the *Ottoman Porte*, had sent us to renew and confirm the said friendship; so your majesty had likewise, at the example of the said king *Gustavus Adolphus*, and queen *Christina* made an alliance with prince *Ragotsky*, according to a long intercourse of friendship that had been subsisting between the crown of *Sweden* and the princes of *Transylvania*: That your majesty's uniting yourself with a friend and vassal of the *Ottoman Porte*, rather than with an enemy of theirs, ought on the contrary to be looked upon as a strong argument of your majesty's good intentions towards them. That if the prince had given offence to the *Porte*, by march-

20 Febr.  
dispatched  
by the *vizir*.

A summary account of what passed at the audience.

Representations concerning the recredentials.

An audience of the emperor insisted upon.

buting of them by whispering something to them that brought them in.

Dispatched by the vizir with money for our journey,

Thus we were dismissed, and had by the vizir's order a purse of *aspers* given us to defray the expences of our journey, besides those of our stay at *Adrianople*, for which we were allowed and exactly paid at the rate of fifteen hundred *aspers per diem* (though the greater part of them were of a base coin.) A *chiaus* was also ordered to conduct us with an open passport of the emperor, and a recommendation from the great vizir to the vizir of *Buda*, with strict orders for him to see us safely conducted to the limits of Christendom, and to procure us a secure passage through the *Austrian* dominions. The vizir sent likewise to desire a passport of the king of *Hungary*'s resident, which was to carry us safe over the frontiers to *Comorra*, which accordingly was afterwards sent to us.

and the emperor's open passport.

28 Feb. set out from *Adrianople*.

All things being thus provided, we left *Adrianople* on the 28th of *February* and set out on the road for *Buda*, since the vizir would not allow us to go by the way of *Venice*, merely upon the instigation of *Panejotti* the *Hungarian* interpreter.

Hardships by storm and frost.

The fatigues and hardships we underwent upon this our return, are beyond what can be expressed and described. For between *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*, which regularly is but six or seven days journey, we toiled eighteen days on account of the bad weather; on the 26th of *January* it blew so unnatural a storm, attended with frost and snow, that had the inn been but half a mile farther off, we had all been in danger of our lives; for one of our coachmen was grown so stiff with cold that he tumbled off the coach, none of the rest offering to help him, as thinking him quite dead. My interpreter likewise was so penetrated with the cold, as no longer to be able to move a limb or govern his horse, whom he let go where he would; the wind withal was so violent, that it blew the cap from his head so far off into the fields, that those who went after it on foot as well as on horseback could not recover it. The severe cold had made us utterly unable to help one another, and we travelled on, weathering the storm as if we were at sea, to keep in the road if possible, yet were always driven off sideways. That day eight and twenty travelling persons were starved to death on the same road close behind us, between two places called *Bujukmese* and *Silibria*. We were the only ones that ventured on that day's journey, but all other *Turks* turned back again. The next day the storm and cold obliged us to tarry in a town called *Czorlu*; having afterwards with great

28 travellers frozen to death.

trouble and labour worked our selves through the snow, which then was still passable, to the town of *Baba* on the 30th of *January*, and got into a house that had neither windows nor doors, and where the snow lay piled up against it on one side (all *channes* or inns being full of travellers that were stopt by the snow.) There fell so deep a snow that night, that it was impossible for us or any body else to get thro'; and some that tried to force a way through it with the help of buffaloes or oxen, were obliged to lie that night in the open fields, and to come back the next day, leaving one of their companions behind, who perished of cold. Near *Adrianople* the weight of snow had borne down above forty houses (which in those parts are flat at the top) and a fountain head that stood in the field, the walls of which were eight ells high, was covered over with snow, with which the streets of the town were filled to such a degree, that for some days there was no going from one house to another, till they were cleared by the *Christians* and *Jews*, who were obliged to make way.

ROLAMB.



40 houses broken down by the weight of the snow near *Adrianople*.

On the third of *February* we had dreadful thunder and lightning, attended with heavy rain, which indeed melted a great deal of the snow; but when we as well as other passengers were set out, we found the waters risen to such a height, that they overflowed the very bridges that they could not be seen. A *Turk* being confident he knew the way best of any, went before us into the water, but was carried off by the stream, with his horse; another who followed him was also seized by the stream, but was saved by the strength of his horse, which swam with him on shore. Cautioned by the misfortune of these two we turned back, after we had travelled one mile to no purpose, and lay by at *Baba* afore said till the ninth day, and using all sorts of hardship, such a number of travellers coming in every day from *Constantinople*, who were forced to stop there also, that all the houses in the town were filled with them, and at last neither bread nor meat was to be had for any money. The waters falling a little, we set out again on the seventh of *February*, and reached *Adrianople* with the utmost danger of our lives, having crossed several waters, in which hundreds of travellers perished about that time on the same road from *Constantinople* thither, among whom was the *English* ambassador's *janizary*, who being sent with a letter to *Adrianople*, was by the stream carried off with his horse from a bridge. Between *Adrianople* and *Philippopoli* we had a tolerable journey, and began to hope the

Thunder, lightning and rain, and afterwards inundations.

Many hundred persons perished in the waters.

ROLAMB. the best as to the roads and the weather ; but the very day we fet out from *Philip-popoli* it began again to fnow, which continuing for three days, we rid all the way through the fnow almoft up to our horfes bellies, till we came to *Sophia*. Upon the fnow's melting, all the brooks and rivers were fo fwelled up, that we were many times forced to fwim our horfes over, efpecially over the fmaller ones, and in crofing after this manner a water between *Sophia* and *Dragoman*, the ftream drove us above feventy paces out of our way ; there being no poffibility of getting the waggons over, we left them at the waterfide till the next morning, when the water abated. Thus we travelled on under continual rain and fnow, till we arrived at *Belgrade* on the

We were driven by the ftream above 70 paces out of our way.

25 *March*.

25th of *March* with our horfes, which by toiling and labouring through the deep roads, fnow and water were become as bare about their bellies and legs as if they had been fhaved. From *Belgrade*, where the river *Savus* and *Danube* join and feperate *Hungary* from *Bofnia*, we found the roads tolerable.

Arrived at *Buda*.

On the fifth of *April* we arrived at *Buda*, the *vizir* of which place *Kenan paffa* fent four *chiaufes* to meet us out of town in the fields : he was already marched out from thence to the camp that had been formed on the other fide of the *Danube*, near a fmall town called *Pefte* ; and as he was to proceed the next morning to *Temeswaer*, to command a body of troops that were marching againft *Ragotski*, we were immediately called to have audience.

Audience of the *vizir* of that place.

Being come to the place, the firft thing he defired was to fee our recredentials, which I flatly refufed, telling him, they were to be opened by none but your majefty, with which answer he feemed fatisfied. Being come into the audience room he fat himfelf prefently down and began to talk to us, without offering us any chairs ; but I let him know I was not ufed to talk with any body ftanding ; nor ought he to prefume fo much upon his own grandeur, as to expect the king of *Sweden*'s embaffador fhould talk with him ftanding ; at the fame time I turned my back upon him, which they reckon a great affront. At this he was much out of countenance, and forthwith ordered chairs to be brought, which indeed ftood near at hand, but had been kept back to try us. After I had fate my felf down, I told him he might fpeak what he pleafed, and he fhould have an answer. He thereupon began to talk extravagantly, blaming your majefty for making war againft their friends the *Poles*. I replied, not without fome emotion, that your majefty was a fovereign king, who

His extravagancies checked.

needed not ask the *Ottoman Porte*, nor any power whatfoever, if he had a mind to make war or peace, but acted on thefe occafions entirely as he judged proper. And to let him know your majefty's fentiments, I could acquaint him that your majefty employed your arms to purfue thofe who were evil-minded, whoever they were, and on the other hand loved and honoured his friends, and for fo doing was accountable to none but himfelf. He next

Concerning *Ragotski* and the alliance with him.

talked of *Ragotski* and your majefty's alliance with him, that this certainly was no friendly ftap, *Ragotski* being a fubject of the *Ottoman Porte* ; how your majefty could condefcend fo far as to enter into an union with one who was but a *Waywode*, it now would foon appear where it would end with him. I explained to him the reafons of this alliance ; that as all the world had views towards *Poland*, your majefty was willing to affift one in going thither, who was in fo near a relation with the *Porte*, left fome of their own rivals might get a footing there, and afterwards prove a dangerous neighbour to them. Confequently that your majefty's uniting your felf with the friends of the *Ottoman Porte*, rather than their enemies, was an evidence of your majefty's affection ; fhould he enter into engagements with *Ruffia* againft the *Porte*, what would they fay then ? With this he was down in the mouth, and faid, let us talk of fomething elfe ; but yet added, if your majefty would be friends with the *Ottoman Porte*, you fhould have your own refident at their court. I replied, I had nothing to fay to that point, as abfolutely depending on your majefty's own will, to whom they might apply for it.

He begins to change his difcourfe.

We difcourfed next of our journey, how we might fafely proceed on as far as *Comorra* ; he alfo asked how we intended afterwards to get through *Germany*. Having fufficiently concerted with him what related to our departure, he concluded with faying, your majefty had beft remain a friend to the *Ottoman Porte*, as you had been hitherto ; and fo having obtained his promife for providing what was neceffary for our journey, we took our leave of him, and returned to our quarters ; but by his order were led back another way than we came firft, the *Turks* taking it as a bad omen for a man to come and return by the fame way. He ordered two *chiaufes* and two *janizaries* to attend us ; but after he was broke up with his camp, we were fo ftremely kept by his *caimakam*, whom he had left behind him, that none of our retinue were allowed to go farther than between our own houfes (for we were lodged in four different houfes) except only fome-

Talk about our journey.

times

times they permitted us to go to the warm baths that are in the suburbs. The day after our arrival, the vizir's letter to count *Buchein* relating to our safe conduct was dispatched. The day following we also sent our letter to the said count, and the regency of *Hungary* by secretary *Wallich*, whom the vizir had provided with a passport and orders for relays. And though the council of war at *Vienna* had immediately issued orders for our passage, of which secretary *Wallich* had sent us notice by letters, yet the said *caimakam* kept them from us, merely with the design of forcing us to make him presents, and thereby made us stay, and wait at *Buda* twelve days without the least information, those at *Comorra* wondering at the same time what was become of us. At last on the 16th of *April* there came a *capuci bassi*, who had been sent to *Vienna* to desire a passage for the *Turkish* army through *Dalmatia*; he had a letter with him from *Wallich*, but far from intending to deliver it to us, he had opened it, in hopes of meeting with somebody who could read it for him; but finding none, and yet being curious to know the contents, he sent for my interpreter and secretary *Klingen*, desiring them to read the letter and interpret it to him. By this means we had at last information how things stood, and how deceitfully we were dealt with by the *caimakam*; for which we immediately sent to expostulate with him, which had so much effect, that he dispatched us the next day, and provided us with orders for a convoy and other necessaries to the *beg* who commanded at *Gran*; so we travelled from *Buda* by the way of *Gran*, and on the 18th of *April* arrived on the borders of *Christendom*, near a village one mile on this side of *Comorra*, where the *Turkish* convoy, consisting of a company of *Hussars* halted, with their colours flying, at one end of the village; at the other end were drawn up two companies of *German Curassiers*, sent by the king of *Hungary* to meet us. Having taken our leave of the *Turks*, we returned among *Christians*, being received by an *Hungarian* commissary, who in the name of the commandant welcomed us with a *Latin* compliment, being attended by some *Hungarian Hussars*, with whom he conducted us through the village to the place where the *Curassiers* were drawn up, under the command of a major, who received us with great civility, and conducted us to the *Palanka*, which lies on this side of the *Danube*, over against the town and fortrefs of *Comorra*, where we were welcomed by the officers of the place, and brought to the lodgings pro-

vided for us. Those officers shewed us all imaginable honour and friendship, and an obliging readiness to assist us in all we could want. But the commandant or governor of *Comorra* himself *Gabriel Bossani* an *Hungarian*, was a rude and ill bred man, and had not the least complaisance for us even in trifles, which we made him sensible of, by sending him a fitting compliment. The next day the commissary, who was appointed by the council of war at *Vienna* to attend us, came to wait on us, and we instantly set out with him. We passed over the *Danube* in a *saique* to the town of *Comorra*, being saluted with two guns at our embarking at the *Palanka*, and two more at our landing near the fortrefs. There we took horse and travelled on, being provided all along the road with relays, and defrayed in most of the inns. On the frontiers of *Hungary*, where we were to enter into *Moravia*, we were received by a judge, who was brother to the viscount of the county of *Tranci*, attended by some of the *Hungarian* nobility, and 40 *Heiducks*, who convoyed us one day's journey to the first town in *Moravia*; in *Moravia* and *Silesia* we were treated every where with civility, and had assistance, except at *Breslau*, where the chancellor of the regency received our commissary very roughly, without shewing the least respect for the passport we had from the king his master, merely because there had been some mistake in point of formality, no notice having been given to that regency depending on the government of *Bobemia*. This incivility made us pass by the city to the next inn, half a quarter of a mile farther, where the prince of *Lignitz*, who is president of the regency, sent the master of his household after us, to order our horses back with the drivers, who were his subjects, promising us others in their stead; I took that opportunity of resenting in fitting terms the uncivil usage we had met with. The master of the household returned with this message to his prince, but was immediately sent back again to us with the prince's excuses, which we sent our secretary to receive in the yard, without admitting him before us. And as he was not able to get other men and horses, he was obliged all night to look out for his own peasants we had before, and send them to us, whom we kept as far as *Neumark*, where we were tolerably well received by one *Hunoltstein* master of the ordnance, entertained at dinner, and provided with a new commissary and all necessaries for our journey to the frontiers of *Silesia*. But the said *Hunoltstein* had seasoned his dinner

Secretary *Wallich* sent with a letter to count *Buchein*.

A *capuci bassi* returns from *Vienna*, where he had desired passage for the *Turkish* army through *Dalmatia*.

18 *April* return into *Christendom*.

Taking leave of the *Turks*.

The commandant of *Comorra* clownish and unreasonable

24 *April*, the frontiers of *Hungary*.

*Moravia*, *Silesia*, *Breslau*.

1 *May*.

Reception at *Neumark*.

4 *May*. The dinner seasoned with smart discourse.

**ROLAMB.** with a good deal of smart and poignant discourse, to which he had as lively replies from me; but as he carried it too far, and began to grow impertinent with asking questions, I cut him short with saying, I was come to dine with him, and not to be examined, and therefore desired he might suspend that sort of conversation. This not only took him down a little, but also made him change his note, drink your majesty's health, and use us with civility.

Thus we travelled through the midst of the dominions of your majesty's adver-

ries and enemies without being hurt by them, but even with their help and assistance; which though it was by no means owing to any good will of theirs, yet the respect they had for your majesty's valour and arms, wrought so much upon them, that they could not help doing us all good offices, and assisting us, though much against their natural inclinations.

*So far the account of that remarkable and important embassy, in which that gentleman was employed by his majesty at the Turkish court.*

**F I N I S.**





# I N D E X

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